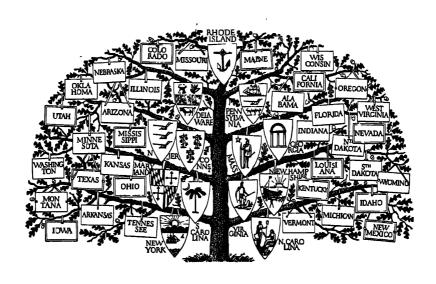
THE PAGEANT OF AMERICA

BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC

BY

-FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG



NEW HAVEN • YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS

TORONTO • GLASGOW, BROOK & CO.

LONDON • HUMPHREY MILFORD

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

COPYRIGHT, 1927, BY YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Independence Edition

VOLUME VIII

THE PAGEANT OF AMERICA

A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

RALPH HENRY GABRIEL EDITOR

HENRY JONES FORD HARRY MORGAN AYRES

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

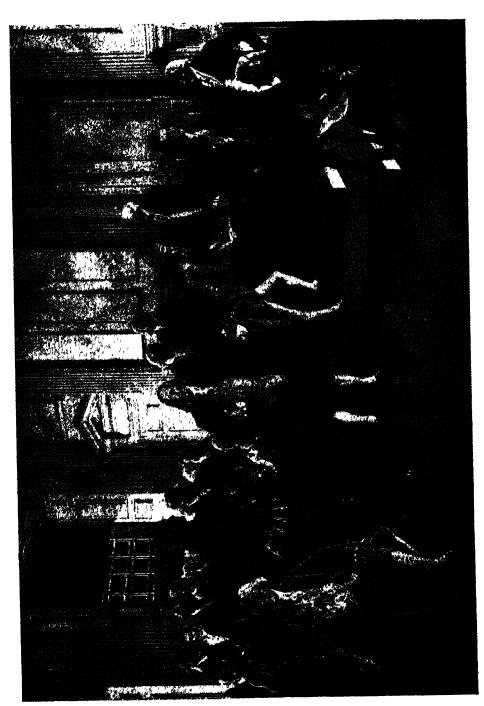
OLIVER McKEE
ASSISTANT EDITOR

CHARLES M. ANDREWS
HERBERT E. BOLTON
IRVING N. COUNTRYMAN
WILLIAM E DODD
DIXON RYAN FOX

ALLEN JOHNSON
WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO
VICTOR H. PALTSITS
ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER
NATHANIEL WRIGHT STEPHENSON

ADVISORY EDITORS

DAVID M. MATTESON INDEXER



From the painting by H. A. Ogden (1856-) in his possession

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPT	ER]	PAGE
	FOREWORD. Builders of t	he R	epubl	ic	•	•	•	•		1
I.	Politics of the Colonies			•		•				7
II.	The Eve of the Revolution	\mathbf{n}			•	•	•			38
III.	Independence .						•			94
IV.	Benjamin Franklin			-			•			131
V.	Framing the Constitution		•		•					144
VI.	George Washington .		•							161
VII.	The Federalist Régime			•			•		•	175
VIII.	The Virginia Dynasty									204
IX.	Jacksonian Democracy				•		•			237
$\mathbf{X}.$	The Roaring 'Forties			•					•	265
XI.	A House Divided Against	Itse	lf	•						282
	Notes on the Pictures									329
	Index		•					•		335

BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC

S the seventeenth century opened, a new royal house occupied the throne of England. The Stuart monarchs, though sometimes quite unwillingly, were destined to play no unimportant part in the constitutional development of their kingdom. Between the advent of James I in 1603 and the hasty departure of James II in 1688 England saw the struggle for power between the Crown and the representatives of the people more than once become bitterly intense as the Crown yielded one after another of the prerogatives inherited from the vigorous Tudors. During these years all but one of England's colonies on the continent of North America were planted.

"In reality," as Charles M. Andrews has remarked, "these settlements were not colonies; they were private estates, the proprietors of which, both corporate and feudal, were endowed with wide powers and privileges, conferred upon them by royal charters. There were the feudal seignories of New York, and the Carolinas, and the Bahamas, whose owners had an eye to profits from trade and the rent of their lands; the similar seignories of Maryland and Pennsylvania, where a religious refuge and a holy experiment were brought into being under the legal protection of feudal lordships; and the Separatist communities of New England, whose founders established religious Puritan commonwealths in the wilderness, and wanted to be let alone by the authorities in England that they might worship God and fight the Devil in their own way. Even had the English government been able to conceive of a colonial organization at this period of its history, it would have been unable to develop a workable policy as long as it allowed these settlements in America to remain under private control and to manage their own governments and own their own soil under the terms of the charters granted them by the King. Certainly the early Stuarts never tried to fashion a colonial policy, and their successors after the Restoration were hardly more aware than they had been that a colonial world was in the making."

But these distant and isolated settlements in America, though so far removed from central authority were not to become laboratories for experiments with novel forms of government. In its earlier phases the settlement of America meant little more than the extension to the New World of the social and political code of the Old. The newcomers remained Englishmen, subjects of the King. The ancient institution of feudalism took vigorous root in American soil, bringing with it the stratification that was the foundation of European social intercourse. The civil and criminal law of Britain was adapted by the overseas governments to the peculiar needs of their communities. Though the English Government may have had no very clear objectives for its American provinces, they were, nevertheless, definitely extensions of English culture into an undeveloped continent.

The first three quarters of the eighteenth century saw developed on the Atlantic seaboard between Maine and Georgia a degree of civilization that Americans of to-day sometimes fail to realize. In 1720 the Plymouth people noted the centenary of the landing of the Pilgrims; Virginia had traditions that ran even farther back. Life had become settled and comfortable. America boasted a landed aristocracy several members of which held English titles. The wealthy merchants of the coast towns, like Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, had interests reaching far beyond their immediate neighborhoods and into lands as far away as Europe or the African coast. In New England a learned clergy raised the intellectual level of their flocks. The rawness

of the provincial largely disappeared as life in the coast region of America became urbane and sophisticated. The beautiful and stately Georgian buildings of the eighteenth century not only indicate a refined taste but symbolize the culture of the society that lived and worked within them (see Vol. XIII). J. Franklin Jameson has commented that "American society in the colonial period had a more definite and stable organization than it ever has had since the Revolution."

A convenient instrument through which the ruling class of this eighteenth-century civilization could express itself was the colonial assembly. A visitor to the Virginia House of Burgesses in the middle decades of the eighteenth century would have observed the operation of a political life entirely in keeping with the spirit of the age. He would have noted that a majority of the delegates were well-dressed planters, who had for the most part ridden into Williamsburg in considerable state. Listening to their debates, he would have heard constantly the sentiments of conservative men satisfied with the social order as they found it. Occasionally there would be a difference with the Governor when the interest of the ruling group ran counter to that of the British Government. In these disputes, the counterpart of those in other colonies, the honors did not all go to either side. But, as the years passed, the assemblies gained rather than lost in power and prestige. In the Virginia House the visitor would have heard other disputes between the great planters of the coast region and a minority of less fashionably clad gentlemen who represented the interior counties, some of which were on the frontier itself. The burden of the complaint of the western men was that the interests of their section were made secondary to those of the richer East and that the West was not permitted its fair share of delegates in the legislative body. Had the stranger attended an election to this House, he would have discovered that only persons of some property and consequence were allowed to vote. Democracy was not a part of the political code of the dominant elements of eighteenth-century America. Independence of Britain was even further from their minds. The typical American of the time was a loyal subject of the King and proud of his British heritage. If, as the years passed, he more or less unconsciously sought a greater measure of local autonomy, this aspiration was part of the inevitable evolution of a frontier community far from the center of empire. Perhaps, had it not been for the Seven Years' War (1756-63), the Americans and the English would have gone on living together in the same empire, "muddling through" the difficulties bound to arise from time to time until the British colonies in North America had achieved a measure of autonomy comparable to that of the self-governing units in the present British Commonwealth of Nations. But that war, which left England burdened with debt and responsible for the management and defense of a vastly enlarged domain, was followed by a quarrel that was to destroy the old relationship and to call into being the new United States of America.

Why the compromising genius of the British failed them in the crisis between 1765 and 1775 still remains the subject for a multitude of explanations. This is not the place for a discussion of the various phases of the dispute between the mother country and thirteen of her American colonies. Suffice it to say that from first to last Britain held fast to the mercantilist conception of the colony as existing primarily for the benefit of the parent state. Moreover, though taxes which proved obnoxious to the Americans were repealed, the British assertion of the competency of Parliament to legislate in all matters for the colonies was not abated. Across the Atlantic the controversies over the Stamp Act (No. 89), the Townshend duties (No. 119), and the Billeting Act (No. 146), loosed violent and disruptive forces in the stabilized society of eighteenth-century

America.

The aristocracy in general resented any reduction in the large measure of autonomy enjoyed by the local governments which they controlled. Aspiring persons of ability who were not of the upper class shared the sentiments of their leaders and also saw an opportunity to gain fame and prestige for themselves by opposing England. More than once a mob of the lower classes broke into noisy riots. Calling themselves "Liberty Boys," they burned in effigy persons whom they disliked, compelled public officials to resign their posts, and even pillaged houses and destroyed property. The merchants of the North and the planters of the South who formed the aristocracy were not slow to perceive in the "Liberty Boys" a menace to their interests. Leaders in American communities set about holding the unruly elements in check. For three years after 1770, when all the Townshend taxes save one had been repealed, it seemed as though the British empire had safely weathered a threatening storm. The active quarrel had subsided though neither side had given up the assertion of its interpretation of the English Constitution. Then, in 1773, Lord North's ministry undertook to assist the struggling British East India Company by giving it practically a monopoly of the American tea trade.

This move, made apparently with little thought as to its effects in America, roused the American merchants as not even the Stamp Act had done and forced them to make common cause with the radicals whom of late years they had been trying to quiet. The result was violent and deliberate destruction of property at Boston. The British Government replied with punitive and coercive measures. The establishment of what amounted to military control in Massachusetts led directly to the armed clash at Lexington and Concord. Yet at this time the conflict was not waged for independence but rather by Americans fighting for their rights as British subjects under the common law. these truths be indelibly impressed upon our minds," wrote the conservative John Dickinson, "that we cannot be happy without being free; that we cannot be free without being secure in our property; that we cannot be secure in our property, if, without our consent, others may, as by right, take it away." England's statesmen grievously failed her when they allowed a dispute over such an issue to develop into armed conflict. The climax was reached when Lord North's government declared the continental colonies in rebellion and hired German mercenaries to fight the King's subjects in America. After such a move, even had Britain won the war, the heritage of bitterness would have remained a constant menace to the integrity of the empire. Then it was that the Americans declared their independence.

Rebellion was quite a different thing from the old-time opposition to the acts of Parliament, while a war for independence raised the question not only of loyalty but of the wisdom of breaking away from the most powerful empire in the world to set up what was bound to be a weak and divided state. The Declaration of Independence was a line drawn by a sword on either side of which Americans must now take their stand; a line dividing, it might be, neighbor from neighbor, friend from friend, and often father from son. "Men in a state of civil war," wrote St. John de Crèvecoeur in the midst of the conflict, "are no longer the same. They cease to view the former objects through the same medium as before. The most unjust thoughts, the most tyrannical actions, the most perverse measures, which would have covered them before with infamy or would have made them dread the omnipotence of heaven, are no longer called by these ancient names; the sophistry of each party calls them policy, justice, self-defense." For more than seven years, until the Patriots had finally won, this unnatural strife of American with American went on side by side with the war against England. The inevitable result was one of the saddest consequences of the War of Independence, a decline in the moral strength of individuals and communities. Of scarcely less importance was the driving into exile of tens of thousands of men and women who represented the best blood and brains of the American people.

For American social and political life the War of Independence was a profoundly disruptive force. Particularly was the old aristocracy shaken. Large numbers of estates owned by Tory aristocrats were confiscated. Laws like those relating to primogeniture which were part of the heritage of feudalism were abrogated. The electorate was increased as the restrictions on voting were modified. Men of humble origin, like Nathanael

Greene, rose not only to take their places beside the traditional leaders of the generation but sometimes achieved international fame.

While still in the maelstrom of war the Patriot leaders began the task of creating governments with a constitutional foundation. They showed their essential conservatism by their refusal to experiment with novel devices. In general, the old written charter from the King was replaced by a new written constitution, though Connecticut and Rhode Island found the ancient documents quite adequate for their needs under the new régime. The colonial assembly became the legislature and the royal governor was replaced by the new chief executive elected in several different ways. As the end of the war approached, a confederation of semi-independent states was set up. The difficulties of the post-war period and the necessity for new adjustments brought this confederation to the verge of collapse. To their dismay the conservative leaders of the Revolution found that the society which they had fought to defend against the power of Parliament was threatened by the very weakness of the government they had established and by the sudden rise of radicalism in a new quarter. Small farmers suffering acutely as a result of the depression which followed the war used the franchise which many of them had gained during the conflict to force the enactment of laws which, while they might temporarily relieve the husbandman, contained a general threat to property interests. Then it was that a group of able and determined men, distinctly a minority, who carried on the traditions of the old ruling class of the days before the war, initiated and carried through a peaceful revolution. The result of their handiwork was America's greatest single contribution to political thought and practice, the Constitution of the United States (No. 345). In these later years, when the ideas of Marxian socialism have become familiar to the people of the western republic, the "Fathers of the Constitution" have sometimes been referred to as capitalists seeking to create a strong government in order that property rights might be protected. That most of them were large property owners is true. That the protection of property was one of their chief motives is also true. But this was incidental to their larger aim, which was to preserve from dissolution the nation which they had fought to create, to protect from anarchy the civilization which they had inherited, and to provide an instrument of government which would make possible the orderly development of the life of the American people. But the small farmers, whose revolt had been partly responsible for the calling of the Constitutional Convention and most of whom voted against the Constitution, made also their contribution to the political development of the people of the United States.

The yeoman farmer became the characteristic figure of the frontier which even during the Revolution began a swift and steady advance across the central lowland of North America. More than a decade before this frontier ceased to exist William G. Sumner wrote: "In a new country . . . with unlimited land, the substantial equality of the people in property, culture, and social position is inevitable. Political equality follows naturally. Democracy is given in the circumstances of the case." The practice of democracy came out of the "West." In the eighteen twenties and thirties democracy became almost a fetish in America. With the widespread abolition of property qualifications for voters, some enthusiasts began to feel that Jefferson's famous words were coming true, "that all men are created equal . . . that . . . Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . . " Jefferson himself, though a Virginia aristocrat, had been the first leader of the western democrats. But before his death he saw the passing of the political party which he had done so much to found.

The origin and development of American political parties is one of the most significant aspects of American political history. In Washington's administration two national parties came clearly into view, each with roots running well back into the era of the Confederation. Each was led by a group of men who inherited the traditions of the old governing class. Of the two parties, that of Jefferson was more in harmony with the

developing ideals of nineteenth-century America. The Federalists, under the leadership of Hamilton, clung with a fatal tenacity to the eighteenth-century tradition of aristocracy and before the nineteenth century was two decades old the Federalist party had ceased to be of national importance. John Quincy Adams, the son of Hamilton's great rival for the leadership of the Federalists, rose to the Presidency as a member of the party of Jefferson. For eight years before his inauguration there had virtually been but one national party. But the campaign of 1824 as a result of which he had been chosen chief executive had seen that party rent into no less than five contending factions.

One familiar with the system of many parties that have developed in the parliaments of continental Europe is prone to ask why but two parties should appear at the outset of the national career of the United States, and why at the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century should five political groups within the Democratic-Republican party coalesce into two new national parties. At this particular time in American development. Frederick J. Turner has distinguished no less than five distinct sections within the area of the United States, each having interests differing from the others and each looking toward the central government for the furtherance of its well-being. Obviously some force stronger than economic sectionalism prevented the appearance of a multiplicity of parties. That such a force can be found in the two-party tradition inherited from England is hardly probable though the influence of that tradition was doubtless of importance. The war between England and France, at the close of the eighteenth century, played its part in dividing American sentiment into two phases, as Americans sympathized with one or the other of the belligerents. Perhaps the chief reason for the appearance of two parties in the eighteen twenties was the peculiar character of the central government set up by the Constitution. The framers of that instrument, under the apprehension of tyranny and under the influence of the theories of Montesquieu, the French philosophical historian (1689-1755), had created a federal government divided into three separate branches and had given each certain checks over the activities of the others. So prone were the executive and legislative departments to disagree over important issues that some outside extra-legal agency was needed to facilitate harmony between them. national political party with its organization and discipline formed an effective instrument for holding the President and his party supporters in Congress to the same general policy. A coalition of small parties would not have sufficient permanence or strength of organization and discipline. Until some radical change is made in the form of government of the United States, the two-party system seems likely to remain fixed in American political mores. Its definite adoption, however, in the administration of Andrew Jackson, did not mean that sectionalism or sectional antagonisms were dead.

Side by side with the expansion to the Pacific coast during the first half of the nine-teenth century went the growth of sectional dissention within the nation. The trouble arose from contrasts between the North and the South that were, in the last analysis, the outgrowth of climatic differences. North of the Ohio were the varied conditions of the temperate zone; to the south of it conditions approached the sub-tropical. In the heart of the cotton and sugar country where white men could not work efficiently at manual tasks negro slaves supplied the necessary labor. The greater efficiency of the slave when handled in gangs led to the growth of the plantation system, a mode of agriculture that was further stimulated by the cheapness of land in the new country and by the need for the constant substitution of virgin soil in place of fields worn out by cropping. When in 1793 the invention of the cotton gin established cotton as the staple crop of the South (see Vol. III), the plantation system with its slave labor was firmly fixed and practically universalized. The only areas into which it did not advance were the upland valleys of the Appalachians and the lowland regions where the soil was sandy and infertile.

The plantation brought about a definite and permanent social stratification. At the top was the planter and at the bottom the slave. Between the two were grades of lesser

whites and free blacks. The southern civilization carried into the nineteenth century many of the traditions of the eighteenth; it was aristocratic to the core. Its outstanding

characteristics were differences in wealth, social position, and political power.

In sharp contrast was the democracy of the Northwest, built also upon agriculture. The small farmer of the northern half of the Ohio valley was the economic and political equal of his neighbor. In the communities where he lived, democracy was as inevitable as cultivating the land. Here slave labor was economically so inefficient that the prohibition of the Ordinance of 1787 (No. 336) was hardly needed. In the northern states, east of the Alleghenies, commercial and industrial enterprises were rapidly developing. But, although they were causing an unequal distribution of wealth, they were not as yet seriously modifying the general ideal of democracy.

In the young United States, therefore, two civilizations had appeared: one agricultural, commercial, and industrial, with its political institutions founded on democracy; the other almost solely agricultural, with its social and political life colored by aristocracy. Both civilizations, in the beginning, supported the central government and favored national expansion. Three factors made for discord. The first was the inevitable dislike of the people of each section for the different institutions and ideals of the other. This was particularly true in the North, where the dislike of slavery grew to the proportions of a moral crusade. The second was disparity in growth of population, a condition which threatened the equality of the South with the North in the councils of the nation. This led to the development of an interpretation of the Constitution which would make that instrument more effective in the protection of the rights of a minority — Calhoun's theory of nullification (Nos. 546, 548). The third and probably the most important factor was the competition of the two civilizations for the unsettled public domain. Northerners, naturally, wished to exclude the obnoxious institution of slavery from the new country and Southerners, quite as naturally, desired to increase the area of their section as much as possible. The sectional struggle became most acute on the climatic borderline where the states of Missouri and Kansas were established. This competition for the national domain ultimately brought on the Civil War (see Vol. VII).

It is perhaps easier to understand why the South wished to abandon the Union than why the North desired to compel it to stay. The Southerner who squarely faced the facts saw clearly that his very civilization was menaced; that the North wished to and was able to put slavery on the way to ultimate extinction. He believed that the result in his own section would be a social revolution, the consequences of which no man could foresee. His home, his wife and daughters, the whole structure of his society would be confronted by a black menace if the slaves should gain their freedom and feel the power that lay in their numbers. If this were to be the price that he must pay for loyalty to the Union, he would fight, if need be, for southern freedom. Why, he asked, if the Northerner so deeply disliked southern institutions, should the North not be willing to let the South go in peace? Why undertake a fratricidal war to compel an unwilling section to remain within a Union that threatened to tear in shreds its whole social fabric?

The answer is not easy. In the North, as the country had expanded, the spirit of nationalism had grown. Webster had preached it in his great orations; Clay had woven it into the compromises with which he was associated; economic interchange had knit the nation into an ever closer union. If the South left the Union, this nation would be deeply, irreparably wounded. Was such to be the end of the dreams of the men who had fought and labored to make America free and to establish its independence? Northerners, already angered at the South for wrongs they believed the "slaveocracy" had committed, could not stand calmly by and permit this colossal injury to their country. National patriotism was, therefore, enlisted against the Southerner. Many men in the North joined the Union armies to free the black man. The battle was joined with idealism burning bright on both sides. The time of America's greatest testing was at hand.

CHAPTER I

POLITICS OF THE COLONIES

HE English colonists who crossed the Atlantic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to found homes in the New World brought with them as a part of their cultural heritage the political ideas and traditions of England. In fact they considered themselves as much Englishmen when living in Virginia as though they were in Kent. With this thought they adjusted themselves as best they could to the new environment. The task was arduous; forests had to be cleared, lands made fit for the cultivation of staple crops, the Indians appeased or conquered, pestilence overcome. There was no leisure for political speculation, no occasion for the construction of novel political institutions. Of necessity life in the wilderness was simple and the governmental needs of the primitive communities were slight.

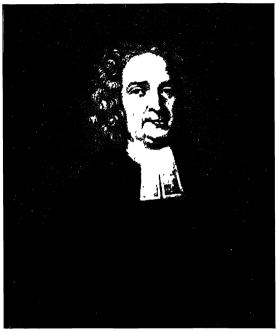
By the eighteenth century the country had become more settled, communities were larger and more complex, and the whole atmosphere of the colonies was one of stability rather than of a desperate struggle for existence. Division of labor gradually appeared as the artisan and even the professional man began to specialize each on his own calling. In such circumstances the problem of regulating the affairs of American communities became more difficult. Order must be maintained within, and a militia system must be built up as a protection against Indian raids. As property increased in amount and in value, property rights were in need of ever sharper definition. The regulation of social relations and the punishment of crime became steadily more difficult as hamlets grew into villages and villages into towns. In the solution of these problems English law and precedent governed. Inevitably the colonists brought the common law of England to bear upon the legal questions which confronted them.

Quite naturally in the growth of the American communities elements appeared in the population each having its own special interest. In Virginia, for instance, there grew up a sharp contrast between the tobacco planters of the coast and the small farmers of the frontier. Such economic and social differences were the foundation for most of the political disputes within the colonies. In some settlements, like Maryland or Massachusetts, religious questions caused contention. Side by side with these internal controversies were questions regarding the relation of the colony to the mother country.

As one generation followed another, the children and grandchildren of the pioneers had come more and more to look upon their governments as indigenous and as agencies created for service, not by imperial command but by colonial desire. Royal instructions that proved unworkable were likely to be disregarded, or modified to fit colonial needs; and, under pressure from local conditions, the old institutions were molded into something new. So there developed around these native growths loyalties which were sensitive to and ready to resist encroachment and dictation from beyond the seas. Meanwhile this colonial tendency was little regarded in the mother country. As a result, when a crisis came, the imperial government was ill informed as to the probable American reaction to some of the laws which it had passed.



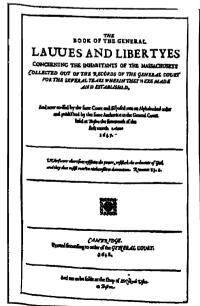
John Winthrop, 1588-1649, from a portrait by a pupil of Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester



2 John Cotton, 1585-1652, engraving by H W. Smith, after the portrait, painted about 1735, by John Smibert (1684-1751), owned by John E Thayer, Lancaster, Mass

THE PURITANS

UNABLE to wrest control of the Established Church in England from the moderates and desirous of cleansing religious worship of the trappings of popery, the Puritans sought a country where they might, as Winthrop expressed it, "live under a due form of government, both civil and ecclesiastical." Able and astute men of affairs, such as John Winthrop, and men of stanch Puritan precepts, such as John Cotton, came to the New World, not to found an asylum for the persecuted, but to establish a Bible Commonwealth in which they should hold the commanding positions. To these men, Massachusetts Bay was to be a "bulwark against the kingdom of anti-Christ" then threatening to engulf Europe — a community shaped in accordance



3 Title-page of the unique copy printed in 1848, owned by Henry E Huntington, in the New York Public Library

with Puritan theory. By the mere transfer to the New World, the charter of a trading company known as the Massachusetts Bay Company was turned into the constitution of a commonwealth. The members of the Company became the voters of the colony. (See also Vol. I, Chapter X, Pilgrims and Puritans in New England.) The suffrage was confined to the orthodox Puritans, administration of the laws was vested in a group of ministers and such lay leaders as were sympathetic with theoretic principles.

COMMON LAW

Though the charter of 1629 provided that colonial laws should conform to the laws of England, in practice the magistrates were fond of relying upon the precedents of the Old Testament. This caused dissatisfaction and uncertainty as to the law. After much hesitation, the theocracy permitted the drafting and promulgation of a code of laws—the Body of Liberties of 1641—wherein a man might find his rights and duties set forth in definite form. This code and subsequent laws, compiled by Nathaniel Ward, embodied much of English common law, but also many principles gleaned from the Bible. Narrow as it was, the code thus early established the cardinal rule of civil society in America, that government is the reign of law and not of autocratic caprice.



4 From the mural painting A New England Town Meeting, by Max Bohm (1868-1923) in the Cuyahoga County Courthouse, Cleveland, Ohlo

TOWN MEETINGS REGULATE LOCAL AFFAIRS

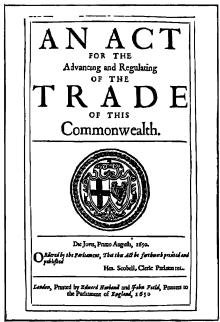
THE theocratic exclusiveness of early New England is in no manner better illustrated than in the town government. As the ungracious soil near the coast was taken up, the colonists began to search for more fertile areas. The discovery of the Connecticut led some pastors to emigrate westward with their flocks. In the valley, towns sprang up around the village church. Town meetings, composed of all qualified voters, that is, of all church members, were held in the vestry to regulate local matters. And regulations were numerous. The early Puritan examined minutely into the concerns of his neighbors. Strangers, frivolous actions, oddities of dress and many matters of similar character, were the object of disapproving by-laws.



From the painting Sir William Berkeley Signing the Capitulation of Virginia, by Howard Pyle (1853-1911), for Woodrow Wilson, A History of the American People, 1001 © Harper & Bros

VIRGINIA'S ROYALIST GOVERNOR WITHDRAWS, 1652

The sturdy colonial spirit is well shown by happenings in early Virginia. In 1649, Charles I was beheaded; Cromwell and the Puritans became the rulers of England. Virginia and her Governor, Sir William Berkeley, were royalist in sympathy and proclaimed their allegiance to Charles II. Parliament, in retaliation, prohibited trade with the recalcitrant colony, and in 1651 dispatched commissioners — including Berkeley's foes, Claiborne and Bennett — to compel its submission. Berkeley blustered and talked of resistance; but the planters wanted peace and freedom of trade. The Governor was pushed into signing articles of surrender, and withdrew to private life. For eight years Virginia, under Claiborne and Richard Bennett, was almost an independent republic.



6 Title-page of the Navigation Act, 1650, in the New York Public Library

(970)
Int Ordinances, Otders, Granes, Patents and Conflictutions of the feveral Companies of Merchants, and Handwales men, to the mid that if any of them tendro the hure of the Publique, they may be laid down, in fuch mante as the Parliament shall think fit.

Florently, They are to confider the great Trade of Fishing, and that not onelly upon the Coasts of England and Friand, but likewise of Island, Orrestand, Napsamad Land and Aras-England, or elso there, and to take care that the Fishermen may be encouraged to go on in their Labors, to the enterese of Shipping and Mauners

Twelfy by They are to take into their confideration the English Plantzions in America or ellowhere, and to advice how those Plantzions may be best managed, and made most useful for this Commonwealth, and how the Commodities thereof may be 10 multiplied and improved, as (if the possible those Plantziona alonemay highly the Commonwealth of England with what foever in necessarily wants.

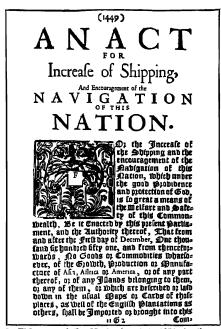
And they are hereby required. That as foon as they have maturely confidence and refolived upon any material part of point of thick Judicitions, or that they have thought or adults of any thing befores, which they in their pubgements map tuppole to be abbantageous to the Advancement of Trade, that they extrade the Parliament of Course of State they create the Darliament of Tourse that they adultance to course of State may give fuch Operational Course of State may give fuch Operations that they are the recuping, as they in their wife pours Dail thus to be unous for all responses.

ect of Seare effector from sink to time, to the embate the Dartament or Councel of South may mot luch Odder the theory of the cours had thus to be enough fail thus to be enough fail the color of the course had thus experience of the course that the color of the course of the course

7 Specimen page of the Navigation Act, 1650

DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY

But now new influences were at work in England. Cromwell and the merchants were taking steps to secure the self-sufficiency of the English trading empire, and its dominance over such rivals as the Dutch. In the Navigation Acts of 1650 and 1651 England aimed to cripple Holland by shutting off her carrying trade with the colonies, a policy which led to the first war with the Dutch. The colonies were to be parts of "one embodied commonwealth whose head and center" was England. Had Cromwell been in a position to enforce this policy, the colonies might have objected. But domestic troubles kept him occupied, and the spirit of independence throve unchecked and almost unnoticed, beyond the Atlantic.



Commonwealth of England, of into Irclind, or sinp other Lands, Flands, Plantations or Territolity to this Commonwealth belonging, to in their politicism, in any other Ship or Ships, Tell. or Active inhaltoner, but only in their politicism, in any other Ship or Ships, Tell. or Active inhaltoner, but only in their politicism, in any other Ship or Ships, Tell, or Active is understood the prople of this Commonwealth, or the Plantations thereof, as the Proplectors or tright Odmers thereof: And whereof the Hallow is the Commonwealth, under the penalty of the forfeither and Partners are also for the Monte the part of them of the Prople of this Commonwealth, under the penalty of the forfeither and less of all the Goods that that he Imported conteap to this Ace, as also of the Ship liberty allher Tacks. Owns and Apparet in mighty fail of 300 so Commonwealth, and the other later of the Commonwealth, and the other inverted of the Commonwealth, and the other inverted of the Commonwealth, and the other most of the Commonwealth, and the other court of Record which a file and before of the Acuthority affords, And hall professes the fault of the Acuthority affords, and hall professes the fault of the Acuthority affords of the Growth, Production of Hauthority affords, Danter of Goods or Commonwealth, and the other fault of the Acuthority of the Acuthority affords of the Growth, Production of Manufacture of the Growth, Production of Manufacture of the Growth, Production of Manufacture of the Growth, Production, the Hauthority of the June of the Indian of the Partner of the Commonwealth of June of the Indian of the position of the Commonwealth of the Indian of the position of the Commonwealth of the Indian of the Commonwealth of the Indian of the Commonwealth of the Indian of the Indian of the Commonwealth of the Indian of

MASSACHUSETTS PROTESTS LOYALTY TO THE KING

WITH the return of the King, in 1660, persons unfriendly to Puritan New England came back to power. Massachusetts, suspicious of the developing colonial policy and fearful for her cherished privileges, tried to divert royal hostility by protestations of loyalty to Charles II. The Humble Petition and Address was followed by the dispatch of agents to appease the King for the action of Massachusetts in harboring the regicides who had condemned Charles I. In 1662 these agents returned with a gracious answer, and for the nonce all was well.



11 James, Duke of York, 1633-1701, from the portrait by Sir Peter Lely (1618-80) at St James' Palace, London

COMMERCIAL POLICY AFTER THE RESTORATION

THE compliance of England, however, was not the result of weakness but of tact. The Restoration freed the energies of Englishmen from domestic trials; the notion of a selfsufficient nation-state received renewed support. Mercantilism was the dominant theory of the day. The slave trade was developed. The Navigation Acts were confirmed, committees on foreign trade and the plantations were established. Rivalry with the Dutch brought war; New Netherland was wrested from them (see Vol. I, p. 235) and granted to the Duke of York; Carolina was founded under Clarendon, Ashley, and others. (See Vol. I, pp. 263-69.) The business men were in the saddle. Men like Edward Hyde and the King's brother, James, guided England along the lines of Cromwell's policy.

The Humble

PETITION

ADDRESS

Of the General Court fitting at Boston in New-England,

> The High and Mighty PRINCE

CHARLES

THE SECOND.

And presented unto His Most-Gracious Majesty Feb. 11. 1660.

Printed in the Year 1660.

Title-page of The Humble Petition and Address to Prince Charles the Second, in the New York Public



Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon, 1609-the engraved portrait in the Emmet Collection, 1 Public Library, after the portrait, 1674, by Sir F



13 The Connecticut Charter, 1662, from the original in the State Library, Hartford, Conn

realm. Furthermore, the colonies must be contented and prosperous. Hence, the court did not turn a deaf ear to the demands of Connecticut and Rhode Island for charters. These colonies, unprotected by such a document, had suffered from the domineering tactics of Massachusetts. As a rebuke to the latter, and as a means of consolidating the colonies, Charles II was easily persuaded to grant Connecticut a charter which merged with the older colony the colony of New Haven. Two years later, a similar constitution was granted to Rhode Island. Under these charters substantial freedom in local matters was attained.

THE RESTORATION IN VIRGINIA

OF all the continental colonies, Virginia most readily fell in with the colonial plan of England. More than most of them, she regarded the interregnum as a break with the past. The Restoration was for the "Dominion" a return to the former agreeable intimacy with England. Berkeley was welcomed as Governor; the Anglican and the Cavalier again controlled the public power and held the public offices. The decade following 1660 was for Virginia one of peace and prosperity. Such good times benefited particularly the ruling social class, the large planters of the tidewater counties, who took pride in imitating the splendor and the arrogance of the Restoration court.



15 From the painting A Virginia Vestry Meeting After the Restoration, by F Louis Mora (1874-), for Woodrow Wilson, A History of the American People, 1901.
 © Harper & Bros.

CHARLES II GRANTS CHARTERS TO CONNECTICUT AND RHODE ISLAND

THE large design of a self-sufficient nationstate required that the far-flung colonies should be more continuously and uniformly administered. They were to be managed as a whole, as a unit for contributing to the welfare of the



14 Seal of Virginia after the Restoration, from a photograph of the seal used on a proclamation, 1698, in the Public Record Office, London, courtesy of the Virginia State Library

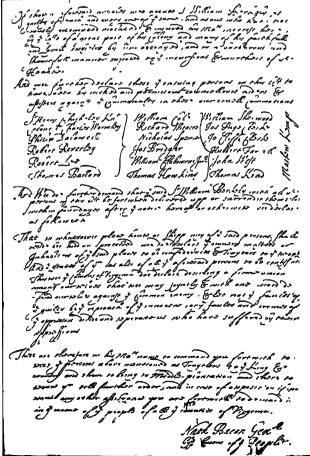
VIRGINIA ARISTOCRATS

Assisting the popular Berkeley and his council were the burgesses, representing the freemen of the colony. The three joined to form a lawmaking assembly wherein all coöperated to further the interests of Virginia. This harmony was promoted by the dominant power possessed by the royal Governor. Ties of loyalty, of social caste, of the advantages coming from public office, bound to him the large planters sitting as burgesses. The local vestries, whose membership came to be filled by coöptation (selection), were manned by friends of the Governor. Controlled by an autocratic and aging Governor, a well-oiled

machine operated smoothly and, apparently, with hearty popular endorsement. But the folk on the western frontier began to find this government not always to their interest.

THE BACON REBELLION

WITH the passage of time, flaws began to appear. Berkeley and his clique became arrogant and avaricious. His large powers of appointment secured the compliance of central and local officials in his personal rule. Accounts were rarely Colonial defenses were suffered to deteriorate. Meanwhile, the back-country had been filling with persons who became imbued with the hardy self-reliance of the frontiersman. When Berkeley, in 1675-76, hesitated for ten months to render them aid against Indian depredations, the men of the upper counties took matters into their own hands. Led by Nathaniel Bacon, a sensitive young enthusiast of good social standing, volunteer levies repelled the Indians. When Berkeley attempted to denounce such patriotic but unauthorized conduct, the Assembly elected Bacon commanderin-chief. The Governor refused to sign the commission: whereupon Bacon, with five hundred men, marched upon Jamestown and by intimidation secured from the haughty Berkeley the desired document. What began as a necessary move for self-defense was drifting toward rebellion.



17 "Declaration of the People of Virginia" signed by Nathaniel Bacon, 1675; from Add Mss 4159, folio 177, in the British Museum



16 Governor Berkeley and the Insurgents, from W A Crafts, Pioneers in the Settlement of America, Boston, 1876, drawing by W L Sheppard (1833-1912)

GOVERNOR BERKELEY IS DEFIED BY BACON'S MEN

As soon as the popular leader had withdrawn to fight the Indians, Berkeley took steps to raise troops against him. Hearing of this, Bacon returned to Middle Plantation (now Williamsburg) and issued a call for a convention of his supporters. With this call was issued a "Declaration of the People" wherein Bacon vigorously arraigned the Berkeley administration. The Governor and his official family were called traitors, and all good men and true were summoned to aid in seizing "what Spounges have suckt up the publique treasure" and in such manifold way abused entrusted powers. Bacon prevailed upon those attending the Williamsburg Convention to subscribe to an oath which came dangerously near being a breach of allegiance to the Crown. planters and freemen assented because of the high-handed conduct of the enraged Berkeley.

Bacon's signature to this document, "Gen¹ by consent of ye People," is probably the first instance of the public enunciation of a principle which was to live and ultimately to reach its full fruition in the shaping of the government of a free people.



18 From the painting The Burning of Jamestown, by Howard Pyle for Woodrow Wilson, A History of the American People, 1901.
 © Harper & Bros

bitter against Berkeley's autocratic system. Yet, though a variety of reforms in the direction of liberalism were mooted, little was done. The old privileged officialdom, somewhat chastened by their late experience, resumed control. The rebellion gave evidence, however, of the ease with which resistance to bad government might turn into resistance to the Crown.

THE REBELLION COLLAPSES AT BACON'S DEATH

AGAINST Berkeley, now in Jamestown, a small force moved under Bacon. Rather than fight, the Governor withdrew, and Bacon entered the town. Fearing attack, he burned it to the ground. While proceeding to gather more support from the tidewater counties, he suddenly died, and the rebellion collapsed. Berkeley returned to power, using it to wreak vindictive vengeance upon those who had thwarted his tyranny.

A BRITISH COMMISSION INVESTIGATES THE VIRGINIA REBELLION

NEWS of the disturbance reached England just in time to prevent the granting to Virginia of a charter which

might have secured her even greater autonomy. At once the home authorities took measures to handle the crisis. Berkeley was ordered home, a commission of inquiry was sent out. This body, on reaching Virginia early in 1677, found Bacon dead, and the inhabitants both loyal to the Crown and

With a full Relation of all the later Christians and Indians.

STRANGE NEWS

LONDON,
Printed for William Harra, next door to the Turn-Stile without Moor-gare. 1677.

19 Title-page from a facsimile of the original issue, 1677, in the New York Public Library



Obverse side of Oak Tree and Willow Tree Shillings, and Obverse and Reverse sides of Pine Tree Shilling, all of date 1852, from original Massachusetts coins in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, New York

MASSACHUSETTS SHOWS SIGNS OF INDEPENDENCE

To bring Massachusetts within the scope of the colonial policy now developing was less easy. The exclusive theocracy of Boston was composed of vigorous and able men, jealous of their rights under the charter. There was little liking for Stuart principles, full fifteen months passed before Charles II was proclaimed King in Boston. But grievances against their government were being forcefully presented at Court. Massachusetts in 1652 was coining its own currency, issuing proclamations in its own name, and in other ways violating the charter and "accroaching royal power." Diplomacy dictated caution. In 1662 Simon Bradstreet and the Reverend John Norton were dispatched to England to counter the complaints and to represent the loyalty of the people.

SIMON BRADSTREET, 1603-97, SENT TO ENGLAND AS COLONIAL AGENT

Bradstreet's selection for this mission was prompted by the hope that an appearance of submissiveness might preserve the cherished privileges of the colony. Yet Bradstreet was one of the official class; he held public office without interruption from 1632 until the charter was annulled in 1684. Furthermore, the General Court reminded their agents that "you shall not engage us by any act of yours to anything which may be prejudicial to our present standing according to patent." Such embassies surely could not solve the problem. Nor did the Commission sent to the colony in 1664 succeed in breaking the obstinacy of Endicott, Bellingham, and their colleagues. Foreign entanglements forced England for a time to acquiesce.

THE KING REVOKES THE MASSACHUSETTS CHARTER

Massachusetts continued on her disobedient course. Making concessions where necessary, more in form than substance, she nevertheless resisted the continued efforts of the English merchant and lawyer to bring her within the commercial union established by the Acts of Trade. That system stirred the opposition of powerful



21 From Senate Boston From the portrait, artist unknown, in the enate Chamber, Massachusetts State House,

interests in the colony, an opposition that sentiments of loyalty alone could not overcome. Strict measures of enforcement were needed. Hence Edward Randolph was sent out as royal collector of customs; but, as he was forced to rely upon local aid in his work, his efforts were fruitless. Behind the bulwark of their charter the Governor and Company continued their obstructive tactics till the situation became intolerable to the home authorities. By 1678 stern measures were determined upon. In 1683 Randolph was dispatched to Boston with a quo warranto demanding the authority under which Massachusetts had exercised such large powers in derogation of the rights of the Crown. With this writ he carried a proclamation from Charles promising liberal treatment in case of submission. But the colony, though greatly troubled, did not consider submitting. Instead they interposed technical objections to the writ. In this move they succeeded. But the victory was temporary; for more effective and more drastic steps were immediately taken. By decree of October 13, 1684, the Massachusetts charter was "vacated, cancelled and annihilated."



At the Court at WHITEHALL. The 20th of July, 1683.

> Prefent The Kings most Excellent Majesty,

removen cellor of the Exche-Mr Chanceller of the Dutchy



He Right Honourable the
Lords of the Committee for
Trade and Foreign Plantations, having this day Prefentions, having this day Prefentions on the Board, a Report concerning New England, together with the Draught of a Declaration from His Majeffy, to the Governout and Company of the Majachyfitt Bay, up on on

Charles R.



by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of by the Grace of God, Kung
of England, Scotland, France
and Ireland, Dufender of
the Fauth, ever To all to
whom theft Prefers thall
come, or may in any wife
conecten, Grating Al-

whom their Pricients thall an any wife concern, or may in any wife concern, Greeting Although We have thought fit to fifthe Our Will and Priviledges Claimed by the Governour and Company of the Maffachulett Bay in Nino Figland, by reason of fome Crimes and Middeminours by them Committed, Yet Our Will and Pleasure and We do beach Delay. These Proceedings of the Pricing Committed of the Pricing C of Jone Crimes and Mildeminiours by them Committed, Yet Our Will and Pleafure is, and We do hereby Declare, That the Private Interests and Proprieties of all Perfors within char Our Colony, shall be Continued and Preserved to them, so that no man shall rect ve any Prejudice in his Freehold or Estate, and that in case the said Corporation of the Mall subspirit Bay Shall before further Proficution had upon the laid Lego. Warsens, make a full Submiffion, and enter Re-fignation to Our Pleafure, We will then Regu-late their Charter in such manner as shall be for Authority and the good of that Our Colons, without any other Alterations then fucls as We shall find necessary for the better Support of Our

3 Order-in-Council, 1683, to proceed with the *Quo Warranto*, in the New York Public Library

(4)

And We do hereby further Declare and Direct, That all those Persons who are questioned in or by the faid Que Warranto, and shall go about to maintain the Stur against Us, shall make their Defining at their own particular Charge, without any help by, or spending any part of the Publick Scock of Our said Colony, Andchat as well those that are not Freemen, as such as are willing to sibmit to Our Pleasure, shall be Dicharged from all Rates, Levies and Contributions to wards the Expence of the Said Suit, both in their Persons and Edutes. And Our further Pleasure 15, That this Our Royal Declaration be Published within Our land Colony, that none may re-That all those Persons who are questioned in or ed within Our laid Colony, that none may pretend ignorance hereof.

na Ignorance nettor.

Gruen under Our Signet and Royal Sign. Manual at
Our Cours at Whitchall, the 26th day of July 1683. In the Five and shirtneth Year of Our

By His Majestes Command.

L. JENKINS.

LONDON, Printed by the Affigns of John Bill deceas'd And by Hanny Hill, and Thomas Newcomb, Printers to the Kings maft Excellent Majefty, 1687.

Second page of Order-in-Council, 1683, in the New York Public Library

22 Proclamation of Charles II in Re Quo Warranto, 1683, title-page of the copy in the New York Public Library



Joseph Dudley, 1647-1720, from the portrait, artist unknown, in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston

DUDLEY AS PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF NEW ENGLAND

DUDLEY'S business ties, his temperament, and occasional visits to England in an effort to conciliate the Crown had led him to take a favorable view of the new policies. The antipathy which his attitude aroused against him in Massachusetts is indicated in the title of a later pamphlet, The Deplorable State of New England by reason of a Covetous and Treacherous Governor and Pusillanimous Counsellors. Perhaps a later Governor. Thomas Hutchinson, passed the surest judgment when he wrote. "He had as many virtues as can consist with so great a thirst for honour and power." Randolph's efforts bore fruit. In the fall of 1685 a temporary government over New England was established. This consisted of Dudley as President, Randolph as Secretary, and sixteen other councillors named by the Crown. They were empowered to administer the laws of England and of the colonies, to establish courts, and in other ways to maintain royal authority until a more nearly permanent scheme could be devised. In the following May, with no outward opposition, this government was proclaimed in Boston and immediately proceeded to exert its authority. The disputes between the Crown and the people, which were to last for seventy years, began with Dudley.

MASSACHUSETTS AND NEIGHBORING COLONIES UNITED UNDER CENTRAL CONTROL

THE revocation of the charter was only the first and easiest step in fulfilling the grand plan of consolidating the English colonies under vigorous central control. It remained to erect in New England a governmental structure strengthened by local support. At once Plymouth colony was joined to Massachusetts Bay; and before long New Hampshire, the Narragansett settlements, and Maine were added to what came to be called the Dominion of New On Randolph's advice, recognition under the new arrangements was given to those colonists, now growing in number, who were inclined to sympathize with the English commercial and colonial policy. In particular, Randolph recommended that Joseph Dudley, the son of the second Governor of Massachusetts, be given important office. British merchants were interested in more effective colonial control because of the profits that accrued from a favored trading position.



PROCLAMATION

PIT The PRESIDENT and COUNCIL-of this Mejethy's Territory & Dominion of NEWENSLAND in AMERICA

HERE AS Hardish Extelled Majethy one Soversign LORD J. A.M. E. S. the Second, King of England, Studied, J. and Iridan, Deficiate of the Shich Re. by COMMISSION or Letters Farmer under His Street Stall of England, Histors & P. R. E. Butte in England, Garden and Here and Commission of Management and Commission of Management and Commission of Management and Commission of Management and the Management and Commission of Management and the Management and Commission of Management and the Management and Commission of Management and Commissi

pithy fail orderwife directs, & this to nominate of appoint 19 time sungers. Private part of the control of the pithy fail orderwife directs, & this to part of the pithy fail order Artshiph Plant Privategas, Rubard Historia, Yoshin Migilian County and Plant part of the fail of the pithy fail order and part of the fail order private and the control of the fail order part of the fail Commandia, and Joseph as addition and Formatting of affects of the control of the fail Commandia, and Longia part of the fail Commandia, the fail order of the fail Commandia, which historia been sufficient to preal in reclaim part of the fail order or

g one then the ful junious and Contrible is take Execution and Discharge of their respective unces, Lawrent was a time. It is above from the Contrible and the Execution and Discharge of their respective unces, and the Execution and Contrible and Contribution and Co

Proclamation by the President and Council of New England, May 28, 1886, from a printed copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston

THE KING SENDS NEW ENGLAND A MARTINET GOVERNOR

On December 20, 1686, Sir Edmund Andros reached Boston with a commission as Governor of New England, and instructions as to the government to be instituted. These placed substantially all power, legislative as well as executive, in the hands of the Governor and his council, all of whom were appointed by the Crown. The plan was to consolidate the whole of New England into a singlyruled vice-royalty. Andros, a soldier by trade, was imperious and inflexible, faithful to the interests of his superiors and an ardent churchman. He had just served several years as Governor of the conquered province of New York, where he had distinctly furthered the imperial schemes of the Stuart court. He was sent to New England to pursue similar tactics and similar results were expected from him.

THE PURITANS OPPOSE THE ANGLICAN SERVICE

The interim government under Dudley had assumed a conciliatory attitude toward the customs



27 Sir Edmund Andros, d 1714, from the engraving in The Prince Society, The Andros Tracis, Boston, 1867-74, after the original portrait in the possession of the descendants of Andros in London

and prejudices of the colony. Now the people anxiously waited to observe the actions of the new Governor. Andros was not long in showing his determined will. He had been instructed to provide for worship in accordance with the Anglican church. Zealously he endeavored to fulfill orders. When the Puritans refused to permit Robert Ratcliffe, minister of the English Church, to utilize any of their meeting-houses, the Governor



ANTAGONISM TO THE GOVERNOR APPEARS

New England traditions of self-government ran counter to the spirit of the Governor. Lawmaking and tax-levying by an appointed body were novel and distasteful. Supervision of town government and harsh scrutiny of land titles caused further dissatisfaction. Andros revised the tax system and the courts to enhance his power. Randolph was made censor of the press. It was not long before the overbearing conduct of the haughty Governor and his redcoats was met by the citizens with sullen looks and threatening gestures.

forcibly seized the South Meeting-House. The Bostonians were aghast. The use of the prayer book within one of their churches was in their eyes scandalous in high degree, and such conduct boded ill for pleasant relations with the new administration.



29 Governor Andros and the Boston People, from Harper's Magazine, June 1883, after a drawing by Howard Pyle



30 From a drawing Andros Demanding the Charter of Connecticut, made expressly for The Pageant of America, by C. W Jefferys (1859-)

ANDROS FINDS FEW SUPPORTERS

Five months later (April, 1688) King James issued a second commission to Andros as Governor of "The Territory and Dominion of New England," a jurisdiction now covering, in addition to New England proper, New York and the Jerseys. Over this vast country of dissimilar institutions and peoples, thus thrown together involuntarily, Andros exercised vice-regal power. In brief time, his Council discovered that it was useless to oppose his will. Meetings were sparsely attended,

CONNECTICUT INSISTS ON KEEPING ITS CHARTER

EVEN before the coming of Andros, measures had been taken to incorporate Rhode Island and Connecticut into the new Dominion. Writs against their charters were issued in 1685-86. Rhode Island at once made formal submission, but Connecticut was less complaisant. In the fall of 1687 Andros was forced to proceed in person to Hartford to demand the charter. Appearing before the Assembly, he precipitated a discussion that ran on into the night. Tradition has it that suddenly the lights were put out, and William Wadsworth escaped in the darkness with the precious document, to hide it in the hollow of a tree. Until it was blown down in 1856. the Charter Oak symbolized for many the long resistance to oppression that culminated in the Revolution.



31 From the painting The Charter Oak, 1857, by C D Brownell in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn

"so that it might be too truly affirmed, that in effect four or five persons, and those not so favorably inclined and disposed as were to be wished for, bear the Rule over and gave law to a Territory the largest and most considerable of any belonging to the Dominion of the Crown." (Quoted from A Narrative of the Proceedings of Sir Edmund Androsse and his Complices, written by William Stoughton, Thomas Hinckley and Wait Winthrop, three of his Councillors.)



22 Obverse of the Great Seal of New England, 1885–89, from the Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, Vol. VI, first series



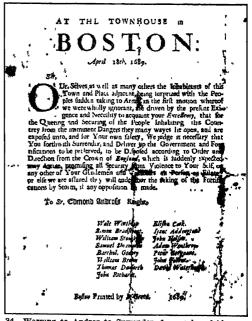
3 Reverse of the Great Seal of New England, 1886–89, from the Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, Vol VI, first series

REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND RELEASES THE BOSTON SPIRIT

Lasting submission to the odious rule of Andros was unthinkable. The very spirit of the New Englander revolted against such autocratic conduct. Moreover, Andros was to them the symbol not only of autocracy, but also of Anglicanism. Armed opposition had long been contemplated when news of the Revolution of 1688 in England released the pent-up hostility. On April 18, 1689, concerted action resulted in the seizure of several of the Governor's ad-

35 Andros a Prisoner in Boston, from an unsigned illustration in W A Crafts, Pioneers in the Settlement of America, Boston, 1877

visers. Andros himself took refuge in the fort. Simon Bradstreet, Thomas Danforth, William Stoughton and others of the old leaders, after consultation together, sent him a letter advising him to surrender.



Warning to Andros to Surrender, from a broadside, Boston, 1689, in the Massachusetts Historical Society

THE REVOLT AGAINST THE GOVERNOR

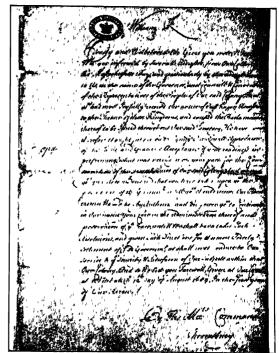
Andros at first hoped for rescue from the frigate Rose lying at anchor in the harbor But the people seized a boat sent to succor him, and surrounded the fort. Resistance was mad, Andros with his companions marched out to the Town-House, where they surrendered. Randolph and some of the more hated of the former rulers were

committed to the common jail. Andros was placed in the cus-

tody of a trusted citizen. Within a few brief hours the constituted government had been overthrown.

NEW ENGLAND COLONIES REINSTATE THEIR OLD LEADERS

A TEMPORARY government was organized. There was then summoned a convention of delegates from the towns to consider further action. After some deliberation this body determined to restore the government as it had been under the charter. The people regarded the period from 1686 to 1689 as one of illegal usurpation of power, unauthorized by their fundamental law. Simon Bradstreet, who had been the last Governor under the charter, was recalled to office. William and Mary were proclaimed, and petitioned to recognize the new order of things. The other New England colonies, severed from Massachusetts by the revolt, followed her example. Before June, in Plymouth, Rhode Island and Connecticut, the old assemblies had been summoned and the old leaders restored to office. Not long after, William issued a proclamation approving the actions of Massachusetts.



36 Proclamation of William of Orange Approving the Aution of Massachusetts, from the copy, dated Aug. 12, 1889, in the Colonial Office, London



From the statue of Jacob Leisler by Solon H Borglum (1868-1922), at New Rochelle, N Y

REVOLT IN NEW YORK BRINGS A GERMAN INTO POWER

From New England the revolt spread to New York. There also the events in England furnished the occasion for an uprising against constituted authority. Smarting under the narrow, class government in which they had no share, and alleging the existence of danger from French attacks, the train-bands of the city skirmished with the regular troops under Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson Acting on the advice of his council, the latter let the rebellion develop. A provisional government was set up under Jacob Leisler. Leisler was a German immigrant who by dint of intelligence, honesty, and effort had risen to a position of influence among the merchants He was, however, uneducated, and possessed of an ungoverned temper. Asserting that he was defending the people against arbitrary government until the King should make known his will, he attempted to legalize his position by proclaiming the new sovereigns, and by receiving, as if directed

to him, instructions which had been sent out to the acting Governor.

THE KING'S NEW GOVERNOR IS INSTALLED IN NEW YORK

For more than a year Leisler remained in power. He called a convention of the people, and in other ways tried to establish at least the forms of representative government. But his rule was founded upon military force, and would of necessity fall as soon as an authorized agent of the Crown should appear. In 1689 Colonel Henry Sloughter had been appointed Governor under William and Mary but did not arrive in the colony until 1691. Preceding him came troops under Major Ingoldsby, who assumed a hostile attitude toward Leisler. The latter refused to resign his power to any one but the direct civil representative of the Crown. Two days before Governor Sloughter's arrival shots were exchanged be-

9 Increase Mather, 1639-1723, from by John Sturt (1655-1730), in Cot Parentator, Memotrs of Remarkables in Death of the Ever-Memorable Dr Incr Boston, 1724

tween the troops of Leisler and Ingoldsby action was twisted, by the patriotic leader's enemies, into an act of treason



Sloughter Signing Leisler's Death Warrant, from Bryant and Gay, *History of the United States*, New York, 1881-84, after a drawing by C S Rein-hart (1844-96)

against His Majesty. The charges were prosecuted with vigor, and Leisler was executed. The rebellion was over; but it had given a hint of the desire for a government in which the residents should have a larger voice.

THE PRESIDENT OF HARVARD PROTESTS TO THE KING

INCREASE MATHER was at this time the leading Puritan divine of New England, and president of Harvard College. Like other preachers, he entered fully into the political combats of the day. Of great learning, a forceful and eloquent orator, and a ready publicist, he was sent by his friends, in 1688, to England. It was hoped that through his agency James might be persuaded to relax the rigor of the hated Andros régime. He was twice given audience by the King, but his protestations brought no more than empty promises from a falling monarch.

The Prefent State of the

New-English Affairs.

This is Published to prevent Falle Reports

40 Section of the only known copy of the broadside, printed by Samuel Green, Boston, 1689, in the Massachusetts Archives, Boston

THE KING ORDERS THE TRIAL OF ANDROS AND RANDOLPH

But Mather's cause was favored by the Revolution. At once all his efforts were bent to win back the old charter. An attempt to include Massachusetts in a bill restoring various corporation charters was defeated through the dissolution of Parliament. The agent's pleas before William received a favorable, though cautious, response. The King was careful of his prerogative, and, counseled to hear both sides before taking action, he issued an order requiring the Massachusetts authorities to return Andros and Randolph for trial.

ACCOUNT

Several of the AGENTS

New-England,

NEGOTIATION at the COURT

ENGLAND:

Some RFMARKS on the NEW CHARTER Granted to the Colony of MASSACHUSETS

That all things duely Confidered Greater Priviledges than what are therein contained could not at this Time rationally be expected by the People there

LONDON, Printed in the Year 1691

41 Title-page in The Prince Society, The Andros
Tracts, Vol II, Boston

OPPOSITION TO MATHER INFLUENCES THE KING

Even before reaching England, Randolph began a vigorous and skillful opposition to Mather and his fellow-agents. While the latter were forced to rely chiefly upon such effect as pamphlets might produce, Randolph gained the ear of the merchants and officials who had guided the policy of James and now surrounded William of Orange. The King, busied with Continental affairs, had retained the abler colonial administrators of the Stuarts. The merchants desired as much as ever their trade monopoly. The French war (see Vol. VI) gave cause for alarm for the safety of New England. All these factors convinced the Government that New England could not be given its old separate and autonomous position.

A Passage extracted from the publick News Letter, Dated July 6. 1689.

The people of New-England having made a thorow Revolution, and secured the publick Criminals. On Thursday last, the Reverend and Learned Mr. Mather, President of the Colledge, and Minister of Boston, waited on the Ring; and in a most Excellent Speech laid before His Majesty, the State of that People; saying, That they were sober, and Industrious, and fit for Martial Service; and all with their Lives and Interests were at His Majesties Command, to tender the same unto His Majesty: That they defined nothing but His Majesties Acceptance of what they had done, and His Protection; and that if His Majesty pleased to encurage and Commission them, Hic mash easily be Emperour of America. His Majesty assured him, that He was pleased with what was done for Him, and for themselves in the Revolution, and that their Priviledges and Religion should be secured unto them.

Extrasted from a Letter of Mr Mather, to his Son, Dated Sept. 2. 1689.

On July 4. The Ring laid unto me, That He did kindly Accept of what was done in Boston. And that His Subjects in New-England should have their Ancient Rights and Priviledges Restoved and Confirmed unso them. Yea, He told me, That if it were in his power to caste it to be done it should be done, and hade me rest affured of it.

The Charter-Bill is not finished, because fome Additional Clauses respecting Corporations here in England caused a Debate-4 and the Parliament is for some weeks Adjourned.

Besides the Letter from the Kings Majelly, whereof we have notice as above; there is now arrived, an Order from His Majelly to the Government, bearing Date, July 30. 1689.

Requiring, That Sir Edmund Androth Edward Randolph, and others, that have been Seized by the people of Bolton, and shall be at the Receipt of these Commands, Detained there, ander Consideration, be sent on Board the sirst Ship, bound to England, to answer what may be objected against them.



42 Massachusetts Charter of 1691 (first sheet), from the original parchment in the Massachusetts State House, Boston

THE NEW CHARTER IS A COMPROMISE

THE result took the form of a new charter (1691). This was in the nature of a compromise between the desires of the Crown and those of the colonists. Imperial interests were recognized in the royal Governor, possessed of a veto over all actions of the legislature. Laws were also, within three years after passage, subject to royal disallowance. The Privy Council, moreover, could receive appeals from the provincial

courts. Judges, sheriffs and justices of the peace were made appointive by Governor and council. Substitution of a property qualification for the religious test sounded the death-knell of the old theocracy. The former Assistants became the Council, or upper house, annually elected by the General Court, subject to approval by the Governor. All of these were innovations displeasing to New England. But there were compensations. The charter of 1691 for the first time gave an express legal sanction to the colonial institutions of government. The system of local government was for the most part untouched. Qualified inhabitants were annually to choose a House of Representatives. And the General Court was given powers not granted similar bodies in other royal provinces. Its right to legislate and to tax was expressly stated, it had power to establish courts and to choose many important public officials. Above all, the charter was to be a permanent constitution, to which not only statutes but also the Governor's commissions and instructions were to conform. Massachusetts became a royal province, but a colony possessed of unusually large privileges of self-government.

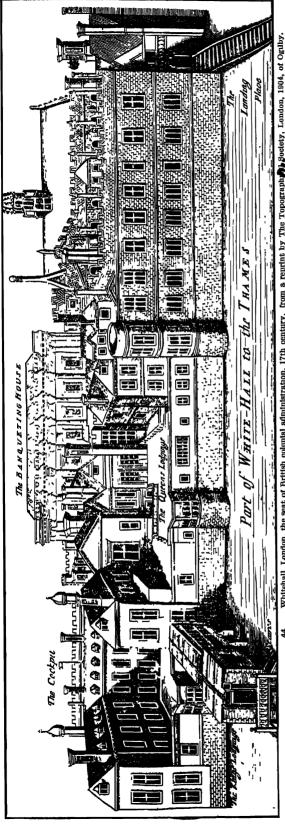
THE BRITISH BOARD OF TRADE

STEPS were now taken to conform colonial administration in London to the new conditions. The Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations was replaced by a body — eight Commissioners of Trade

and Plantations — which carried on its policies and traditions. Among the Commissioners were John Locke and William Blathwayt, both experienced in such matters. Their chief was the able Earl of Bridgewater. The powers of the Lords of Trade were extensive, falling into three major classes. First of all, they were to study British commerce and to ascertain and recommend means of furthering it. Secondly, they were to give especial thought to the condition of the colonies and methods of utilizing them for England's gain. Finally, they were overseers of the government in the colonies, empowered to hear petitions and grievances, to require accounting of public moneys, to advise the disallowance of colonial laws. In its multifarious work the Board of Trade could call upon the Attorney General for advice, and did so frequently, until, in 1718, its wide legal business was turned over to special counsel. A quorum for meetings was five; and for thirty years the Board met several times a week, being rarely forced to adjourn because of insufficient attendance. After 1740 the significance of the Board declined; in 1766 it became solely a consultative body, and in 1768 it was replaced by a Secretary for State, thus reducing the whole business to the control of a single official.



43 John Locke, 1632-1704, from the portrait attributed to J. Closterman, after Sir Godfrey Kneller (1648-1723), in the National Portrait Gallery, London



Whitehall, London, the seat of British colonial administration. 17th century. from a reptint by The Topography A Prospect of London & Westminster, 1682

Regis. Anno Septimo & Octavo Gulielmi

4

An Act for Preventing Frauds, and Regulating Abules in the Plantation Trade.



Charles the Saries of Shipper and in the Fifth

An Act for Preventing Frauds, etc., from a copy, 1696, in the British Museum 4

AUTHORITY DIVIDED

with the home government was the confusion between administrative and commercial policy that was inescapable in a Lould recommend, it was not always able to secure the adoption of its policies. Even where its suggestions were accepted, its control over among a number of independent agencies: the Admiralty looked after naval defense, the Commissioners of Customs and the Treasury shared power in matters fiscal. In brief, the colonies were not yet regarded as deserving control by an administrative body wholly devoted to their concerns. Even the Lords of Trade possessed a variety of functions and in-The American colonies did not constitute an isolated problem for the British Government. They had become inseparable from a world-wide attempt to further commercial development. The confusion which came about in their relations system profoundly colored by commercialism but not wholly dominated by it. The types of supervision attempted by England illustrate this commercial bias. One of the earliest and most persistent problems was that of stopping wholesale violations of the existing Navigation Acts. Pressure from the merchants composing such influential bodies as the East India Company and the Royal African Company resulted in the passage of the "Act for preventing Frauds and Regulating Abuses in the Plantation Trade." This received royal assent in April, 1696. It endeavored to strengthen Government often used colonial offices to satisfy mere place-hunters. More important, colonial business was distributed terests primarily commercial; and it was chieffy as commercial depots that the colonies came under their supervision. the earlier regulations concerning the colonial trade, and to enhance the position of England in transatlantic commerce. execution was slight. The Board did not appoint the colonial Governor, nor was he subject to removal by it. From the beginning, the work of the Board as agent for colonial administration was hampered. Whil

Articles of Agreement,

Made the 10th Day of Ottober, in the Year of our Lord 1695.

Between the Right Honourable RICHARD Earl of BELLOMONT of the one part, and Robert Levingson Esq;

AND

Captain William Kid,

Of the other part.

HEREAS the fact Cape. William Lid is defrous of obtaining a Commillion of Laptain of a Private Man of War in order to take Prizes from the King's Enemies, and other ways to annoy them, and whereas certain Persons did some time since depart from Now England, Now-York, and other parts in America and elicumbere, with an intuntion to become Privates, and to commit Spoils and Depredations, againg the Laws of Nations, in the Nod-Sea or elsewhere, and to return with such Goods and Riches as they should get, to certain places by them agreed upon, of which shid Persons and Places, the faild Cape. Not han notice, and is desirous to sight with and subduc the said Pirates, as also other Pirates with whom the said Cape. Not shall meet at Sea, in cale he be impowered so to do, and whereas it agreed between the said Parties, That for the purpose aforted all agood and silindents Ship, to the linking of the fail Cape. Not, shall be forthwith bought, whereof the said Cape Not is to have the Commind. Now their Presents do watness, and it is agreed between the said Parties,

- E That the Earl of Bellemon doth covenant and agree, at his proper Charge, to procure from the Ring's Majetty, or from the Lords Committoners of the Admiratty (as the Cale Itali require) one or more Committons, impowering him the faid Cape, Ked to act against the King's Enemies, and to take Prizes from them, as a private Man of War in the used manner; and also to fight with, con quer and subdoe Pirates, and to take them and their Goods; with other large and be utilitial Powers and Clauses in such Committions as may be most proper and effectual in such Cases.
- W. The faid Earl of Bellement doth covenent and agree, That within three Months after the faid Lape.

 Rid's departure from England, for the purposes in these Presents mentioned, he will procure, at his
 proper charge, a Grant front het King, to be made to some indifferent and trusty Person, of all such
 mechandizes, Goods, Treasure and other changes shall be taken from the Lind Pirates, or any other
 Pirate whatsoever, by the faid Capt Kind, or by the Lind Ship, or any other Slup or Ships under his
 Command.
- fil. The faid Earl doth agree to pay four Fifth parts, the whole in Five parts to be divided, of all Moneys which shall be laid out for the baying fuch good and sufficient. Ship for the purposes aforefaid, together wish Rigging and other Apparel and Farmines thereof, and providing the lates with competed to typicaling the laid Ship, to be approved of typic faid? Parties a said the kind other one Fifth part of the faid Charges of the faid Ship to be pard for by the said Robers Lewings and William Kid.
- W. The find Earl doth agree, That In order to the speedy buying the Lid Ship, in part of the faid four parts of Five of the Lid Charges, he will pay down the sum of sixteen hundred Founds, by way of Advance, on or before the fixth day of November next ensuage.
- V. The faid Robert Leorogies and B. Hass Kildo jointly and leverally coverant and agree, That on and before the fixth day of November, when the fall Earl of Reliasses is to pay the faid Sam of fixeeth hindred pounds as aforefaid, they will advance and pay down four hundred pounds in par of the Sant and Proportion which they are to have in the faid Ship.
- VI The fad Earl doth agree, to pay floch further Sumv of Money as fault compleat and make up the faid four parts of Five of the Charges of the laid Ship's Ardral, Furnitare and Vidualling, unto the faid River Leavyfloa and William Ked withhin River Weeks after the date of thefe Prefent; and in like manner the fait River Levoufflow and William Ked do agree to pay luch further Saints as fall amount to a fifth part of the Whole Charge of the fard Ship within Ked do Weeks after the date of the Prefents

Α

VIL The

46 First page of the printed copy, 1701, in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass

THE GOVERNOR PROHIBITS SABBATH-BREAKING

The failure of such methods led Parliament in 1700 to establish special Justiciary Courts of Admiralty for the trial, with a jury, of captured freebooters. Whether or not it was due to the use of a jury, unsatisfying results came of this venture. It would be interesting to know whether Governor Bellomont achieved more success in his attempts to regulate the personal behavior of the people in the province. In a proclamation that he issued April 2, 1698, he strictly prohibited "Cursing, Swearing, Immoderate Drinking, Sabbath Breaking and all sorts of Lewdness and Profane Behaviour in Word or Action," under penalty of the law. The grant of such wide powers to the Governor of a colony was part of the scheme emanating from London to place the American colonials more and more under royal control.

GOVERNOR BELLOMONT SENDS CAPTAIN KIDD AFTER PIRATES

DESPITE the efforts of Randolph, of colonial ill fame, and of his English colleagues, illicit trading increased. Trade flourished between the colonies and the Canary Islands, Scotland, Surmam and the West In addition, there was much Indies. smuggling through the agency of pirates from Madagascar and the Red Sea. Profits were enormous; nor did the pirate receive harsh treatment from the colonials. Merchants of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, prospered. Official connivance was more than rumored. Finally, Governor Fletcher of New York was supplanted by the Earl of Bellomont, specifically instructed to suppress the trade. Before leaving England, the new Governor heard, through Robert Livingston of New York, that the man for the job was Captain William Kidd. So, not averse to profiteering, Bellomont and Livingston entered into an agreement with Kidd, whereby the latter was commissioned as a privateer against the pirates, while the former were to receive the larger share of any prize money resulting from Kidd's exploits. spoils of piracy won over Kidd's enterprise. On his return the gallant captain was arrested, tried and executed as a pirate.



Richard Earl of Bellemont, Captain General and Governous in Chief of His Majelius Province of New-Tork, Gr

APROCLAMATION

These New York at Sound Dor of April 1 4 9 1 and in the Tonk year of the States of Dor-Secretor Lord, Will Links in Florid, by the Sound of God, of Regions, Restand, Traces and Drinted, Ling, Deputer of the Itali, Ro.

Bellomont

God Save the KIN G.

Primed by William Brailford, Printer to the Kings Med Excellent Mappy is

⁴⁷ Proclamation of the Earl of Bellomont, 1898, printed by William Bradford, in the New York Public Library

A ROYAL SCAPEGOAT MADE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

THE extent to which the home government relied upon this gubernatorial power is indicated by the minuteness with which instructions were given appointees. The death, in 1701, of Lord Bellomont reopened the New York problem. This colony was in a pivotal position She it was whose frontiers came in contact with the French: within her boundaries was the powerful Iroquois confederation whose friendship was invaluable and whose enmity might be disastrous. New York, more-



48 First sheet of Queen Anne's Commission to Lord Cornbury, 1702, confirming his commission by William and Mary, 1701, from the original in the New York Historical Society

over, was geographically the crux of any scheme of colonial consolidation. These were the phases of the question that appealed to London; local sentiment and institutions were ignored. To fill the vacancy in the office of Governor, choice fell upon the Queen's scapegoat cousin, Lord Cornbury. That this notorious spend-thrift might not be welcome in New York was not apparently considered. When Cornbury proceeded to pocket public funds, there began that long struggle for control of the public purse that here, as elsewhere,

The state of the s

49 Second sheet of Queen Anne's Commission to Lord Cornbury, 1702, confirming his commission b

ended in placing colonial legislatures in a dominating position. The Assembly insisted that revenues be paid to a treasurer appointed by it. Cornbury's royal instructions and dictatorial claims were of little avail. From a system of lump sum and permanent appropriation, there came, in course of combat, appropriations good for one year only, and for specific purposes. When the Council demurred, the Assembly cited English precedent for denying all power in the upper house to amend appropriation bills. Long before, however, Lord Cornbury had been recalled, to face his creditors in English courts.



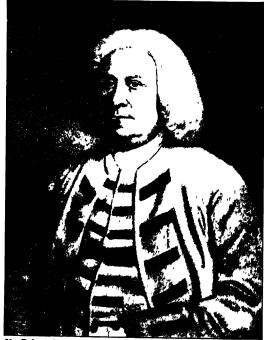
50 Alexander Spotswood, 1676-1740, Lieut Governor of Virginia, from the portrait about 1736 attributed to Charles Bridges, in the Virginia State Library

THE COLONIAL GOVERNOR

COLONIAL administration was the function of the British Crown rather than of Parliament. The royal Governor was the Crown's representative in the provinces. His task was to hold the colony in line with the policies of the home government He had a veto on the acts of the legislature. He received instructions to work for certain kinds of legislation, such as laws for the furtherance of the French and Indian Wars also required to veto bills adversely affecting British trade or British creditors. From time to time he received new instructions either of a general or specific nature. Strictly speaking, colonial laws were not in force even after receiving the Governor's signature. Approval by the Crown was essential and many were disallowed. Governors appointed from the nobility did not always come in intimate contact with the people. In 1704, for instance, the Earl of Orkney was appointed Governor of Virginia; but he took his office easily. Pocketing two thirds of the salary, he gave the remaining twelve hundred pounds to a Lieutenant Governor and he himself never visited the colony. Most remarkable of his

deputies was Spotswood. A fiery Scottish soldier, he, like Andros and Cornbury, traveled a thorny path. Stubbornly desirous of improving administration, a high Tory and an intimate of Blathwayt, he early aroused opposition from both local camps The Burgesses did not take to his efforts to spend money for improving

colonial defenses; the Council found fault with his imperious manners and methods. In 1715 he administered to the former a stern rebuke, concluding with the assertion that "Heaven has not generally endowed [the Burgesses] with the ordinary qualifications requisite to legislators," and he summarily dissolved the assembly. The latter at last secured his removal. But the Governor had become a true Virginian; upon recall from office he settled in the colony and became a respected member of the gentry. Spotswood's policy of westward expansion came to fruition under a successor, Robert Dinwiddie. Rugged honesty won for this Scot promotion in the colonial customs service, until in 1752 he came to Virginia as Lieutenant Governor. Dinwiddie possessed many of the characteristics of Spotswood He also was a stanch supporter of prerogative; he also became angered at colonial reluctance to vest control of expenditures, even for warfare, in the executive. This led Dinwiddie. in 1754, to suggest to the Board of Trade the levying of a colonial poll tax to secure funds for waging the fight against the French and Indians in the Ohio country. It was impossible, he said, to obtain united action on the part of the colonies in raising money. This, combined with perhaps undue zeal in collecting fees under moribund laws, rendered his recall in 1758 not unwelcome to Virginia.



51 Robert Dinwiddie, 1690-1770, Lieut Governor of Virginis, after the portrait in the possession of the descendants of Dinwiddie in England

PENNSYLVANIA'S GOVERNOR FURTHERS HIS PERSONAL AMBITIONS

Nor solely in royal provinces did Governors have difficulty. Even in proprietary Pennsylvania there was turmoil. Beginning with Sir William Keith (Governor, 1717–26), the issue was drawn between the country people and the proprietor and his conservative supporters. Keith, friend of Spotswood of Virginia, was of an ingratiating character. At first he espoused the cause of the proprietor; but the death of Penn (1718) and the resultant confusion gave him his opportunity. Thenceforth he contrived, chiefly through countenancing large paper-money issues, to win the support of the Assembly against the proprietor's local adherents. This he did, however, not from friendship for the common people, but to create for himself as Governor an independent position.

The CASE of the Hen at Law and Executrix of the late Proprietor of Pennsilvania, Se in Relation to the Removal of Sir-William Keith, and the Appoining Major Patrick Gordon to succeed him as Deputy-Governor there.

if the Second was pleased by Patent, dated the 4th of March, 1680, for the Confiderations on therein mentioned, to grant to the late William Penn Elq; his Heirs and Alligns, all that Tract of Land in America then inhabited only by Saviges, fince call'd the Province of Pennfluonna, with all Powers of Government, and full Authority to appoint Deputy-Governors for that Province, Ur.

In the Year 1683, his then Royal Highness James Duke of Tork, afterwards King James the Second, granted to the said William Pern, his Heirs and Assigns, all that Trust of Land lying on the West Side of the Bay and River of Delaware adjoining to Pensiliania, together with all Royalties, Franchises, Powers, &c.

IN virtue of which Letters Patents and Grants, afore said, the said Mr. Penn enjoyed all the said Lands and Powers of Government for above forty Years, and from time to time appointed his A

53 Facsimile page from a pamphlet published at Philadelphia 1726, on the removal of William Keith, reproduced by the Massachusetts Historical Society, American Series, No 101, from the original in private hands

THE QUAKER COLONY UNDER GORDON PATRICK GORDON, Keith's successor, was a blunt soldier who told his first Assembly that he was artless in politics and would govern without intrigue and in accord with simple justice. This pledge he faithfully kept until his death in office in 1736. Such conduct won the good will of the Indians, though it was during



52 Sir William Keith, 1680–1749, from an India-ink drawing about 1720 by John Watson (1685–1758) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

REMOVAL OF GOVERNOR KEITH

KEITH, for defying proprietors' instructions, was suddenly removed from office in 1726. His crafty policy was soon laid bare to the popular party; and before long he lost the support of David Lloyd and others of their leaders.



54 Patrick Gordon, 1644-1736, Governor of Pennsylvania, from a portrait in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

his administration that the well-known "walking purchase" occurred. He was also very popular in the colony, earning the deep respect of the conservative and proprietary interests.



From the painting *Building the Cradle of Laberty*, by J L G. Ferris (1863–), in Independence Hall, Philadelphia

GOVERNOR AND ASSEMBLY IN PENNSYLVANIA

In Pennsylvania, the business shrewdness of the Friends and their aversion to carnal weapons gave a peculiar turn to the inevitable clashes between Governor and Assembly. With the westward expansion and the consequent French and Indian wars, these characteristics came into collision with the interests of the proprietors and of England. The struggle began in the time of Governor Fletcher of New York, who wished money to defend the northern frontier. But the Friends were loath to authorize expenditures for mili-

tary purposes. When the Assembly refused to appropriate, the Governor would veto; in like fashion the Governor on occasion agreed to sign and to enforce the Assembly's measures in return for a vote of supply. By 1754 the right of veto had fallen into disuse; the Governor and other officials relied upon the Assembly

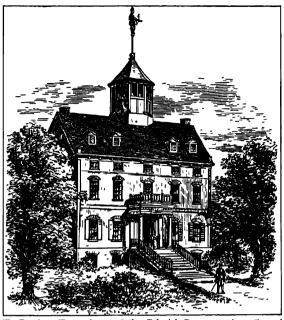
for their salaries, passed by annual vote. Though the province had in 1739 refused to authorize a militia, compromises had served to protect the people during the wars. In 1745, for instance, the Assembly denied money to purchase arms and ammunition for the capture of Louisburg; but they did appropriate four thousand pounds for buying "bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat or other grain." When the Governor proceeded to purchase gunpowder as "other grain," no protest was made. Yet such an arrangement was displeasing to the home authorities. Removal of the Quaker element from the Assembly was deemed necessary. A threat to accomplish this by Act of Parliament induced the obdurate Friends in Pennsylvania, at the solicitation of their fellows in England, to withdraw voluntarily. Meanwhile the home government had been developing new methods of continental supervision. The Board of Trade and Plantations pushed its powers vigorously, in an effort to establish effective control of colonial activities. At first it confined its endeavors largely to smoothing out difficulties facing the colonial governments. So, when boundary disputes between New York and Connecticut became chronic, the Board recommended The result was an Order-in-Council a settlement. issued in 1700, placing official approval upon an agreement previously reached by the colonies them-

1/1 the Louis at Konsumen HIL 17 " Day of March 1699 The Lungs mad Excellent on m (aunall Upon reading the day at the Board a Representati the loids Come" of Trade and Stangerous Daved the 12" they Month Relating to the Downary between the S. of now yorke and the Colony of Connectant Sandmunca, and the Quit of youannas over the Jones of Age and Bed ford _ which be on the Sommer of the sand Province and (day As also an agreement made between the said Frommer and (olony on 1623 relating to the said Roundwron Hay Ma 4 in Council Approving the San Representation it planed to side at & necessary Ordered That the laper -Symm" of France and Hantahan Do propore the Brangton The later to be lout to the soul of Bellemans, and to the formand company of Connecticus, with they man to live though the them the Ma " Approbation and Confirmation of the Jaw Agreement in 1683 touch Such other Tweethory on ore. . Proposed by the law Representation, And that the Laws Draught be presented as my Board for the mate forma Butchay the suppor 1

selves. The Privy Council was in reality a court of last appeal where colonial cases of importance were finally adjudicated. Eighteenth-century American subjects of the British King thus became accustomed to one great tribunal above the courts of the separate provinces. When independent America framed its constitution in 1787, one of the striking features of the new government lay in the similarities between the new supreme court and the old Privy Council.

ROYAL GOVERNMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS

ALLUSION has been made to the "Boston spirit." That spirit was the survival of the earlier stubborn opposition of New England to the centralizing ambitions of the London colonial administrators. To them Massachusetts had long been a source of worry. They had hoped that under the compromise charter of 1691 the old antipathies would die, and to this end they had selected as the first royal governor William Phips, a native of the colony, and suggested by the colonists themselves. This conciliatory policy was continued throughout most of the eighteenth century. But the Massachusetts leaders were not content. Glad to utilize the Royal Government to suppress the radical element in the colony, they remained quite willing to seek their own best interests, even though violation of navigation acts and evasion of the charter proved necessary. The royal Governor occupied, indeed, an unenviable position. Chosen to placate the citizens of Boston, he was yet forced to act as the representative of the



57 Province House, home of the Colonial Governors, from Samuel A Drake, Old Landmarks and Historical Personages of Boston, 1873

Crown, so that if he wished to continue in favor with Whitehall, he was obliged to oppose policies locally popular. The man who resided in Province House must often have passed sleepless nights in trying to puzzle out a path of conduct that would satisfy both parties.

THE GOVERNOR'S COUNCIL

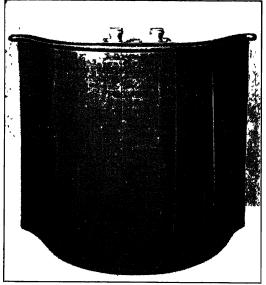
For the Governor of Massachusetts had to govern with the consent of the General Court, the name given to the legislature. This body retained, moreover, under the charter of 1691 several of its most prized privileges. Members of the Lower House were elected annually. The legislature chose the provincial treasurer and certain other officers. Most illustrative, however, of the dubious position of the Governor were the structure and func-



The Old State House, Boston, from the Massachusetts Magazine, 1793, courtesy of the New York Historical Society

tions of the Council. It served as a body advisory to the Governor; it was also the upper, and smaller, branch of the General Court. Its members were chosen by joint ballot of the Houses, but subject to the Governor's veto. Thus, if the Governor sought a sympathetic Council, he jeopardized any program of legislation he might have in mind, on the other hand, to obtain such legislation he was obliged to accept Councillors selected by the representatives of the towns. The effect of all this was greatly to curb the Governor's power.

:0



59 Speaker's desk from the Old State House, Boston, now in the Massachusetts Historical Society

THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

In this predicament, certain of the governors of Massachusetts tried to secure control of the House of Representatives. This was notably the case with Joseph Dudley, selected as Governor in 1702. As the ally of Andros, Dudley had been unpopular in the days preceding the charter of 1691, but he now received the backing of several of the leading clergymen and merchants. Encouraged by this support, he claimed the right to approve or disapprove the speaker selected by the House, basing the right on certain ancient English parliamentary practices and on the power which the charter granted him to veto all acts of the General Court In this effort he met defeat. But his successor in office, Samuel Shute, carried on the fight for what he considered the royal prerogative. His whole administration (1716-23) was a protracted struggle with the Representatives. He condemned the banking scheme favored by the legislature to relieve the financial depression that resulted from the Indian wars; he refused

to recognize the election of Elisha Cooke as speaker; he had a dispute with the General Court over the impost bill. His tenacity was met with equal stubbornness by the colonial leaders. The latter, moreover, maintained in London an agent whose primary function was to persuade the Government to recall the Governor. In 1723 Shute returned to London to make a direct appeal for his rights. In this he was suc-

cessful; for in 1725 an "explanatory charter" was issued, securing to the Governor his right to veto the selection of speaker of the House of Representatives. To this settlement the colonists submitted, lest worse follow.

THE QUESTION OF THE GOVERNOR'S SALARY

OF all the disputes between Governor and General Court, that of most bitterness and of most significance concerned the salary of the Governor. Though Massachusetts had lost the right to select her Governor, she took pains to prevent irresponsible action on his part. The fight began during Dudley's administration. Instructed to secure the grant of a permanent salary, he early tried to procure it. The General Court, however, adopted the policy of voting sums to recompense the governor for service rendered. These sums rarely met the ideas of the governor. For a time, indeed, Dudley refused such grants; but never throughout his tenure of office (1702-15) was he free from fiscal dependence upon the representatives. His successors suffered the same restraint. The controversy came to a head under Governor Burnet (1728-29). For him, like his predecessors, the General Court would fix no settled compensation; nor would he accept temporary grants, though he was offered three thousand pounds. Burnet died resisting; but general opinion gave the victory to the colonists. In 1735 Newcastle instructed Governor Belcher to accept the grant of the year and in the future to get as much as he could. The popular cause had triumphed. Governors were to be responsible to the taxpayers over whom they held sway, an important step in the development of popular government.

QUESTION:

AR E we obliged in the first remeat of the Meffeebufette. by CHARTER, to Antwer up a the Article and the document of the Medical Residence of the Antwer up as the After use, least we are object, from the following Residence

Revins 189, et al. (1.1. Coursel Affinally) have Power by Cherry a do et l. 1997 (1.1. Courseum), and of the Grovers it was Dury pitched, any sed offen at 1.1. Course, and monetal Conference it was Dury pitched, any sed offen at lithe de each vision. The washington to depose of Coursement, and the Grovers was may sell the de each vision to the Course of the Course

finall I stravour to handle and prove the acide learning an diffinctive

write a view query the decisions of 1 and flected size themselved to the themselved

11 Fire Opport of Succession and of the Governor is not Disty Scholar prigored space and all all and an investification. This is also device the Charlest, because the Manage is not all all and a succession of the Succession and Charlest of the Succession and Charlest of the Succession and Charlest of the Covernors triple is an investigation of the Covernors triple in the Support of the Covernors triple in the Support of th

The contract of the contract o

not dy not some one will style, it into we have no Pear to make Offers at Less for the Sysless of the Control of the non-Control of the Control of the policy lighting every half her to sent sitest along to the Layerton. At the Style of the policy lighting every half her to sent sitest along to the Layerton. At the Style of the Control port, and that it is the Control of the port, and that it is the Control of the port, and that it is the Control of t

From a broadside, 1729, regarding the salary of the Massachusetts Governor, in the New York Public Library

At the fourt at Kengington the 25 January 1707

Present,
The Queens Most Excell Mat hereas by former non under the great teal England the Grow for Councile and Mently of her 711. Colony of Gregoria Possibility and Ordanic Lung Statutes and Irkinances for the publick peace welfor. Voogl Government of the Sand Patrick which are to be Fransmitted to Fin 9120' for her Logace approvation a Duallowance then and toherea in bursuance of the Such powers a Law partless the exect is on in 1701 has deen transmissed the Title Whereon is as Tollows but an act for in 9 a Jublical Sevenue for the better daysont the Rovernment of this her Man Blong and Densinon of Virgues and for escort ete falors of the founces, which Jand Lan perused and well considered By the Lord form of Trade and Plantetims and invented to this Board with their Stunde Spinson that the vaid Olet be reversion. Hier It's having this day taken the Sure in's consuleration or grationaly prieses with to itsine of her may

of the s'and alet and pursuant to in that hereby Repealed and Declared brid and of Title of Order-in-Council, 1707, "Repealing the Act of Virginia, 1705. for Raising a Public Revenue, etc"

Order-in-Council, 1707, from the copy in the Public Record Office, London

EVADING THE CROWN VETO.

In time somewhat more imperious use was made of this policy. By 1692 Governors of all royal provinces and of the proprietary province of Pennsylvania were instructed to send all laws passed by their respective legislatures to England for approval. At the start there was much irregularity and delay. Sometimes laws were not sent, more often no action on them was taken when they were received by the Board of Trade. This delay was in the nature of a probationary period, during which the character of the act might be tested by its operation. After 1730 the reins were tightened; disallowance was a regularized method of imperial control. Under the Massachusetts charter of 1691, for instance, fifty-nine acts were disallowed before 1776. Disallowance was employed for several types of colonial legislation; the exercise of the power was chiefly intended to protect the royal prerogatives, and to maintain the colonial governor and his staff independent of local encroachments. In Massachusetts, in New York, in Virginia and elsewhere, the conflict between Assembly and Governor took the form of attacks upon the financial independence of the latter. And, on occasion, disallowance by Order-in-Council was called in to preserve the asserted rights of the Crown. As home control grew, the colonists found ways of evading the royal veto. Massachusetts, for example, proceeded to pass acts good for a limited time only. Thus the objects in view might be achieved before there was time to nullify the statute. When this practice was checked, she passed as resolutions what as acts would have been subject to disallowance. Thus was added to the many previous difficulties a fresh source of trouble between England and her colonies.

(283)

Georgii II. Regis.

An Act for the better fecuring and encouraging the Trade of His Majelty's Sugar Colonies in America.



DEREAS the Melfact and because of the greatest Configuence are of the greatest Configuence and the greatest Configuence and the greatest Configuence and the greatest Configuence and Lingdom: And Directof the Planters of the Lingdom : And Directof the Planters of the Lad Sugar Colonies have of late Planters of the Lingdom in the Lingdom great Discourage ments, that they are unable to improve a caref on the Aggar Cade upon an equal footing with the foreign Sugar Colonies, without four abbantage and Relief be given to them from Great Briann Toj Remeto whereas, and for the Sood and Melfact four Sugars, the Commans of Great Brian allowable in Pauliament, have given and granted und Solid for the Commans of Great Brian allowable in Pauliament, share given and granted und Soun, as we because after corporate, and he would bundly beneated Four Sugars that it may be any most humbly beneated Four Sugars that it may be any most humbly beneated Four Sugars that it may be any most humbly beneated Four Sugars that it may be any most humbly beneated Four Sugars that it may be any

The Molasses Act of 1733, from the copy in the New York Public Library

THE MERCANTILE THEORY IN PRACTICE

Meanwhile the center of political gravity in England was shifting. The long Whig rule assured to Parliament a position of prime importance. To effectuate their plan of colonial control, the Privy Council and the Board of Trade needed parliamentary sanction. This was given only with the dilatoriness characteristic of a deliberative body it was that for some time Parliament really served to protect the colonies from the extreme imperialism of the administrators and their commercial allies. Bills for the recall of colonial charters, sponsored by the Board of Trade, were killed. In 1717 permission to import Irish linen duty-free was renewed, despite opposition from the linen-drapers of England. Before long, however, the trading element had won a place of power in Parliament, and we find the mercantilist philosophy translated into law. The list of enumerated articles which could be shipped to Europe only by way of England was extended. In 1733 a further and heartily disliked step was taken in the Molasses Act, imposing prohibitive duties on sugar and molasses when imported into the colonies from the foreign West Indies. Running counter to a natural and lucrative course of trade, the measure could be but imperfectly enforced.

Along with commerce, manufacturing was growing. It was therefore not surprising to find Parliament, urged by strong lobbies, attempting to regulate colonial handicraft. In 1699 the export of woolens from one colony to another had been

forbidden. In 1732 similar restrictions had been laid on hat-making. Iron manufacture came in for repressive legislation in 1750. The business interests of England were, in brief, alive to possible dangers of com-

(219)

Anno quinto

Georgii II. Regis.

An Act for the more easy Recovery of Debts in His Majesty's Plantations and Colonies in



b ER C2@ his waithy's Gubjess, terbing to the kindid Plantactions in America, lie under
great D'Antilles, on laint of
more eady Destroines, on laint of
more eady Destroines of probing,
conclusing, and togling Debtes
but to thom, than are noto usin
if them et the fall Plantactions,
that he plantactions,
that the plantactions,
that the plantactions,
that the plantactions,
of the Textus of this Alingsom thicker, if such Ancoumentalists where remotive, May if therefore pleafe Pour
Sought that it may be enabled, and be it enabled by the
Rings and Excellent Daglety, by and with the Adule
and Confeat of the Lopis Spiritual and Composal, and
Cammons, in this pricine Parliments afterbile, and by

Jin the Cammons, in this pricine Parliments afterbile, and by

Act of 1732, for the "Easy Recovery of Debts in America," from the copy in the New York Public Library

petition from the American continent. Gradually the royal policy of promoting the export of naval stores from the provinces. was overshadowed by this new and restrictive legislation. From such matters, it was an easy step to parliamentary control of colonial currency, of comage, of banking. Bit by bit, the English Parliament assumed the aspect of an imperial legislature. Such an evolution was probably justifiable in law. This eighteenth-century development of Parliament was. in a sense, an accidental growth, the result of adjustments to specific conditions rather than the working out of a deliberate imperial plan.

Anno vicelimo quarto

Georgii II. Regis.

An Act to regulate and restrain Paper Bills of Credit in his Majesty's Colonies or Plantations of Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations of Rhode Island, and Providence Plantage Pla tations, Connellicut, the Massache Is Bay, and New Hampshire in America, and to prevent the time being legal Tenders in Payments of Money.



ments of Money.

Direas the 48t of Bartilament, make in the 50tts Free of ber late spateing Justen Anne, intrilate Spateing Justen Anne
Hand Providence
Diannations, Counceltout, put
Hand Direct Alband Browdence
Diannations, Counceltout, put
Hand Direct Alband
Direct Albandises, which put patein
Direct Albandises, which put patein
Hand Counceltout, put intrins of 28s of 30ttmbp,
Direct Albandises, who put on the Center of fuch
Randos, inches in Department Debts, Duce, and Depatein Debts of the Feath put on the Center of the Center
Patein Contident in the Feath put were put and talkade both
In much less Halter them was contracted to, to the Center
and Commerce of Dis Spatein Spatein put of the Center
Contident in Department of the Center of the Center
and Commerce of Dis Spatein Spatein Spatein Spatein
Contident in Department of the Center
The District is thefe
Patein Spatein Spatein Spatein Spatein

The Continue Center of the Spatein Spatein

The Continue Center of the Center

The Continue Center

The Center of the Ce

65 Act of 1751, to restrain the issue of paper money, from the copy in the New York Public Library

THE CASE OF PETER ZENGER

In 1735 occurred in the Province of New York a legal battle destined to have important results for the liberties of the people of the province. The Duke of Newcastle had secured the appointment of William Cosby as Governor of New York, an Irishman of long service in the army. Before leaving England he had lobbied against the Sugar and Molasses Bill of 1733. On arrival he was voted, as a token of local gratitude, £750; this gift he treated with scorn. And before long he became involved in a financial squabble with Van Dam, Acting-Governor, over the division of the gubernatorial emoluments during the latter's temporary incumbency. Court action followed. The popular party sided with Van Dam. Fearful of a jury, the Governor brought his case in equity before the Justices of the Supreme Court. At once a dispute arose as to his right to do this; and Chief Justice Morris ruled against him. Cosby thereupon summarily removed Morris, who for eighteen years had served acceptably. Motives for this action may

THE

Numb. II.

New-York Weekly JOURNAL

Containing the freshest Advices, Foreign, and Domestick.

MUNDAY November 12, 1733.

Mr. Zenger.

Neert the following in your next, and you'll oblige your Friend,

Mira temporum felicitas uhi fentiri que velis, & que sentias dicere licit.

HE Liberty of the Press is a Subject of the greatest Importance, and in which every Individual is as much concern'd as he is in any other Part of Liberty: therefore it will not be improper to communicate to the Publick the Sentiments of a lite excellent Writer upon this Point. fich is the Elegance and Perspicuty of his Writings, such the inimuable Force of his Reasoning, that it will be difficult to fay any Thing new that he has not faid, or not to fay that much worse which he has faid.

There are two Sorts of Monarchies, an absolute and a limited onc. In the first, the Liberty of the Press can never be maintained, it is inconfishent with it; for what absolute Monarch would suffer any Subject to animadvert on his Actions, when it is in his Power to declare the Crime, and to nominate the Punishment? This would

their Sovereign, the fole supream Magiltrate; for there being no Law in those Monarchies, but the Will of the Prince, it makes it necessary for his Ministers to consult his Pleasure, before any Thing can be undertaken: He is therefore properly chargeable with the Grievances of his Subjects, and what the Minister there acts being in Obedience to the Prince, he ought not to incur the Hatred of the People; for it would be hard to impute that to him for a Crime, which is the Fruit of his Allegiance, and for refuling which he might incur the Penalties of Treafon. Besides, in an absolute Monarchy, the Will of the Prince being the Law, a Liberty of the Press to complain of Grievances would be complaining against the Law, and the Constitution, to which they have submitted, or have been obliged to submit; and therefore, in one Senfe, may be faid to deserve Punishment, So that under an abso-lute Monarchy, I say, such a Liberty is inconsistent with the Constitution, having no proper Subject in Politics. on which it might be exercis'd, and if exercis'd would incur a certain Penalty.

But in a limited Monarchy, as England is, our Laws are known, fixed, and established. They are the streight Rule and fure Guide to direct the King, the Ministers, and other his Subjects: And therefore an Offence against the make it very dangerous to exercise such Laws is such an Offence against the a Liberty. Besides the Object against Constitution as ought to receive a pro which those Pens must be directed, is per adequate Punishment; the levera

Peter Zenger's New-York Weekly Journal, from the copy, November 12, 1733, in the New York Public Library

be detected in the first letter Cosby had written as Governor, to Newcastle, in which he speaks of the "Boston spirit" growing in New York, and of the disregard of certain public officers for the prerogatives of the Governor. Nor were the results of his spite insignificant. Notable lawyers rallied around Van Dam and Morris. Previously, in 1733, Morris, James Alexander, William Smith, and other leading citizens had formed a political club. Morris was elected to the Assembly. Under these auspices was started in November, 1733, the New York Weekly Journal, edited by a young printer named John Peter Zenger. The Journal immediately became a powerful vehicle for spreading the views of the popular party. Many of the leading articles were written by Morris, Alexander and their friends. Freedom of the press, the liberties of Englishmen, and like subjects were prominent in its pages. Precedents were found in the works of the English jurist, Coke, in the philosophy of Locke, and in English history. From this the step to forceful, even virulent, criticism of royal administration in New York was short and was quickly taken.



67 From the tapestry picture The Trial of Peter Zenger, woven by the Herter Looms, in the Hotel McAlpin, New York

THE BATTLE FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

In the fall of 1734 proceedings against Zenger, legally responsible for the contents of his paper, began. The Governor's Council tried in vain to persuade the Assembly to join in an address to the Governor urging Zenger's prosecution. Acting then in an executive capacity, the Council ordered certain issues of the Journal burned by the hangman. Thereafter the editor was arrested. Bail fixed by Chief Justice DeLancey was more than Zenger could furnish, and he was put in prison. In April, 1735, the trial opened before the Supreme Court. Smith and Alexander, appearing for Zenger, at once attacked the competency of the judges to sit, asserting that they had been appointed without the consent of the Council. The court thereupon disbarred the two emment lawyers, and the trial was laid over till fall. In the autumn of 1735 the trial finally took place. The sole issue was that of libel. Under existing law, the jury was empowered to ren-

der a verdict solely upon the fact of publication by the accused. The character of the publication was to be decided by the judges. Under such conditions, Zenger's conviction seemed foreordained. But, thanks to the delay, his supporters had obtained the services of Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia. Hamilton had emigrated from Scotland some fifty years before. Starting as a plantation-hand in Virginia, he had steadily risen in power and public esteem. In 1717 he had become attorney-general of Pennsylvania, afterward he was elected to the Assembly, was chosen speaker in 1729, and was

reelected annually until his retirement. He was the designer and builder of Independence Hall, though he died before its completion. At this time, therefore, he was one of the leading lawyers in the colonies. His introduction into the case came as a surprise to the court. Before he could be halted, he had begun an impassioned plea for freedom of the press. Admitting the fact of publication, he asked permission to prove the truth of the statements in the Journal. This right the court rejected, saying "a libel is not to be justified; for it is nevertheless a Libel that is true." Apparently defeated, the aged lawyer then turned to the jury, asking it to be a witness to the truth of the publication and to realize the deep issues involved. In this plea he succeeded, for immediately upon the conclusion of his address the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty, amid the cheers of the court-room. Untrammeled discussion in the press of the conduct of officials was vindicated. In reality the outcome of the Zenger case had added a new principle to the common law at a time when the Colonials were coming to depend more and more on it as the bulwark of their rights as Englishmen. The common law was assuming this new importance because of the passing of several of the old colonial charters.



68 Andrew Hamilton, 1876–1741 from a copy by William Cogswell, after a copy of an original potrait by an unknown artist, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

NEW YORK CALLS ITS ELECTION A "COCK MATCH"

THE incidents in Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts indicate the growth of interest in things political. By the middle of the eighteenth century the colonists were no longer simply trading representatives of English companies. They had become a people, a community with many common interests requiring political action for solution. Thus it is not surprising to find the beginnings of political sophistication. This, in many of the colonies, and perhaps particularly in New York, often took the form of clever cynicism. For there, as elsewhere, political phenomena almost invariably appeared as items in the struggle between the Governor's clique and Elections were "Cock the popular party Matches" between "plain Liberty and Property Cocks" and "Cocks . . . with gaudy Feathers." The broadside (No. 69) refers to an election in New York for the Assembly. John Roberts, Sheriff, had issued a notice that "Pursuant to

Advertisement.

N Tussay the 17th of February 1761, there will be a grand Cock Match, on the Green near the Work-House (greatest Part of which will be converted into a Pit) between several Hundreds of plain Liberty and Property Cocks with their own Sputs, Combs and Gills, and some Cocks of a French Extraction, with gaudy Feathers, Gass, and Ganlets finely trimmed, that have been for some Time kept up and are highly seed, with artificial Balls compounded of Garlic, Old Maderra Wine, &c The Bets will be very high, as the Battles will not be decided there, they are to adjourn to the City Hall, where the Sport will be continued for two or three Days; a Young Gentleman, but an Old Cock Fighter (who lately distinguished himself at Stour's) that has sought himself, as long as he thought sighting Sase, though by sighting a little longer he might have gained great Applause, and is well skilled in all the Laws, Rules and Orders of the Cock Pit, is to be mounted on the Bench, and determine all Disputes that may arise: When the Sport is over, if the Majority of the Spectators should give their Consent, he will joyn with some others, and make a complete System of Laws, relating to Cock Fighting, Horse Races, Drinking Bumpers with proper Toasts and Epithets, Concerts, Balls and Assembles, and even Masquerades is it be thought necessary to introduce them into this Country.

From a New York broadside, 1761, in the New York Historical Society

His Majesty's Writ to me directed and delivered, for the Electing four Representatives to serve in a General Assembly of this Province, Notice is hereby given to the Freemen and Freeholders of the City and County of New York, in my Bailiwick, to assemble and meet together on Tuesday the Seventeenth Day of February next at Ten o'Clock in the Forenoon of the same day, on the Green near the Work-House, . . . and then and there to nominate and chuse . . . four able and sufficient Freeholders . . . to be Representatives. . . ." In the New York Mercury of February 16, 1761, a writer, styling himself "C. Freeman," urges the voters to support those candidates who favored the liberty of the people, not those who would be subservient to men in high office.

THE FIRST CALL FOR A COLONIAL CONGRESS

This interest in political action, this sense of community of problems, is shown in the several efforts through the century to establish some form of intercolonial cooperation. The old New England Confederation (see

Repros of the 200 and of the state of the st

Vol. I, page 223) had been founded on certain provincial needs, but had foundered upon the rock of local jealousies. Joint action for purposes of defense against the Indians and the French had been a favorite notion of the English administrators under James II. So with the outbreak of King William's War, Massachusetts issued a call for a colonial conference, to be held in New York, in April, 1690, to devise means of common action for self-defense. These endeavors achieved no enduring result.

be one in the track protect brack and without show the forwarding to them at my inverses of time. Responsible to them at my inverses of time. Responsible to them at my inverses of time. Responsible to them with this ornat undertaining of the model that the them the track the track the track the track that the track the track that the track that the track that the track that the track the track that the track the track the track that the track t

71 From Robert Livingston's letter of twenty-two pages advocating the union of the colonies, addressed to the Council of Trade and Plantations, May 13, 1701, in the Public Record Office, London

A NEW YORK MERCHANT PROPOSES COLONIAL UNION

SCHEMES of this character, fostered by the home government, invariably fell to the ground. Calls from the Crown addressed to the several colonies to contribute to the conduct of the wars were often evaded or disregarded. To attain the required group effort and frontier security, voluntary action seemed necessary. The plan proposed in 1701 by Robert Livingston is for this reason of particular interest. Robert Livingston was a leading merchant of New York and much interested in opening up the back country, rich in furs and timber. Realizing that settlement could not come from the actions of New York alone, he proposed to the Board of Trade and Plantations a plan of colonial cooperation. The continental provinces were to be united into "one form of government," divided into three groups, a southern, a central and a northern. From this government was to be raised annually a sum of money to be administered from Albany under the supervision of commissioners selected from each of the groups. The Crown was to send troops and equipment; the groups were, under a quota scheme, to furnish labor. Forts were to be built in the wilderness to protect the settlers, who were to be encouraged to establish homesteads. Every two years England was to send out "two hundred youths," and two hundred of the soldiers were to be disbanded, to whom, on condition of remaining, free land was to be given. In this way Livingston hoped to assure the "ex-

tending of Christian Settlements and English forts into the Indian Country for the Security of all his maj. plantations on this north Continent of America."

THE ALBANY PLAN OF COLONIAL UNION, 1754

By far the most pretentious attempt at colonial union came in 1754. The motive was still primarily military, protection from the French and Indians. This is well stated by The New York Gazette of May 13, 1754, in commenting upon French schemes of aggression. "The Confidence of the French in this Undertaking seems well-grounded on the present disunited State of the British Colonies, and the extreme Difficulty of bringing so many different Governments and Assemblies to agree in any speedy and effectual Measures for our common Defence and Security: while our Enemies have the very great Advantage of being under one Direction, with one Council, and one Purse. Hence their efforts to take an easy Possession of such Parts of the British Territory as they find most convenient will, if unchecked, end in the Destruction of the British Interest, Trade and Plantations in America." It was in this issue of the Gazette that the famous device of the dis-

membered snake, later to be utilized for other purposes, made its New York appearance. In 1754, partly to establish a treaty with the Iroquois, the home government called the Albany Congress. Seven colonies sent commissioners, Franklin being a leading spirit. The result was a plan to establish a council, composed of members chosen by the several colonial legislatures, with power to provide for the common defense, to control relations with the Indians, and to levy taxes to meet expenses connected therewith. All actions of the council were subject to the veto of a president-general, appointed by the King. But such a plan met with favor neither with the colonies, jealous of their rights, nor with the English administration, suspicious of the popular origins of the scheme.



72 "Dismembered snake" device, from The New York Gazette, May 13, 1754, in the New York Public Library

SATURDAY, beptember 21, 1764.

Conflictutional

TOIN ! OR DIE.

WUMB. 1.]

COURANT:

and no wile repognant to Lorativ.

Containe M & seter it , to Library.

To the Boll C.

To the Constitution of the

From The Constitutional Courant, Sept 21, 1765, in the New York Public Library

ANTI-BRITISH SPIRIT RESURRECTS THE SYMBOL

ELEVEN years later the "dismembered snake" design appeared at the head of a new paper. It now bore a different signification. The Stamp Act had passed. Protest in the colonies was virulent. The Stamp Act Congress was about to assemble in New York. The Constitutional Courant resurrected the "Dismembered Snake" to symbolize the manifest need for "a united representation of greevances" to be laid before the King. Union was desired now, not to ward off the French and Indians, but the alleged aggressions of the English Parliament. And again, it is worthy of note, New England is represented as the head of the rattlesnake, possessed of a menacing fang. This emblem reappeared in 1775 as the headpiece of the Pennsylvania Journal.

AMERICA MOURNS WITH ENGLAND IN DEFEAT

Though it may be easy, looking back from to-day, to discover in the developments of the early eighteenth century trends toward an "inevitable" break with the mother country, such was not, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the intent or feeling of the colonists. Loyalty was still professed and Though New England might chafe under the obstinacy of the English administrators, she regarded herself not as a separate people but as truly part of England, an England planted on new soil.



By the HONOURABLE

SPENCE & PHIPS, Efq;

nander in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of the Maffachus-fetts Bay in New-England

APROCLAMATION for a general FAST.

A PROCLAMATION for a general FAST.

I reinideration of the awful Rebuke of the Divine Providence in the late Defect of His Majeshy's forest near the River Obis, whereby it has pleased GOD to manufalt His high Displeature against the People of the stream of Brush Colonous in America, and loudly to call upon them to humble the Broph Colonous and the Colonous and Colon

irun at the Council-Chamber in Bolton, the 13th Day of August 1755, in the Twenty-nunth Tear of the Rugn of our Sovereign Lord George the Second, by the Grace of GOD, of Great-Busin, France and Ireland, KING, Defender of the Fauh, &cc.

By Order of the Lieutenant-Govern with the Advice of the Council, 3. Willard, Seer'y.

S. Phips!

GOD Save the KING.

40 STO N : Printed by Jobs Drager, Printer to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governour and Council. 1755s

74 Proclamation for a Fast following British reverses, 1755, from a broadside in the New York Public Library

CHAPTER II

THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

THE middle decades of the eighteenth century were a period of mental fruition for America. The Great Awakening, that revival movement which profoundly stirred both the northern and southern colonies, was still fresh in men's minds. It was followed by the appearance in many places of a new religious attitude which was the result of the scientific discoveries of the day and of the philosophy of the French encyclopædists. Many men in New England were beginning to challenge the supremacy of the Puritan church. It was not a long step from religious liberalism to political liberalism. Social movements made the changed intellectual attitude significant. These middle decades of the eighteenth century found the colonies rapidly making money. New fortunes were rising; commerce was taking fresh starts; there was a new vision of western lands. Old established communities felt the stirring of a new ardor on the part of the people to attain wealth and social importance. The thirteen continental colonies were forging ahead, sharply conscious of their own interests and peculiar needs. Across the Atlantic they had to deal with an England which was also given over to new outbursts of energy. Commercial development was the order of the day. The English Government had just brought to an end the Seven Years' War, which had been long and costly. The troubles with America began early in the "reconstruction period" which followed the Treaty of Paris (1763). People on both sides of the Atlantic had fought in the conflict and both evidenced the somewhat testy particularism which seems to be the inevitable aftermath of armed conflict. The Americans resented the attempts of the British Government to levy new taxes and that Government was thoroughly displeased at what seemed to be factious and unwarranted opposition.

Indignation, however, was not the mood in which to approach the problem. Parliament, unaware of the real state of matters across the Atlantic, was hurried into unfortunate action. British commercial interests, British foreign policy, royal pique, ministerial indecision — all contributed to the final ineptitude. The Intolerable Acts were so designated by the colonists because these measures seemed to indicate a lack of desire on the part of the mother country to consider colonial grievances. The Acts were, to the Americans — for such, under pressure of circumstances, the provincials were becoming — indicative of Parliament's unwillingness to recognize the British colonies as the equals of Britain. Parliament, in short, was acting as an imperial, not a British, legislature.

To counter such aggressions upon colonial rights, two courses of action were available. In the first place, the colonies must show by conduct manifest to the least observant that they were united and were capable of governing themselves. Thus sprang up those virile Committees of Correspondence, culminating in the Continental Congress. In the second place, reliance for redress of grievances must be placed in the Crown, since Parliament had proved unworthy. Thus colonial invective was poured out upon the latter, while King George and the monarchy continued to receive cordial expressions of loyalty and urgent prayers for intercession on behalf of the oppressed subjects in America. There was as yet little talk of political separation from Great Britain. Though Liberty Poles were raised, the liberty sought was freedom from improper and hurtful interference with American rights, not freedom from the duty of allegiance.

The state of the s

75 From an original Writ of Assistance made out to Nathaniel Hatch, dated June 2, 1762, in the archives of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, Boston and browner of magherheated buy made in the eleventh year of the regardets let though the most the third it is madely and electorish that country from each form the third it is madely and electorish that country from each browner will preceded in the theory within morall browner will be there y present and there you will in morall browner will be the preceding the theory will be not any will be the preceding the theory will be the preceding the theory of the preceding the theory of the preceding the preceding the them that dead plant they they there are the electronic of the theory of the theory of the preceding of the preceding the preceding the theory will be the preceding of the preceding the preceding the theory will be the preceding the preceding the theory will be the preceding the preceding the theory will be considered that by the completency electronic and types them the country the preceding the theory will be considered that by the completency electronic to the theory of the preceding the theory of the country that will be considered to the third the preceding the theory of the country of the preceding the theory of the the preceding the theory of the country of the country of the country of the country of the preceding the theory of the theory of the country of the theory of the country of the

76 Second page of the Writ of Assistance in the archives of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts

BOSTON OPPOSES THE "WRITS OF ASSISTANCE"

British colonial policy after the war did not define itself at once. The first hint of it came in the form of instructions to colonial officers to enforce the old acts of trade. This the Massachusetts rum-merchants did not fancy. They objected, in particular, to the use of writs of assistance or general search warrants issued by local courts. Armed with these, the royal officers could with impunity pry into storehouses with possible embarrassment to the owner. Such writs were authorized by act of Parliament and had been used before; but never had they been so zealously employed to execute the laws of trade. A stand against them

true munit of the Sour to verpock and asserce and search for the seal, foods source and Morrhandere, and faithfor both and according to the daws and Malades on their open which spright and according to the daws and Malades on the others, their to be to have (Malades on the others, their to be to down on the formand you and comy one of you that to the sead North ancel Malades by you and town one of you from time to love to acting a faithfung and haffang in the lackular of the provides as es week that he you are only of you so we was so you so you will not the thirth and their formas Spulchoson Eng! attack the thirth day of your grown though Anny? Tommes they forme, we has according year of near though Anny? Tommes 1962.

By Industry Growth North North North North North Start Morth Property.

77 Third page of the Writ of Assistance in the archives of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts

was determined upon by the sturdy merchants.

78 James Otis, 1725–83, from a copy in the Bostonian Society of the portrait by Joseph Blackburn (1700–65) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

OTIS PLEADS THE MERCHANTS' CAUSE

THE Boston merchants found a man to their liking in James Otis. Graduated from Harvard at eighteen, he was at this time serving as advocate-general of Massachusetts. Though perhaps the busiest lawyer in New England, Otis had not lost an early love for literature and philosophy. The year before he had published, anonymously, Rudiments of Latin Prosody with a Dissertation on Letters and the Principles of Harmony in Poetic and Prosaic Composition. discipline of such studies found curious fruit in the following years. Engaged as counsel for the merchants, Otis resigned his office to plead the case. His success at once made him a marked man. No one played a more important and prominent part in the years immediately preceding the war. His eloquence, spoken and written, his passion, his magnetism kept him to the front. But in 1769 a blow on the head rendered him intermittently insane; thereafter he recedes from view and the drama moves on without his impetuous leadership.



79 From the mural painting Otis Protesting the Writs of Assistance by Robert Reid (1862-), in the State House, Boston

THE SPIRIT OF INDEPENDENCE

In 1761 Otis was at the height of his power. Disdaining to rely on technicalities, he based his plea at the trial before the five judges of the Supreme Court in Boston on broader grounds. To him a writ of assistance was "the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law that ever was found in an English law-book." He continued "I was solicited to argue this cause as advocate-general; and because I would not, I have been charged with desertion from my office. To this charge I can give a very sufficient answer. I renounced that office, and I argue this cause, from the same principle; and I argue it with the greater pleasure, as it is in favor of British liberty, at a time when we hear the greatest monarch upon earth declaring from his throne that he glories in the name of Briton, and that the privileges of his people are dearer to him than the most valuable prerogatives of his crown; and as it is in opposition to a kind of power, the exercise of which, in former periods of English history, cost one king of England his head, and another his throne. . . . Reason and constitution are both against this writ. Let us see what authority there is for it. Not more than one instance can be found in all our law-books; and that was in the zenith of arbitrary power, in the reign of Charles II. . . . But had this writ been in any book whatsoever, it would have been illegal. All precedents are under the control of the principles of law. . . . No acts of parliament can establish such a writ. . . . An act against the constitution is void." These fiery



80 Sir Francis Bernard, 1711-79, from the portrait by John Singleton Copley (1737-1815) in Christ Church, Oxford University

words laid the foundation for the arguments soon to be used throughout the colonies in a struggle for freedom. John Adams, present at the hearing, reports that "a great crowd of spectators and auditors went away absolutely electrified."

OTIS ACCUSES THE GOVERNOR

The following year events gave Otis occasion for writing the first of a series of impassioned political pamphlets. At a critical juncture, and without waiting for the approval of the legislature not then in session, Governor Bernard had taken it upon himself to fit out an armed vessel. At its next meeting, the House, led by Otis, whose pleading of 1761 had won him a seat, protested that such an act was "in effect taking from the House their most darling privileges, the right of originating all taxes. . . . When once the representatives of a people give up this privilege, the government will soon become arbitrary. No necessity, therefore, can be sufficient to justify a House of Representatives in giving up such a privilege, for it would be of little consequence to the people whether they were subject to George, or, Louis, . . . if both could levy taxes without parliament."

THE RIGHTS OF THE ASSEMBLY

BERNARD at once returned the bold message, asking the House not to enter upon its minutes words disrespectful to the King. The House voted to erase this part of the address, while still maintaining that the Governor had exceeded his authority. Bernard persisted in declaring his right to incur expense without legislative approval. So the assembly now appointed a committee to present its position to the people. Otis was a member. and took over the entire work. The result was published in the autumn - A Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives. Of this John Adams wrote later: "How many volumes are concentrated in this little fugitive pamphlet, the production of a few hurried hours, amidst the continual solicitations of a crowd of clients! . . . Look over the declaration of rights and wrongs issued by Congress in 1774. Look into the Declaration of Independence in 1776. . . . Look into all the French constitutions of government; and, to cap the climax. look into Mister Thomas Paine's Common Sense. . . . What can you find that is not to be found, in solid substance, in this . . .?"

PATRICK HENRY ARGUES THE "PARSON'S" CAUSE IN VIRGINIA

In Virginia occurred another incident, significant as the wind before the storm. In the Old Dominion, clergy of the Established

St Title-page of the original issue, in the New York
Public Library

VINDICATION

CONDUCT OT THE

House of Representatives OF THE

> PROVINCE OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS-BAY. MORE PARTICULARLY,

INTHE

LAST SESSION OF THE

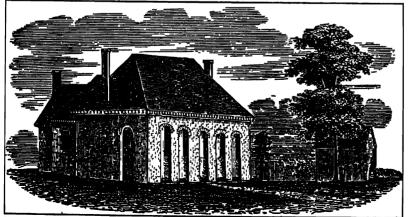
GENERAL ASSEMBLY By James Otis, Efg.

A Member of fud Hoofe,

t fuch fuch only, tread this facred Floor dare to love their Country and be Poor good the rich humane and wife the g

BOSTON Printed by Edes & Gill, in Queen-Street. 1762.

compensation had since 1696 taken the form of fixed amounts of tobacco. With the hard times of the French wars, tobacco became scarce and dear. Under popular pressure, the Burgesses, therefore, in 1755 and again in 1758, enacted that tobacco debts should be paid in money at the ratio of two pence per pound. This was much under the market price for tobacco. The clergy protested and sent the Reverend Camm to England, whereupon the act of 1758 fell under the royal veto. Suits were then brought in the county courts to recover the difference between the compensation paid under the Twopenny Act and the old tobacco-payment measures. Chief among these suits was one brought by the Reverend James Maury, one-time teacher of Jefferson, in Hanover County. In November, 1763, the court declared the Act of 1758 to be void: the parson had won. But Hanover was a center of religious dissent; and one more step was needed to make the victory complete. It was necessary to determine the amount of damages due the parson. For this purpose a jury was summoned. The popular cause seemed hopeless. So the defendants retained as counsel young Patrick Henry, an awkward ne'er-do-well who, after six weeks of study, had been admitted to the bar. Henry, like



Hanover Courthouse, from Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Virginia, Charleston, S. C., 1845

Otis in Boston, went far afield from the point at issue. Building from the theory that government was instituted by contract between King and people, he established the doctrine that violation of such contract by the King was an illegal act. For the King of England to veto an act lawfully passed by the Virginia Burgesses was forbidden by the contract. The jury was carried off its feet and awarded James Maury one penny damages. The orator of the Revolution had been found.



83 George Grenville, 1732-92, from the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the possession of Lord Leconfield at Petworth, England

America a permanent military force for purposes of defense; second, to enlarge and enforce the laws of trade; third, to raise colonial revenue by means of a parliamentary tax. The scheme, in short, was a comprehensive one, of concern to all the colonies. In 1764 the first step was taken in the passage of the Sugar Act. This revived and amplified the Molasses Act of 1733 (No. 63). Grenville also asked the colonial agents in London and the colonial assemblies to suggest to him adequate means of raising the revenue needed to support the troops in America. His preference was, he stated, for a stamp tax; but he was willing to accept any practicable measure.

OTIS ASSERTS THE RIGHTS OF ALL THE COLONIES Grenville's actions aroused widespread alarm, especially among the New England merchants and traders, for enforcement of the Sugar Act meant diminution of profits in their trade with the West In New England, therefore, appeared the first organized protest against the new policy of Parliament. And no one better sensed its significance than James Otis. In July, 1764, he issued an elaborate pamphlet, The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved, in which he applied his theory that the power of Parliament was limited by the free principles of the British Constitution. No legislature has "a right to make itself arbitrary," nor can any such body "take from any man part of his property without his consent." The Americans were as much British as the inhabitants of the British Isles. "No parts of His Majesty's dominions can be taxed without their consent; every part has a right to be represented in the supreme or some subordinate legislation; . . . this would firmly unite all parts of the British Empire in the greatest peace and prosperity, and render it invulnerable and perpetual."

GRENVILLE DEMANDS MORE REVENUE FROM AMERICA

WRITS of assistance and parsons' salaries were, after all, isolated instances of colonial unrest. They are indicative of tension, but not of disloyalty. Nor did they furnish any basis for united action. Meanwhile, however, affairs in England were shaping to the King's wishes. In 1763 George Grenville became chief minister. Honest, industrious, courageous, matter-of-fact, Grenville in ordinary times might have served his country creditably and even with distinction Colonial administration now, however, required delicate handling; and Grenville lacked imagination. As Secretary of State under Bute, he had learned something of the way in which colonial affairs were being handled. Such vacillation as he had seen displeased him. Furthermore, the wars had doubled England's debt, the cost of the American establishment had risen since 1748 from seventy thousand pounds to three hundred fifty thousand pounds. As Grenville saw it, what was more natural than that the colonies should stand a share of this expenditure? The course to pursue seemed obvious; and in the fall of 1763 and spring of 1764 he proceeded to outline a new governmental policy. His scheme was threefold: first, to establish in

RIGHTS

OF THE

British Colonies

Afferted and proved.

By James Otis, Esq;

Hac omnis regre et cells plaga pinea manis Codet a nicitua Teucrorum et stadaris aguas Dicamus leges, sectisque un regna voccasus Consident, si tanius amer, et maria condant. Vino

BOSTON

84 Title-page of the original issue in the

Printed and Sold by Ents and Gitt, in Ques

[66]

APPENDIX.

The City of Boston, at their Annual Meetin May, 1764, made Choice of Richard Dena, Joseph Green, Nathaniel Bethune, John Ruddock, Efgis, and Mr. Samuel Adams, to prepare Instructions for their REPRESENTATIVES.

The following Instructions were reported by faid Committee, and unanimously Voted

To Royal Tyler*, James Otts, Thomas Cust-ing, and Oxenbridge Thacher, Esq'rs.

GENTLEMEN.

OUR being choics by the freeholders and inhabitants of the town of Boffen, to reprefent them in the General Alfembly the enting year, affords you the fitrongest technony of that confidence which they place in your integrity and capacity. By this choice they have delegated to you the power of stong in they public concerns in general, as you'r own Prudence Iball direct you, always referring to themselves the constitutional right of expressing their mind, and guing you seek instrudent appon particular matters, as they as any time shall judge proper

[67]

We abserdore your confluents take this opportunity to declare our just Expediations from you.

That you will conflustly if your power and influence in maintaining the invaluable rights and privileges of the province of which this town is for great a part. As well those rights which are derived to us by the royal charter, as those which being porter and independent on it, we hold estimately as free-born fullyeds of Great-Britain,

That you will indexour, as far as you faill be able, to preferve that independence in the houle of repreferatives, which charaferzors a free bepelie is and the want of which may in a great measure prefer in the lappy effects of a free i government. Culti-stang a you faill have opportunity, that because the control of the preference of the control of the preference of the control of the properties of virtues and public Epi-ric, and guarding against any undue weight which may tend to disfuglish that critical balance upon which our happy confluence, and the bleflings of it do depend. And for this purpofe, we particularly recommend it to you to use your profession of the properties of the houle, fall be vicated, agreeable to an after it. British particularly recommend a time to British particularly incommend the prom the Crown, or the Governore, while they are members of the houle, fall the reconfluences fall have the apportunity of re-electing them, if they please, or of returning others in their toom.

Being members of the legilistive body, you will have a

re-circing mean, it mey pleate, or or returning others in their room. Being members of the legiflative body, you will have a flexual regard to the morab of this people, which are the basis of public barpinets, and enderston to have fuch laws made if any are fill wanning a shall be bett adapted to fecure them. And we particularly defire you carefully to look more laws of excise that it the virtue of the people is endangered by the multiplicity of eaths therein enjoused or enbar their rinde and bolinch is understoads) impuded of enable railed thereby the quevance may be reclirefied. At the preference of mercafonably impuded of enable railed thereby the quevance may be reclirefied. At the preference of mercafonably impuded of enable railed thereby the quevance may be reclireful attribution of judice, syntechole is good and whileform law. And as the judges of the land do depend upon the Iree grants of it regeneral slighthy for lippore, it is incumbent upon your rail times to give your voice for their bosourable maintenance.

[68]

fo long as they, having in their minds an indifference to all other affairs, full devote themfelves wholly so the dutes of their own department with the further flody of the lew, by which their customs, precedents, proceedings and determinations are adulted and limited.
You will remember that this province hath been at a very great excence in extreme on the way and their whill

by which their cultions, precedents, proceedings and determinations are saighted and limited.
You will remember that this province hash been at a very great expence in carrying on the war, and that it shill lies under a very great expence in carrying on the war, and that it shill lies under a very great expence in carrying on the war, and that it shill lies under a very greates burden of debt. You will therefore us you turnost endeavor to promote public frigality as one means to less the people of the think may be made for the better cultivating the lands, and improving the husbandry of the promote and as you repressed to stown which lives by its trade, we expect in a very particular manner, that you make it the object of your arentuon, to support our commerce in all its just rights, to vindetice it from all unaversionable implicit, and promote its prosperity——Our trade has for a long time laboured under great discongerments, and the sum of the sum of the state of the sum of

85

86

Three pages of Instructions to Representatives, May 1764, prepared by Samuel Adams, from the copy in the New York Public Library

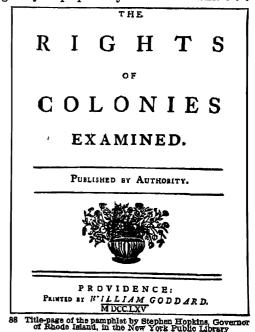
THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE STARTS INTER-COLONIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Otis' object, therefore, was to avert a revolution by appealing to England to recognize the rights of the Britons resident in America. His plea, consequently, was phrased in language and based on ideas that could, and did, appeal as strongly to the Virginian as to the Bostonian. The Rights of the British Colonies assumed that the problems of Massachusetts were likewise those of all of the colonies. New England's agitation at this time is instanced by the conduct of the Boston Town Meeting of May, 1764. Here Samuel Adams carried through a set of instructions to the newly elected delegates in the House of Representatives. "There is now no room for further delay. . . . These unexpected proceedings may be preparatory to new taxations. . . .

This . . . annihilates our charter right to govern and tax ourselves - It strikes at our British privileges which . . . we hold in common with our fellow subjects who are natives of Britain. If taxes are laid upon us in any shape, without our having a legal representation where they are laid, are we not reduc'd from the character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves? . . . Use your endeavors that their weight [that of the other North American colonies] may be added to that of this province, that by the united application . . . all may happily obtain redress." Upon these instructions the Massachusetts legislature acted. Otis, Thacher and others were constituted a committee for corresponding with the other colonies; a circular letter was issued calling for "united assistance" in preserving their "most essential rights."

RHODE ISLAND'S GOVERNOR FURTHERS THE COLONIAL CAUSE

THE appeal of the Massachusetts committee of correspondence met with an enthusiastic response. Rhode Island likewise elected a committee of correspondence and stood prepared "to exert its utmost efforts to preserve its privileges inviolate."



Anno quinto

Georgii III. Regis.

CAP

An Aft for granting and applying certain Stamp Duties, and other Duties, in the Britifo Cobutes, and Plantations in America, towards further defraying the Expences of defending protecting, and fecuring the fame, and for amending fuch Parts of the feveral Acts of Parliament relating to the Irade and Revenues of the faud Colonies and Plantations, as direct the Manner of determining and re covering the Benaities and Forfeitures therein mentioned



DCRESS by an Aff anobe in the last Session of Parliament, feveral Dutes were granted, continued, and appropriated, toconcurse, and appropriate, no wards befrequent by Espeace of befending, pieceding, and featuring, the British Colonies and Plantations in America and plantations in America, colonies and planta and planta and and appared to the America, colonies before any flat and planta and partial and logic Guille and planta and plantament all mobies, and appared to the colonies of General Research in Parliament all mobies, and a hapt

First page of a printed copy of The Stamp Act, 1765. in the Library of Congress

THE STAMP ACT IS PASSED AGAINST COLONIAL PROTEST

THE assemblies of six colonies sent remonstrances against the proposed Stamp Act. "An exemption from the burden of ungranted and involuntary taxes must be the grand principle of every free state" reads the New York petition, boldest of all. To Grenville this seemed a simple refusal to submit to any and all British taxation. To the colonial agents, on the 2nd of February, he said, "I take no pleasure in bringing upon myself their resentments, it is a duty of my office to manage the revenue." In February, 1765, the Stamp Act passed the Commons, by a vote of two hundred and five to fortynine; on the 8th of March, without amendment, debate or division, it passed the Lords; and on the 22nd it received the royal assent. On November 5 following, it was to go into operation. Benjamin

Franklin, Colonial Agent in England, set out to secure for certain of his American friends some of the collectorships which the new law created in the various colo-

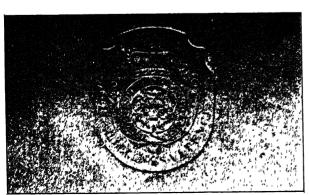
nies.

STAMP-OFFICE, Lincoln's-Inn, 1765. E Т В L Of the Prices of Parchment and Paper for the Service of America. Parchment. Paper for Printing

Table of Stamp Act Charges, from a printed copy in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

VIOLATIONS OF THE STAMP ACT TO BE TRIED WITHOUT JURY

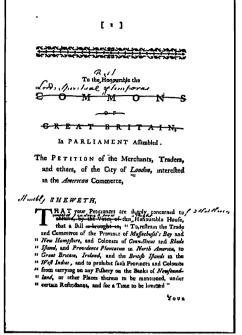
THE Act consisted of fifty-five sections and required that for every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which should be engrossed, written or printed any declaration, plea, rejoinder, demurrer or other pleading, or any copy thereof, in any court of law within the British colonies and plantations in America, a stamp duty should be imposed. A stamp duty of from one halfpenny to twenty shillings was also imposed on every pamphlet, newspaper, marriage certificate or commerical paper. The proceeds were to be expended solely for the colonies. Violations of the Act were to be tried in Admiralty Courts, without a jury, in England or in America.



An embossed stamp for two shillings, six pence, on an "original sheet of stamped paper returned from America," in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

STAMPS ARE REQUIRED TO LEGALIZE PAPERS

EVIDENCE that the required tax had been paid was to be shown by a stamp or seal embossed upon the paper in question. The stamps represented taxes of different amounts. Unless such stamps were used on business documents and legal papers, marriages would be null, notes of hand valueless, suits at law impossible.



92 Protest of British Merchants to Parliament, from the first page of the copy, with proposed revisions, in the Massachusetts Historical Society

Your Pennoaers bag Leave to represent, that the find Ball, shoold at pair and a Law, will, as its Openuon, deprive Thoulands of Hu Majedy's loyal Subjects of Star estual Subdistance, and reduce them to extreme Ontred, even thee of Pannae, the find Provinces not generally rusing Corn fulficent for their own Support, and by this Ball they will be prevented from receiving any Supplies from their Salter Colonies, and precluded from their Natural Refource, The SEA That your Petitioners have reason to believe, that very great Numbers of Men assbred and employed in the Fulficence, who is Hadrides and Interpolary are not exceeded by any in the extensive Empire, and will be impelled by the pressing who is the extensive Empire, and will be impelled by the pressing Calls of Hunger and Wanton found that may be pressed to the standard of the start of the Majedy of Devalution and Bloodhed, which may endique the Peace and Welfare of the Majedy of the Sea of the Front, and give four Revisit to Manna of the playing the Markets in Europe, and the standard to Commerce.

Your Petitioners by Leave further to represent, that there is now due from the sing Provinces and Coloning to the City of Leading, and the sing Provinces and Coloning to the City of Leading and the sing provinces of the Sulficial for units regain that was the single Provinces and Coloning to the City of Leading and the single Provinces and Coloning to the City of Leading and the single provinces of the Majedy on the Coloning to the City of Leading and the Sulficial of Coloning to the City of Leading and the Sulficial Coloning to the City of Leading and the Sulficial of Coloning to the City of Leading and the Sulficial of Coloning to the City of Leading and the Sulficial of Coloning to the City of Leading and the Sulficial of Coloning to the City of Leading and the Sulficial of Coloning to the City of Leading and the Sulficial of Coloning to the City of Leading and the Sulficial of Coloning to the City of Leading and the Sulficial of the Administry of Sulficial and

93 Second page of the Protest of British Merchants to Parliament petitioning the removal of Trade Restrictions

LONDON MERCHANTS ASK REMOVAL OF AMERICAN TRADE RESTRICTIONS

Opinion in England seemed favorable to the Stamp Act and to the Government's policy in general. The merchant class, however, was ever watchful of its interests, and ready to oppose measures that threatened to reduce colonial trade with England. The colonies owed to London alone a full million pounds, and this could be paid only in goods. So, to placate America and the London merchants, certain commercial bounties and tariff exemptions were granted on colonial trade, along with the imposition of the stamp tax.

A BRITISH OFFICER DEFENDS THE COLONISTS

In Parliament itself little opposition appeared. Pitt was absent. But one voice was raised in eloquence. Colonel Isaac Barré, who had fought with Wolfe at Louisburg and Quebec, yigorously defended the colonials and their loyalty. "Sons of Liberty," he called them, men who had prospered despite English neglect and English maladministration.



Bostonians Reading the Stamp Act, wood engraving after a drawing by F O C Darley (1822-88)



95 Isaac Barré, 1728–1802, from an engraving by W T Fry published 1817 after an original portrait by A G Stuart in the possession of the Earl of St Vincent

Extract of a Letter from London. R Charles Townsend spoke in favour of the R Charle: Townjens spore as severe to Bull, (Stamp Duty) and concluded his Speech by faying to the following Effect:

"These Children of our own Planting, (speaking to the Children of our own Planting, (speaking to the cour Indulgence, until

of Americans) nourified by our Indulgence, until they are grown to a good Degree of Strength and Opulence, and protected by our Arms, will they gradge to contribute their Mite to relieve as from the heavy load of national Expence which we lie ua-

Which having faid and fat down, Mr. Barre arole, and with Eyes darting Fire and an joutfiretch. ed Arm, fpoke as follows, with a Voice fomewhat clevated, and with a Sternnels in his Countenance, which express'd in a most lively Manner, the feel-

ings of his Heart.

Oppression planted by your Care? No! Your Oppression planted them in America; they sed from your Tyranny, into a then uncultivated Land, where they were exposed to almost all the Hardfhips, to which humane Nature is liable ; and among others, to the Savage Cruelty of the Encmy of the Country; a People the most subtile, and I take upon the to fay, the most truly terrible, of any People that ever inhabited any Part of God's EARTH, and yet actuated by Principles of true Englif Liberty; they [met all the sHardthips with Pleafure, compared with those they fuf-fered in their own Country, from the Hands of those that should have been their Friends.

" They nourished up by your Indulgence ? They grew by your Neglect of them s As Ison as you begin to care about them, that Care was exercise. in fending Persons to Rule over them, in oneDe partment and another; who were, perhaps, the Deputies of some Deputy, of Members of this House, fent to Spy out their Liberty, to misrepresent their Actions, and to prey upon them ; Men, whole Behaviour, on many Occasions, has caused the Blood of those Sons of LIBERTY, to recoil within them 3 Men promoted to the highest Sents of Justice, fome to my Knowledge, were glad by going to foreign Countries, to Ricape being bto't to a Bar

of justice, in their own.

"They protected by your Arms? They have nobly taken up Arms in your Defence, have excited their Valour, amidft their conftant and laborious Induftry, for the Defence of a Country whole Pronties, while drench'd in Blood, its interior Parts have yielded all its little Savings to your Enlargement : And BELIEVE ME, REMEMBER I THIS DAY TOLD YOU so, That the fame Spirit which actuated that People at firft, will continue with them ftill : But Prudence forbids me to explain my felf any further. God anows, I do not at this Time fpesk from Motives of Party Heat ; What I deliver, are the genuine Sentiments of my Heart : However fuperior to me in general Knowledge and Experience, the respectable Body of this House may be, yes I claim to know more of America than most of you, having feen and been conversant in that Country. The People there are in traly Loyal, I believe, as any Subjects the King has ; But a People jealoss of their Liberties, and who will vindicate them, if they should be violated; but the Subject is too delicate, I will fay an more.

"SONS OF LIBERTY" ORGANIZE IN AMERICA

As Barré spoke, there sat in the gallery one Jared Ingersoll of Connecticut. Though later to be a stamp collector and a Lovalist, he was greatly moved by the oration. Back to the colonies he sent a report of the speech. His letter was widely printed in the American press. Soon organizations known as Sons of Liberty appeared in the colonies to protest against the Stamp Act.



Patrick Henry, 1736-99, from a miniature on ivory, 1795, by Lawrence Sully (1769-1803), courtesy of Herbert L Pratt, New York

OPPOSITION TO THE STAMP TAX

SINCE 1673 England had levied duties in America, with slight protest. A stamp tax, moreover, had been discussed for a full half-century. Yet the Stamp Act at once aroused a storm of objection. The new tax differed from the ones previously laid. For the first time, a direct internal tax had Applicable alike in New England and been imposed. Virginia, on farm and in town, the tax furnished a basis for unified action. The stamps, passing from hand to hand, would serve as a symbol and constant reminder of the tax imposed by a legislature three thousand miles away, in whose deliberations America had no voice. So, from Massachusetts to the South, ran the protest. The people gathered in excited groups and loudly expressed their anger. The tax was denounced from the pulpit; the press spoke out fearlessly. The stamp distributors were insulted and prevented from acting. The stamps were everywhere seized, hidden and burned. In May, 1765, Patrick Henry had been elected to the House of Burgesses. His entrance into that august assembly focused in intense form the general indignation. His first days as a member he spent in gathering about him a group of the younger men, and men from the discontented western counties. Near the end of the session, he found the time ripe for action.

⁹⁷ Isaac Barré's Speech on the Sons of Liberty, from The Hoston Post Boy, May 27, 1785, in the Massaheusetts His-terical Society, Boston

PATRICK HENRY DEBATES

On the blank page of a law book Patrick Henry wrote out a series of resolutions condemning the Stamp Act. The aristocratic members from tidewater Virginia, fearful of unloosing radical elements among the people, deprecated such outspoken language. After hot debate, in which he was opposed by Bland, Pendleton, Randolph and Wythe, Henry won. "Tarquin and Caesar each had his Brutus; Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third"—he paused, while the speaker and others cried "Treason"—"may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it."

Extract of a Letter from a Geniuman in Philadelphia, 10 bit Friend in this Town, dated last Tuesday.

I HAVE inclosed the Resolves of the Virginia Assembly, on debating the Stamp Ast. The Governor, as soon as he heard what they were about, sent
if or them, and without Preamble, told them, he would
if of them, and without Preamble, told them, he would
if dissolve them; and that Minute they were dissolved.
As they are of an extraordinary Nature, thought they
implied not be disagreeable. They are as follows.

HERE AS the How. Heafs of Common, in England, have of late drawn into Question, bound
far the General Assembly of this Colony hath
Power to read Laws for laving of Taxes and impossing
Duties, payable by the People of this his Majess's most
ansient Colony: For settling and ascertaining the same to all
satisfications, the House of Burgessee of this present General
Assembly basis come to the following Resolves:

"Resolved, That the sinst Advanturers, Settlers of this
his Majess's Colone and Duminios of Virginia, broughs vasir
them and transmitted to their Pessenty, and all other ins
Majess's Subjectified to the first Advanturers, Settlers of thes
Majess's Subjectified to the first Advanturers, Settlers of thes
Majess's Subjectified to the People of Geral-Britairs.

"Resolved, That by two Royal Charters, granted by
King James the First, the Colony asportand are declared
and entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of natural brin

and entitled to all Frivileges and immunicity of natural tren
Subjects, to all latents and Purples, as if they had been
abiding and born within the Realist of England.

"Resolved, That his Mapesty's large People of the Lite
antient Colony have enjoy'd the Right of being thus
govern'd, by their own Asambly, in the Article of Taxes and
internal Police; and that the fame have never here for fested,
or any other Way yielded up, but have been constantly recogWhen I was the King and People of Britain.

The dby the King and People of Britain.

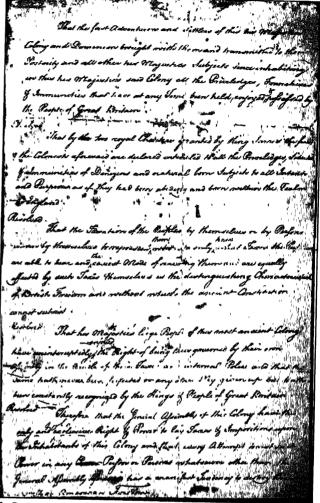
"Refolved, therefore, That the Gen al All-mbly of this Colony, taggiber with his Mayefy or his Sulfituess, have, in their Representative Capacity, the only exclistive Region and Power to lay Taxes and Impost upon the Inhabitants of this Colony: And that every Attempt to veff fach Power in any other Parlon or Persons subativer, than the General Affembly aforefact, is illigal, unconfitutional and urguft, and have a manifest Tendency to destroy Pritish as well as American Liberty.

** Refolved, That his Majeft's live People, the Lubahitants of this Colony, are not bound so yield Obedience to any Lew or Ordinance rebateour, designed to impose any Taxatum whatforwar upon thom, other than the Laws or Ordinances of the General Assambly associated.

** Resolved, Thus any Peofon, nubo shall, by speaking or

"Reloved, Thus any Perfor, subo field, by feaking or voriting, affort or maintain, that any Perfor or Perfori, other than the General Affairly of this Colony, have any Right or Power to impose or lay any Taxation on the People bere, field be despet on Exempt to this bis Majesty's Colony."

99 First publication of the Virginia Resolutions, from the Newport (R I) Mercury of June 24, 1765, in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence



98 Draft of Virginia Resolutions, May 1765, from the original in Patrick Henry's handwriting, owned by Charles L. Hamilton, Germantown, Penn.

THE VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS

Four only of Henry's resolves remained in the journal when the Governor dissolved the assembly. But dissolving the House was of no avail. Henry had roused Virginia. A version of the resolutions, correct in spirit and substance, appeared in the Newport Mercury and was widely reprinted throughout the colonies. Similar steps were taken elsewhere. Through common indignation, a sentiment of union was developing. The associations calling themselves Sons of Liberty now determined to prevent enforcement of the law. Legislatures took measures leading in the same direction. Out of all this turbulence, provincial sentiment was crystallized in the Stamp Act Congress, called to meet in New York on the 7th of October. It was organized by Timothy Ruggles of Massachusetts, chairman, and John Cotton, clerk. Nine colonies were represented. Prominent in the membership were Otis, Livingston of New York, John Dickinson and George Bryan of Pennsylvania, and Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina.

Jo the Aight Honoral le the Louds sperulual and Geomperat of Great Britain in Bartiament of beath it.

The Memore al of the See helders and other Inha branks of the Majuchusetti Bay, Prhobe Island, and Pracing Ilaniation, Sew Jersey Geomes Sylvania She for orn ment of the Counties of Yew bastle, Hunder's Sufer, your Delaware, I'm unce of Mary land.

Mod Humbly Shewith.

That her My esty's large Subject in her American Colomes, Month hely at Know large to dreshold shoot in he Man are entitled in the Openium of your Memorialist, it all the underent Bught and Liberties of the National of freat Britain; and have ever since the letternest of freat Britain; and have ever since the letternest of freat Britain; and have ever since the letternest of freat britain; and have ever since the letternest of freat bolonies bearies of the or of the most of borready through the se Colomest, which they have ever let lately uninterestedly enjoyed, to be head by from.

That it has Memorialist free bolomest, which he has been the most of the such as are improved on the Population from all takes his such as are imposed on the Population of the Sweet Legislatures in these Colomes who they have the forest of free freely enjoyed.

But your too free that he letter granting contain the your loss from that he letter granting contain the property and so free that the British to decrease them.

Many Declar of the British to Deprece them.

"I also the instant and make the Deprece them.

"I also to instant and cando to Deprece them.

"I also to instant and cando to Deprece them.

"I also to instant and cando the Deprece them.

"I also to instant and cando to Deprece them.

"I also to instant and cando the Verence them.

"I also to instant and cando the Verence them.

"I also to also mention of all the New Years to

100 Memorial to Parliament of the Stamp Act Congress, 1755, from a facsimile by Blerstadt, New York, 1897, in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

ACTION OF THE STAMP ACT CONGRESS

THE Congress framed a declaration of rights and grievances, stating the common position of the colonies. Admitting the right of Parliament to make general and trade laws for the colonies, this document denied power to levy taxes. Before adjourning, the Congress adopted an address to Parliament, restating the colonial grievances. The Congress is particularly important as it established a precedent for future concerted action in still more troublous times.

THE COLONIES MAKE GOODS TO REPLACE IMPORTS

Economic retaliation was the aim of the committees of correspondence set up at this time. Adopting a device tried the previous year, agreements not to import and not to consume English-made goods were entered into with enthusiasm. "Frugality and Industry" was the watchword. Even songs were used to stir the people. The Massachusetts Gazette of October 31, 1765, contains a long poem, of which the following stanza is a sample.

With us of the woods
Lay aside your fine goods,
Contentment depends not on clothes;
We hear, smell and see,
Taste and feel, with high glee,
And in winter have huts for repose

That the boycott was effective is shown by the number of memorials, praying for the repeal of the Stamp Act, presented to Parliament by British merchants.

BOSTON, October 1.

It is now out of fathion to put on mourning at the funeral of the nearest relation, which will make a saving to this town of twenty thousand sterling per annum.—It is surprizing how studdenly, as well as how generally an old custom is abolished, it shows however, the good sense of the town, for it is certainly prudent to retrench our extravagant expences, while we have something left to stubilit ourselves, rather than be driven to it by fatal necessary.

We hear that the laudable practice of frugality is now introducing itself in all the neighbouring towns, (and it were to be wished it might thro'out the government) an instance of which we have from Charlestown, at a funeral there the beginning of last ucek, which the relatives and others attended, without any other mourning than which is prescribed in a reteent agreement.

October 8. There feems to be a disposition in many of the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring governments to cloath themselves with their own manufacture.—At Hampstead, on Long Island, in the Province of N. York, a company of gentlemen have fet up a new woolen manufactory, and having given sociee to gentlemen shopkeepers and others, of any of the provinces, that by sending proper patterns of any colour, they may be supplied with broad-cloths, equal in sineness, colour, and goodness, and cheaper than any imported the proprietors give good encouragement to any person who are any way vested in the woolen manufactory, such as wool combent weavers, clothiers, shearers, dyers, spinners, carders, or understand any branch of the broad-cloth, blanker, or stronds manufactory.——At Jamaica on the fail island, one Tookis Polpham is recting a fulling-mill, which will be compleat in about a moath, and carry on all the branches of a suller and dyer of cloth.

The northern colonish have fense enough, at least the sense of feeling; and can tell where the shoe punches—The delicate hades begin to find by experience, that the Shoes made at Lyn are nuch easier than those of the make of Mr. Hose of London—What is become of the noted shoemaker of Essent

It is fear'd by many who wish well to Great Britoin, that the new A—t of P——t will greatly distress, if not totally ruin some of HER own manufactures—It is thought that by means of this A—t, less of her woolen cloths, to the z-mount of some thousands sterling, will be purchas'd in this cold climate the insuing winter.

We are told that all the Funerals of last Week were conducted upon the new Plan of Frugal y.

Nothing but FRUGALITY can now fave the defirefe'd northern colonies from impending ruin—It ought to be a confolation to the good people of a certain province, that the greatest man in it exhibits the most rigid example of this political as well as moral virtue.



—But subat evoil her weezhoufted Storet,
Her bloming Mundenn and her famy Storet,
With all the Gifts that Hown and Earth impert,
The Smiles of Autre and the Chinns of Art,
While preud Oppreffent in her Vauet Regni,
And Tyanny ujurps b r hafty Platas ?

Thee Goddels, thee Burannia's Ifle adores How has the eft exhausted all her ht res, How oft in Fields of Death thy Prefence inught, Nor thinks the mighty Prize too dearly bought

Thefs, and fuch as thefs, were the Senuments of those in Power, in former I mes. I try knew that Laberty, was the natural Right of Mankind And that it was the greatest Injury even to cariall or deprive them of it, in any Degice, any further than by their own Confent they excling Part of it, for other blessings, and the Prefermion of what remains. They were so far from a Disposition to rob Men of this natural Right, that on the contrary they were for enbrguing, and that the contrary they were for enbrguing, and extending of it to all the World that would occive it. Self Tenfor. Matchine St.—who that his read, that string metaphorical Exclamation, Flow in the Gold become dun, and the most fine Gold Chringed I can avoid thinking of it—it feems to obtrude itself on this Occasion.—

What an amizing Change of Principles, Policy and Tempers 1—Lône would think a prodigious Vertigo had fuzi'd every Head, that in the rimperuous What all Objects appeared alike—that there could be no distinguishing Mercy from Cruelty, Right from Wrondig,—Formerly every honeft indultrious Man was encougreed, its Diligence gained him Eaglaktion as well as bubfarence. Can it be pretented the Cafe is the fame, when no Man may buy or fell but he that rectives a Mark ?—a Badge of tus Slavery, an Evidence of the Limitation of Proparty and the Loss of Luberty—is honeft. Inoufry encouraged, when the most Indultrious pay the mer for rectaining, and are fullycited more than others to the imperious Mandates, probably of infict ing fituring overbearing. Officers?—Was there any I hing more grievous and enllaving in the Scheme to introduce a general Exercis, proposed about thirty Years ago to the People in G—B—, than Thir is to us?—and the Prime M—re of that I inne who bro't in fuch a Bill, it was faid could have carried it through, (fuch it the magic Power attending a certain light Office) yet what was the Event' die general Diliguist tigswe, the Oppolium to it, the Reople alf over'd without Doors put ankad to the Pringer And had it paffanto an Adt, as was deligade, it wou'd never hive been executed, but at the Head of a flanding Army—Andonous and detetfable as this Scheme was, there were notwithflanding a great many Advocates for lip protriped by the Prinsum Makie. And flanuld an Edic like that once path by the King of Egypt, relative to Mide Chaldren be promoted in the fune Manner, there would no doubt be found a Majority for it within certain Walls, if it related only to the Colonies—And indeed with reflect to the prefined even doubt the found a Majority for it within certain Andones and as to were not walle. The third printing and even by the King of Egypt, relative to Mide Chaldren be promoted in the fune Manner, three would no doubt be found a Majority for it within certain Walls, if it related only to the Colonies—And i

laid down his Netk and took on the Yoke of a perpetual Bondage, at a Time when his Townfmen, his Countrymen, and a whole Continual reflicad and fav dhemfelves from Ruin, the Left of Liberty and Preparty. Can there be any Double whether it is lawful? Let them that doubts, confider, whether it is lawful? Let them the abouts, confider, whether it is lawful? Let fee as themsfelves for Slaves? Let them prove that the Sale of Yofgoliants. Epost, was lawful, and then they may doubt on—I et them determine whether, if a Magiluate, whole Authority they acknowledge within his Jurisleiton, floud, because he has sufficience, order them where they were liable to a Moderate Fine, be pillored, whipt, and finally impairated for Life, they thou'd think themsfelves obliged passively Obedimes, suffer the just Consiquence of their own Principles, till they do, let fuch Friends to Passive

The LAMENTATION

Of the NEW-HAMPSHIRE-GAZETTE, in particular, and the PRESS in general, On a Sufficion of loling their LIBERTY.

—Cars sum nobes propungui, fumiliares et amisi, sed annes omnium caritates, patria uma est complexa, por qua quit obant abutet Martem oppetera! f. es sie profitmus, et res sta requiret.

Cicero.

BEHOLD THE GREAT, THE IMPORTANT DAY, BIG with the FATE OF CA FO, and of ROME.

Big with the FATE of CAFO, and of ROME.

Addiffor.

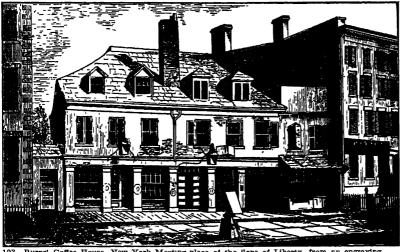
Addiffor.

BIG MAT's hard Cafe at it, that after this Day's Appearance upon the this Day's Appearance upon the fabric to that which it work than the post of the thing of the wes its Origin, ar at leaft at Progress and p

Facsimile of front page of the New Hampshire Gazette, Oct 31, 1785, in the Massachusetts Historical Society

PLANS ARE MADE TO EVADE THE STAMP TAX

As the day approached on which the Act was to go into effect, efforts were redoubled to maintain popular opposition. Some newspapers appeared in mourning, lamenting the death of American liberty. Other agencies of publicity begged the people to pardon a temporary cessation of printing, until means could be devised for evading the Act. There was apparently no thought of compliance with the command of the British Parliament.



103 Burns' Coffee House, New York Meeting-place of the Sons of Liberty, from an engraving

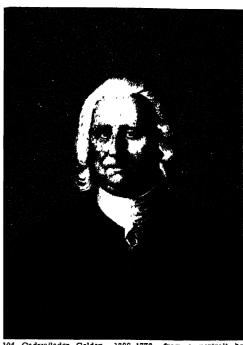
NEW YORK MERCHANTS SIGN NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENT

Opposition seemed keenest in New York. There the Congress assembled; there the first non-importation agreement was signed; and there the popular outcry was loudest. By May the principal gentlemen of the town clad themselves in homespun or "turned clothes." The Society for promoting Arts and Manufactures encouraged domestic industry. On the 23rd of October a market

for all kinds of home products was opened in Broad Street. The New York Gazette carried in large type the legend, "It is better to wear a homespun coat than lose our liberty." On the last of October, upwards of two hundred of the leading merchants assembled in the long room of the City Arms. Resolutions were adopted: "First, that in all Orders they send out to Great Britain, for Goods or Merchandise of any Nature, Kind, or Quality whatsoever, they will direct their Correspondents not to ship them, unless the Stamp Act be repealed. Secondly, it is further unanimously agreed that all orders already sent Home, shall be countermanded by the very first Conveyance, and the Goods and Merchandise thereby ordered, not to be sent, unless upon the condition mentioned in the foregoing Resolution. Thirdly, that no Merchant will vend any Goods or Merchandise sent upon Commission from Great Britain that shall be shipped from thence after the first Day of January next, unless upon the condition mentioned in the first Resolution." Philadelphia, on November 7, and Boston, on December 9, followed suit.

NEW YORK'S UNPOPULAR ROYALIST GOVERNOR

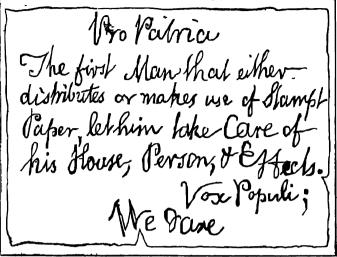
THE stamps reached New York on October 23. As soon as this became known — for they had been shipped in secret — "all vessels in the Harbour lowered their colours to signify Mourning, Lamentation and Woe." The following day, writes Robert Livingston, "a vast number of people beheld the sight and were greatly enraged." Officially in charge at the time was Lieutenant Governor Colden, a man of strange career. Born in Dunse, Scotland, he had at the age of twenty migrated to America. Here for some years he practiced medicine. In 1718 he settled in New York, and soon entered public life. Colden withal was a scholar and scientist of note. He was a founder of the American Philosophical Society, he corresponded with Franklin and leading scholars of the continent. He had sent Linnaeus some four hundred American plants, and the eminent botanist had responded by naming one "Coldenia." His most famous work was a history of the Indians in the colony of New York. On top of all this, Colden was a strong Royalist and supporter of prerogative. He had already given evidence of his intention to enforce the Stamp Act, though such a stand had lost him the support of his council and won him popular enmity.



104 Cadwallader Colden, 1888–1776, from a portrait by Matthew Fratt (1734–1805) in the Chamber of Commerce; New York

A MOB GREETS THE ARRIVAL OF STAMPS AT NEW YORK

In July, Governor Colden had asked General Gage "for a guard sufficient to secure the fort against the Negroes or a Mob." That his request was not needless, subsequent events indicated. On the night after the arrival of the Edward, bearing the stamps, a handbill containing ominous warnings was distributed over the city. Colden thought it best to unload in midstream; with the aid of the men-ofwar in the harbor, he managed to get the packages of stamps to the fort. Evil was brewing along the water-front. On the first of November the storm broke. mob of the Sons of Liberty, "the most formidable imaginable," writes Livingston, 105 From the Magazine of American History, Vol. 1, 1877, copy of a handbill preserved in the State Paper Office, London gathered. In its midst were effigies of



Colden and Bute, hated adviser of George III. Street parading followed. The crowd stopped to cheer before the residence of McEvers, who had resigned as Stamp-Master, and then proceeded to the fort, which served also as the Governor's residence. Here they found Colden's best coach; into it they tumbled the effigy, and both were burned on the Bowling Green.

No Stamped Paper to be had.

From the PUBLIC LEDGER, August 16.

A Dialogue Jersson a North-American and a Courtier.

North-American.

You remember that at our left meeting, we agreed upon this day candidje, to enquise into the judice as well as policy of Great-Britain, in taxing the North-Americans, and as this is a matter of the greatef importance to both countries, I finall with pleasure hear you endeavour to defend the mediures that have been taken to the utmost of my power, I menn as far as is confident with runth or right realion, but of I finoid differ with you in opinion, I hope you will bear me with the fame candor that I shall you.

at I hall you.

"Upon these priociples, Sir, I join issue; and first, as to essible or right of Taxing. This I think we are vested the from your being the subjects of the Grown of Engine and the succession of the protection and related the country have received from this nation, to debt you were work made and which Go litem has de-

LONDON, August 29.

His Excel ency the Earl of Hersford, Lord Lustemant of Ireland, has appointed the Mos. Col. Comangham, and Capt. Flumng, to be his Akis & Camp.

Very large Orders from Spans are come over for the purchale of corn, so great as fearcity of which has not been known there for many years.

A Letter from one board the Hardwacks Indoman, is S. Lone good company that Park A Verd Mondo.

A Letter from on course ne partowises animaman, in St. Jago roud, capital of the Cape de Verd Illands, dated May 16, mentions, that the touched there the 8th of that Moath far Water, Ihaving had a very good pallage) where the found the Hector and True Briton The Royal Charlotte came in there

for water a few days after.

A ship, John Hop, Master, from Bordeaux bound to Hamburgh, was boarded in the British Channel by pirates, under English Colours, and robbed of two Casks indigo, and a cheft of wine, with some

and not chicang in with the operative resour-in Power, having had many broad Mints and to bring them over for that Propose. Which it ed with Biddan. I floud be very berry to find per under fo such stades Liftuence, as to quant Things of to preat Confequence to the Peace, I and Tranquility of the Public in general E justice to their Geniterral Characters, read neers, without making tome Reply to for great a

bt Jago, (Jamaica) August 24.

Extract of the Affembly of the 16th Au

Meffage from his Excellency by the Poor

Heading of Hugh Gaine's New York Mercury, Nov 18, 1765, from a copy in the New York Public Library

GOVERNOR COLDEN SURRENDERS THE STAMPS TO THE CITY FATHERS

So far the mob had been fairly orderly, under control. But matters rapidly got out of hand. Cooler heads feared an outbreak. Livingston, John Cruger, mayor of the city, and others waited upon the governor. As a result of this interview, they announced that Colden had said "that he would not issue, nor suffer to be issued any of the stamps now in Fort George." It must have been a humiliating moment for the proud old man. In 1736 he had published a treatise entitled "Account of Diseases prevalent in America"; but this malady of 1765 could not be disposed of with any scientific label. Even yet the people were not satisfied: on the 5th, Colden was obliged to turn over to the city fathers all of the hated stamps, which were then deposited in the City Hall, safe from royal officers. Eight days later the new Governor, Moore, arrived. Colden was glad to surrender his responsibilities. Moore was inclined to compromise. He wrote home, concerning the Stamp Act, that he was "obliged to suspend the power he was unable to exert." Hence it came about that the papers could announce: "No stamped paper to be had." In New York the wealthy merchants, determined to oppose Grenville's new tax, had called to their assistance the easily excited rabble. Irresponsible mobs prevented the execution of the law. The conservative merchants and the aristocrats were well aware that the mob of "Liberty Boys" had dangerous possibilities. Its spleen might be vented against the aristocracy in America as readily as against the British Government.



107 Andrew Oliver, 1708-74, from a photograph in th Massachusetts Historical Society of the original portrai in possession of the Oliver family

THE BOSTON STAMP-DISTRIBUTOR IS FORCED TO RESIGN

Even before the arrival of the stamps, Boston had seen disorder. Grenville, in announcing the Stamp Act, had declared his intention of appointing Americans as collectors. In Boston the choice fell upon Andrew Oliver, brother-in-law of Governor Thomas Hutchinson, a native of Boston who had already held several minor posts. His acceptance of the office of stamp-distributor was unfortunate. The patriot party saw in this naught but devotion to an unsympathetic British ministry. It was proposed that he should be hanged in effigy on the Liberty Tree, under which the Sons of Liberty held their meetings. The mob bearing the effigy went to Kilby Street, where Oliver had recently erected a building which the people supposed was designed for a stamp office. This they instantly demolished. Then they made demonstrations before Oliver's residence, breaking windows and threatening his life. Oliver fled, resigned his office, and signed a pledge that he would not act as stamp agent. But he never regained popular favor In the outbreak of mob violence in Boston, Governor Hutchinson's house was entered and pillaged, his library and priceless manuscripts being almost completely destroyed. (See Vol. XI, No. 124.)

CERTAIN BRITISH OPINION FAVORS AMERICA

ALL this was not without its effect in England. At the time of the passage of the Stamp Act there had been observers who favored the colonies. Now their number was greatly increased. Those who were accustomed to trade with the colonies, those who disliked the influence of royal favorites, those who in any way suffered

from Grenville's attempt retrenchment - in short, all discontented elements — vociferously attacked the ministry, in press, in pamphlet, in cartoon. In the illustration, Grenville is attempting to balance the budget; Bute is assisting by weighing down the credit side with petty savings eked from royal favor. The military, crippled by the Government, is protesting against the abandonment of policies which, though expensive, will expand British influence "Havanna," the "Philipines," and Newfoundland. America urges that commerce will outweigh these expenses. In the offing, French and Dutch scoff at the commercial stupidity of the British.



A MARYLAND LAWYER

A MAN of importance at this juncture was Daniel Dulany of Annapolis. His father, a poor Irishman, had risen to be Attorney-General, a member of the landed gentry, and a leader of the popular party. His son he had sent to England for schooling at Eton, Cambridge, and the Middle Temple. Opening a law practice in Annapolis in 1747, Daniel soon became the outstanding lawyer and barrister of Maryland. Indeed, his legal learning was so great and

CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE

PROPRIETY
OF IMPOSING

TAXES

IN THE

BRITISH COLONIES,

For the Purpose of rassing a REVENUE, by ACT or PARLIAMENT.

Quad later around, non convenies, fibera

The SECOND EDITION

Sannapoles. Pricated and Sold by Johns Green, 1765

(Price To. 2 lagr and Slopence)

110 Title-page of Daniel Dulany's pamphlet on taxation, original in the New York Public Library of such repute that judges were known to refer difficult questions to him. His opinion was sought even from England, while often cases would be withdrawn from the courts to be settled by this provincial lawyer. Dulany ultimately became a firm Tory, and in later times refused to join the Revolutionary forces, as a consequence, most of his large



109 Daniel Dulany, 1721-97, from the portrait, artist not known, in the Supreme Court, Baltimore, courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library, New York

landed properties were confiscated. His last years were spent in seclusion.

A LEGAL ARGUMENT AGAINST "TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION"

WHILE the Stamp Act Congress was in session, an imposing pamphlet upon the matter in hand made its appearance Its close and powerful reasoning soon identified it as the work of Dulany. Lawyerlike, he

pointed out in a clear, simple, and forcible manner that the colonists, as British subjects, were not represented in Parliament and that taxation without representation was a violation of the common law of England. The

remedy he, as a good King's man, found to reside in the use of all proper and constitutional means for convincing Parliament of its error. The pamphlet made a deep impression in America, where reprints came thick and fast. In England also it was printed and read. His arguments were not only freely used, but served as the basis of Pitt's speech in the Commons just three months after the publication of the pamphlet

PITT, THE COLONIES' STALWART SUPPORTER IN ENGLAND

PRESSURE upon the English government was thus severe. George III, moreover, disliked the independent attitude of Grenville, who therefore resigned late in 1765. The King was willing to receive Pitt the elder as Prime Minister. The great Commoner, as Secrétary of State, had guided England to victory in the recent struggle with France for supremacy in America. (See Vol. VI.) He was an object of devotion among the Americans. But agreements failed; a weak ministry under the Whig Marquis of Rockingham was formed. Pitt believed the Stamp Act was not right; Rockingham felt it to be right but not wise; Grenville was sure it was both right and wise.



111 William Pitt, First Earl of Chatham, 1708-78, from the portrait, "The Great Commoner," by William Hoars (1708-92) in the National Portrait Gallery, London

Mr. PITT began with prefacing, that he did not mean to have goes any further upon the Subject on that Day; that he had only defigned to throw out a few Hints, which Centlemen, who were fo cansident of the Right of this Kingdom to fend Tares to America, might candler, perhaps might reflect, in a cooler Moment, that the Right was at least equivocal. But since the Centleman who spoke Lik had not stopt on this Greund, but had some into the whole; that the Intitine the Ecutive the Policy. gone into the whole; this the Julice, the Equity, the Pol-cy, the Expediency of the STAMP-Act, as well as into the Right, he would follow him through the whole Field, and combat his Arguments on every Point.

Arguments on every Point,

He was going on, when Lord Springs got up, and called both
the Ge...temen [Mr. Parl, and Mr. Greenville] to order; he faul
they had both departed from the Matter before the House, which
was the kings Speech, and that Mr. PITT was going to Speak
twace in the same Debate, although the House was not in a Commattee. Mr. Groupe Orsion answered, that they were both in order, as nothing had been find but what was fairly deducible from
the Matthy Spreech, and appealed to the Spreaker at The Called der, as morning mes occo and use west to be Speaker.—The Speaker decided in Mr Onjlow's Favour. Mr. P.I. 'T Lind, "I do not apprehend I am fperking twice. I did expressly

referre a Part of my Subjett, in order to fave the Time of the House, but I am compelled to protect in it. I do not frenk twice, I only finish what I had designedly lest imperfect; but if the House is of a different Opinion, far be it from me to indulge a Wish of transgressing against Order. I am content, if it be your Pleafure, to be filent.

Here he paufed, the Houfe refounded with GO ON, GO
ON, He proceeded.

GENTLEMEN,

GENTLEMEN,
SIR,
GINTLEMEN,
SIR,
GINTLEMEN,
G America has refifted. Three Millions of People, so dead to all the Fedings of Laberty, as voluntarily to consent to be Slaves, would have been fit Instrument to make Slaves of the reft. I came not here armed at all Points, with Law Cases, and Aste of Parliament, with the Startic Books, doubled down in Dogs Ears, to defend the Caste of Liberty. If I had, I would mysiely have cited then two Cases of Coffer and Durbans; I would have cited them, to have Shewn, that even, under arburry Rogas, Parliaments, were ashaming of taxing a People without their Consens, and allowed them Respectantaives. Why did the Gentleman constant hunself to Coffer and Durbans # He might have taken a higher Examples in Males. While that never was taxed by Parliament, until it was incorporated. I would not debate a particular Pedia. until it was incorporated. I would not debate a particular Point of the whith the Gensignon; I know his Abilities. I have been obliged to his dispeat Rafmerther; but for the Defence of Libour Sy, on a general Principle, upon a confinitional Principle.

112 Report of Pitt's Speech, Jan 14, 1766, from the Pennsylvania Gazetie, Philadelphia, Apr 24, 1766

PITT URGES REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT

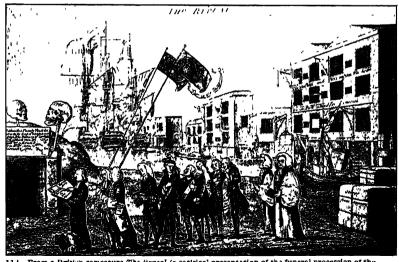
THE British ministry was in a quandary America seemed to be on the verge of open revolt. Yet to repeal the Stamp Act would be acknowledgment of defeat, not only in the enforcement of a tax measure, but also in the exercise of the sovereign power. The moment was crucial. Pitt, advanced in years and crippled with gout, roused himself for a great and stirring speech. His position was that, while Parliament had a right to levy taxes for purposes of trade regulation, it had no right to levy internal taxes for revenue upon those not represented in the taxing body. He concluded: "Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house what is really my opinion. It is, that the Stamp Act be repealed, absolutely, totally and immediately; that the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle."

PRESSURE FROM MERCHANTS AND LIBERALS LEADS TO REPEAL

GRENVILLE, proud of his measure, counseled otherwise. "The total repeal will persuade the colonies that Great Britain confesses itself without the right to impose taxes on them, and is reduced to make this confession by their menaces. Do the merchants insist that debts to the amount of three millions will be lost, and all fresh orders be countermanded? Do not injure yourselves from fear of injury; the merchants may sustain a temporary loss, but they and all England would suffer much more from the weakness of Parliament, and the impunity of the Americans. With a little firmness, it will be easy to compel the colonists to obedience." But on March 4 repeal was carried in the Commons, by a vote of two hundred fifty to one hundred twenty-two; one week later it passed the Lords, one hundred five to seventy-one. On the 18th it received the royal signature, amid the rejoicings of tradesmen

and people of liberal politics. The cartoon pictures the funeral of the Stamp Act, sparsely attended by some pamphleteers, lawyers, ministers, royal favorites and bishops. Behind them the merchants are busied with

the reviving trade, to be borne before favoring winds on the ships of state, Rockingham, Conway and Grafton. Useless is the bale of stamps from America, a reminder of the trade embargo is found in the "black cloth from America" returned unused because nonconsumption agreements had led the colonists to forego black garb even at funerals. The Government, opposed by the merchants, by those who sympathized with the colonies, and by the colonies themselves, had been forced to retreat from a position which its ignorance of American conditions had led it to adopt so light-heartedly.



From a British carroature The Repeal (a satirical presentation of the funeral procession of the Stamp Act), in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

AMERICA IS OVERJOYED AT THE NEWS OF REPEAL

In America bells were rung, bonfires lit, toasts drunk to the King, liberty poles erected. Virginia and New York ordered statues of George III. New York and South Carolina in similar fashion honored Pitt. In Boston a day of celebration was set apart. All persons in prison for rent were released by public subscription. The Common was bedecked with illuminated figures of the King, Pitt, Barré and Lord Camden.



4 Jonathan Mayhew, 1720-66, from Thomas Hollis, Memotrs, London, 1770, after an engraving by J B Cipriani, 1767, of the portrait by John Smibert

A MILITANT MINISTER URGES COLONIAL UNION

Dr. Maynew was born on Martha's Vineyard, where for three generations his family had "tilled the soil and preached the gospel." He was graduated from Harvard, and became pastor of a prominent Boston church, the first to call itself Unitarian. Like most New England preachers of the day, he introduced political questions into his sermons. On the

Glorious News.

BOSTON, Friday 11 o'Clock, 16th May 1766. THIS Instant arrived here the Brig Harrison, belonging to John Hancock, Efq; Captain Shubael Coffin, in 6 Weeks and 2 Days from London, with important News, as follows.

From the London GAZETTE.

Westminster, March 18th, 1766.

THIS day his Majesty came to the House of Peers, and being in his royal robes seated on the throne with the usual solementy, Sir Francis Molineux, Genileman Ufher of the Black Rod, was fent with a Meffage from his Majesty to the House of Commons, commanding their atten-te in the House of Peers. The Commons being come thither accordingly,

his Majefly was pleafed to give his royal affent to

An ACT to REPEAL an Act made an the last Session of Parlament, in-An ACT to KEPEAL an Act made in the last Sellion of Parliament, in-tituded, an Act for granung and applying certain Stamp-Duties and other Duties in the British Colonies and Plantations in America, towards further defraying the expenses of defending, proteching and fecuring the fame, and for amending fuch parts of the feveral Acts of Parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the faid Colonies and Plantations, as direct the manner of determining and recovering the penalties and forfeitures therein mentioned.

Also ten public bills, and seventeen private ones.

Yesterday there was a meeting of the principal Merchants concerned in the American trade, at the King's Arms tavern in Cornbill, to consider of an Address to his Majesty on the beneficial Repeal of the late Stamp-Act.

Yesterday moraning about eleven o'clock a great number of North American Merchants went in their coaches from the King's Arms tavern in Cornbill to the House of Peers, to pay their duty to his Majesty, and to express their faitifaction at his figning the Bill for Repealing the American Stamp-Act, there was upwards of fifty coaches in the proceeding.

Last night the said gentleman dispatched an express for Falmonth, with significant copies of the Act for repealing the Stamp-Act, to be ferwarded immediatedly for New York.

Ordens are given for several merchantmen in the river to proceed to sea immediately on their respective voyages to North America, some of whom bayes been cleared out since the first of Nortember 1sst.

Yesterday messagers were dispatched to Berningham, Sheffield, Manchester,

Yeslerday messeagers were dispatched to Bermingham, Shessield, Manchester, and all the great manufacturing towns as England, with an account of the simil decision of an august assembly relating to the Stamp-Act.

When the KING went to the House of Peers to give the Royal Assent, there was such a valt Concourse of People, huzzaing, clapping Hands, &c. that it was several Hours before His Mayetty reached the House.

I sumediately on His Mayetty's Signing the Royal Assent to the Repeal of the Stamp-Ast the Merchants trading to America, dispatched a Vessel which had been in wating, to put into the first Port on the Conuncut with the Account.

There were the greatest Rejocious possible in the City of London, by all Ranke of Foople, on the FOTAL Repeal of the Samp-Ast,—the Ships in the River displayed all their Colours, Illuminations and Bonstres in many Parts.— In their, the Rejoldings were as great as way ever known on any Occasion.

It is find the Ast of Trade relating to America would be taken under Consideration, and all Grievances removed. The Friends to America are very powerful, and disposed to assist us to the unsoft of their Ability.

Cape. Blake failed the same Dry with Cape. Cossin, and Capt. Shand a Fortaight before him, both bound to this Post.

It is imagestible to expect the Foy the Town is now in, on receiving the above, great, glyrious and important NEWS—The Bells in all the Churches were immediately fit a Ringing, and we bear the Doy for a general Rejoicing will be the beginning of next West.

PRINTED for the Benefit of the PUBLIC, Drapers, Edes & Gill, Green & Russell, and Fleees. The Cullomers to the Bolton Papers may have the above gratts at therefrechive Offices.

115 From a broadside dated May 15, 1766, in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

Sunday preceding the sacking of Governor Hutchinson's house in 1765, he took as his text: "I would they were even cut off which trouble you. For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another." That was the text of his life. His eloquence proved a sturdy buttress for the educational campaign of Otis. One of his last acts was the preaching of a Thanksgiving sermon on the repeal of the Stamp Act in which he pleaded fervently in behalf of civil and religious liberty. Shortly thereafter he wrote to Otis urging the union of the colonies as the only means of perpetuating American liberty.

Georgii III. Regis.

CAP YU

An Act for the better fecuring the Dependency of His Majesty's Dominions in America up-on the Crown and Parliament of Great Bri-



Representatives in Dis Golden Colombia of Representatives in Dis Golden Colombia Col

Anno Regnifexto Georgu III Regis be dinjoites of the Ame, Chat the And Colonies and Planatonas in America hind bern, are, ann of Allight ought to be, indoptinate unto, and dependent amon, the Jonernal Cerbon and Parlament of Great Brian, and that the Rings Spaigh, by and bush the Brian, and that the Rings Spaigh, by and bush the Brian, and Commons of Great Brian, in Parlament affemille, hut, bach, and of Ringht ought to habe, full Diviser and Authority to make Lains and Statuses of tufficient force and Authority to him the Colonies and Diviser and Calle in the Colonies and Diviser and Calle in the Colonies and Diviser and the Colonies and Colonies and Diviser and Calle in the Colonies and Calle in the Diviser and Calle in the Calle in Authority of the Parliam special of Calle Inchan, to make Lains and Statuses and Statuses and Diviser to the colonies and Statuses and Statuses and Diviser to the colonies and Statuses and Statuses and Diviser to the colonies and Statuses and Statuses and Diviser to the colonies and Statuses and Statuses and Diviser to the colonies and Statuses and Statuses and Diviser to the colonies and Statuses and Statuses and Diviser to the colonies and Statuses and Statuses and Diviser to the colonies and Statuses an Anno Regni fexto Georgii III Regis

FINIS

The Declaratory Act (affirming the supremacy of Parliament), 1766, from the first printed edition in the New York Public Library

In the excitement, few noticed the Declaratory Act, passed with the repeal. In the debates over this, Lord Mansfield, than whom no one had a more attentive audience in Parliament, spoke prophetically. "The colonies must remain dependent upon the jurisdiction of the mother country, or they must be totally dis-

LORD MANSFIELD

PROPHESIES **FURTHER**

TROUBLE WITH AMERICA

membered from it. and form a league of union among themselves against it, which could not be effected without great violences. . . . I am ex-

tremely sorry that the question has ever become necessary to be agitated, and that there should be a decision upon it. No one in this house will live long enough to see an end put to the mischief which will be the result of the doctrine that has been inculcated; but the arrow is shot, and the wound already given." Yet Mansfield insisted that Parliament was supreme, and that its legislative power extended in all cases over the American

colonies. His views received the endorsement of the legislature and the approval of the King.

PITT'S ILL HEALTH LEAVES POWER TO TOWNSHEND

Four months after the repeal of the Stamp Act, the Rockingham ministry fell from power. This time Pitt was prevailed upon to form a Government, although it was a composite of varying points of view. Pitt's age and ill health soon forced his retirement into the country. This left a cabinet with no forceful leader. At this mischance, Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, found his opportunity to push a scheme long cherished by him. As president of the Board of Trade under Bute, in 1763, Townshend had formulated a sweeping plan for the reorganization of colonial administration on lines of uniformity and of strict imperial control. Later, while a member of the Rockingham ministry, he had continued openly to favor minute imperial supervision of America, including taxation by Parliament. Now, with the Great Commoner out of the way, Townshend could execute his long-deferred design. Needless to say, his impetuosity took no account of colonial opinion.



Charles Townshend, 1725-87, from an engraving after a portrait Sir Joshua Reynolds, in the Emmet Collection, New York Public

NEW REVENUE

ACTS ASSERT

BRITISH CONTROL OTHER Acts Townshend, without consulting

colleagues, obtained from an indifferent Parliament. To enforce the Navigation laws, the customs service

was tightened; writs of

THE BILLETING ACT IS ENFORCED IN NEW YORK

This colonial opinion, despite the repeal, was still suspicious of English intentions. New York was the center of the British jegular troops in America. An Act of 1765 had required the colony to furnish the troops with quarters. To this the Assembly objected. Here Townshend found an opportunity to show America that the Declaratory Act was not to be a dead letter. In May, 1767, he persuaded Parliament to enact a measure suspending the New York Assembly until it should comply with the billeting law. The colonies at once murmured; for if Parliament had the power to suspend for a limited time a colonial legislature, self-government might easily be destroyed. The blow was heavy. New York in 1769 succumbed, though with bad grace.

Anno Regmi septumo Georgia III R. ...

***The Park of Ing. to the ..., appended with Elected of the Ct. Parks and the ... appended with the Ct. ... appended with the ... append Anno Regni feptuno Georgii III Regi

119 Townshend Duty Act, 1787 (relating to the uses of the revenue), from the first printed edition, in the New York Public Library

penses of defending, protecting and securing the British Colonies and Plantations in America." The Townshend Acts, in short, established a precedent for more vigorous control of the colonies in America.

JOHN DICKINSON COUNSELS PRUDENCE

Expressions of colonial opinion soon appeared. ablest protest came from John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, in the form of a series of Letters from a Farmer. Dickinson, like Dulany, was an American trained in the law at the Inns of Court, London. Shrewdly weaving the now familiar arguments into the current situation, he denied the validity of any distinction between internal and external taxes, when levied for purposes of revenue. His counsel was one of prudence. "Let us behave like dutiful children, who have received unmerited blows from a beloved parent."

Anno feptimo

Georgii III. Regis.

CAP LIX.

An Act for reftraining and prohibiting the Governor, Council, and House of Represen-tatives, of the Province of New York, until Provision shall have been made for furnishing the King's Troops with all the Necessaries required by Law, from passing or assenting to any Act of Assembly, Vote, or Resolu-



be Reas an are of Darissment was premate, and in the fifth pear of his pittent from the fact of the pear of the pittent from the fact of the pear of the pittent from the fact of the fact

ment, initialed, An Act for panyoing sea-ting and Defection, and for the better Psymint of the Army and their Lyaiters, wherein Coursel Directions were given,

18 Townshend Act suspending the New York Assembly, 1767, from the first printed edition of British laws, in the New York Public Library

assistance were declared legal; above all, duties were laid on colonial imports of tea, glass, lead, paper and similar articles. This was "external" taxation, which the colonists had admitted to be within parliamentary competence. Such an appearance of compliance with American theory, Townshend took pains to dispel. The Duty Act asserted that the duties were laid, not to regulate commerce, but to raise revenue and, furthermore,

this revenue was to be used where necessary "to support royal governors and courts within the provinces, and to pay the necessary Ex-

120 John Dickinson, 1732–1808, from the portrait by Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827) in Independence Hall, Philadelphia



121 Samuel Adams, 1722-1803, from the portrait by John Singleton Copley in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



122 From the engraving in An Impurited History

SAM ADAMS, THE RADICAL

OTHER less cautious leaders appeared, and among them Samuel Adams, the born politician. "Perhaps no long public career was ever more perfectly self-consistent than his. From boyhood to old age, his master principle was individualism. As an undergraduate in college, having occasion to choose a subject for a public discussion, he revealed the bent of his mind by taking that of 'Liberty.' In 1743, for his Master's degree at Harvard, he wrote a Latin thesis on the affirmative side of the question, 'Whether it be lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate, if the Commonwealth cannot be otherwise preserved.' . . . From the day of his graduation till his work as a political writer was done, he did but play variations on this robust doctrine and its corollaries." — TYLER, Literary History of the American Revolution, II, p. 13. Adams, a failure in the ordinary pursuits of life which would provide a competence for his family, had a genius for organizing and directing a radical movement. He also had the ability to put into clear and cogent English the ideas of his times regarding liberty and government. In season and out of season, he kept before the eyes of his fellow provincials what he conceived to be the tyranny of the British Government.

THE Boston-COUNTRY



No. 676.

Gazette, OURNAL.

Domestic. Foreign

MARGH 14, 1768. MONDAY,

SIR.

HE House of Representatives of this Province.

HE House of Representatives of this Province, have taken into their farous consideration, the great distinctions that sould accrue to themselves and their confittients, by the operation of the feveral acts of positioned amount of the feveral acts of positioned amount of the feveral acts of positioned amount of the feveral acts of the fever colony is deeply interested, they have no reads to doubt but your all inbly is duly impress of the term and the time continuations restored will be come into a care proper. It feems to be necessary, that all possible care should be taken that the spreachastions of the feveral slembline, upon so delicate a point, should harmonize with each other. The House therefore hope that this letter will be candidly confidered as no other light than as expecting a disposition freely to communicate their murd to a Sifter Colony, upon for a common concern, in the same manner as they would be glid to receive the sentiments of your or any other House of assembly on the continents.

This House have humbly represented to the Ministry, their own sentiments. That his Majesty's high court of Parliament is the supremelegicative power over the whole temper. That in all free fatters the constitution is fixed, and as the supreme legislative derives us power and a be-

mass the necessary, that all possible care should be taken at the percentations of the several assemblies, upon to becate a point, should harmonize with a chot when I have been been been assembled to communicate their mind to a Sister Colony, upon represent the processor, in the same manner as they would be also rescere the seminate of your or any other House assembly on the continuent. That has Majeky's high court of the indicate and the furnishment of your or any other House and autority manner. That has Majeky's high court of the indicate the furnishment of the indicate the semination of the semi empire I had in all free interest in conductions in fact, and as the hipperine legiblative derives its power and authority from the confliction, it cannot over-leap the bounds of it, without defroying its own foundation. That the confliction aftertions and limits both beveragn-That the confirming aftering and limits both however, and all egapace, and there's whis Majethy a American topic fit who acknowledge themfelves bound by the me of all egapace, have an equitable claim to the full enjoy meet of the fondamental rules of the British confirmition. That it is an effectial unalterable right in nature, ingrafted late the British confirming, as a fundamental law, and ever held thered and irrevolubit by the fubjects within the sealing, that what a man hash bonefly acquired, is aboun by his owns, with he as freely grey, but cannot be taken from this with me. I content: That the American has the men therefore and for the men to the filters and the men therefore and for the men to the filters and the men therefore and for the men to the filters and the men therefore and for the men therefore and the men the men

character of free mon and subjects, affert this natural con-fitteness right.

filtespoal right.

It is moreover their humble opinion, which they exbre switch the greatest deference to the wildom of the pailiament. That the acts made there, imposing duties on the
people of this province, with the tole and experts purpose
of raising a revenue, she instrugements of their hatuial
and constitutional rights; because, as they are not repeferated in the Brush parliament, his Majohy's commons in
Britain, by shofe acts, grant their property without their
consent

This House further are of opinion, that their conflicti-

the crown, in addition to its undoubted authority of conone crows, in audition to its unfoulbed sutharity of con-fituring a governor, floudi also appoint lim tuch a Su-pend as at thall judge proper, without the coalens of the people, and at their expence; And whether, while the judges of the land, and other civil officers, hold not their

judges of the land, and other civil officers, hold not their, committion during good behaviour, their having falanes appointed for them by the crown, independent of the popel, hath not a tendency to inbeer the principles of equity and endanger the happines and ferming of the fullyfelt. In addition to their mensures, the house have twote a breast ether agent Mr. D. Berdt, the lendingents of which he it directed to lay before the Manufley; wherein they

('Ircular Letter of Feb. 11, 1768, written by Samuel Adams to the Massachusetts Legislature, from the Boston Gazette, Mar. 14, 1768, copy in the New York Public Library

SAMUEL ADAMS' CIRCULAR LETTER

Adams was now clerk of the Massachusetts Assembly. From this point of vantage he issued a series of addresses, endorsed as the official voice of the body. Most famous was the Circular Letter of February 11, 1768, sent "to the respective Assemblies on the Continent." Here we have Adams at his best. Massachusetts hopes "that this letter will be candidly considered in no other light than as expressing a disposition freely to communicate their mind to a Sister Colony, upon a common concern, in the same manner as they would be glad to receive the sentiments of your or any other House of assembly on the continent." Thus he dispelled any lingering jealousy of the leading place Boston was assuming, while he deftly pointed to the desirability of unified action in the emergency. The Letter was a brilliant exposition of colonial grievances against the Townshend Acts. When it came to the attention of Lord Hillsborough, colonial secretary, he at once took action against the letter as a seditious libel. Writing to the Rhode Island Assembly, under date of April 21, 1768, he warned it against the Massachusetts epistle. "As his Majesty considers this Measure to be of a most dangerous and factious Tendency, calculated to enflame the Minds of his good Subjects in the Colonies; to promote an unwarrantable Combination, and to excite and encourage an open Opposition to and Denial of the Authority of Parliament, and to subvert the true Principles of the Constitution, It is his Majesty's Pleasure that you should . . . exert your utmost Influence to defeat this flagitious Attempt to disturb the publick Peace, by prevailing upon the Assembly of your Province to take no Notice of it, which will be treating it with the Contempt it deserves." The King had been particularly enraged by this circular letter. And Hillsborough was clever. To the cause he brought the vast influence of the King's name and prestige. Thus George III became a participant in the conflict. It need scarcely be said that such evidence of ministerial alarm merely encouraged the colonies to hope that the Government would yield.



124 George III in Military Uniform, from the portrait study by Benjamin West (1738-1820) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia



125 George III, from an engraving by E Scriven, after the portrait, 1779, by Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-92)



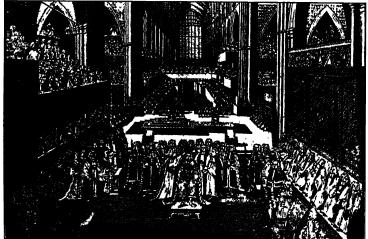
126 George III in His Coronation Robe, from the portrait by Allan Ramsay (1713–84) in the National Portrait Gallery, London

KING GEORGE III, 1738-1820

In 1760 there had ascended the throne of England, as George III, a youth of twenty-two years. Everywhere he had been hailed with applause. For forty-five years England's King had been a foreigner, scarce able to speak the language of his people. George III was born in England; in his first speech he expressed pride "in the name of Britain." In the colonies also the new reign had been welcome. Quebec had just fallen; America need no longer fear the French. Enthusiasm and loyalty abounded. The Massachusetts Assembly, in August, 1760, speaking of the "inexpressible joy of the present times," had extolled the British Constitution: "Now this glorious constitution exceeds itself; it raises new ideas for which no language has provided words, because never known before. Contradictions are become almost consistent, clamorous faction is silent, morose envy good-natured, by the divine blessing on the councils and arms of our dread sovereign in every quarter of the world. He is become the scourge of tyrants, the hope of the oppressed; yet in the midst of victory prophesying peace."

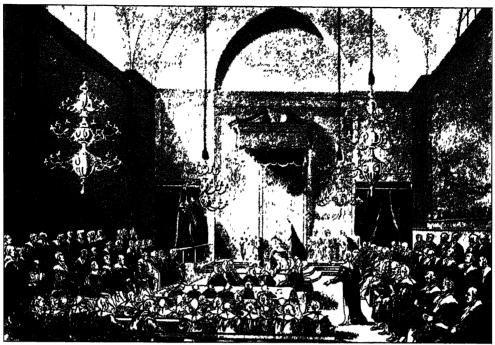
THE NEW KING

SECURE on his throne, possessed of boundless energy and industry, the new King at once began to assert himself. An English historian has written that "he had a smaller mind than any English King before him save James II" This mind had been molded, as had that of James I before him, by the philosophy of



127 A View of Westminster Abbey from the High Altar, showing His Majesty's Coronation, Sept. 22, 1761, from the Universal Magazine. Oct. 1761, in the New York Public Library

his tutor. And in each case this had been a philosophy flattering royal power. Lord Bute, George's Scottish preceptor, was a disciple of Lord Bolingbroke and a believer in his doctrine of the patriot King, the doctrine that the King should rule as well as reign - no lay figure in the hands of party leaders, but a leader of the nation. This doctrine was firmly implanted in George; pertinacity, tending at times to vinductiveness, enabled him to a considerable degree to put it into practice. The constitution praised by the colonists in 1760 was shortly to change character.



The British House of Loids, from an aquatint after the drawing by Pugin & Rowlandson in Rudolph Ackermann, The Microcosm of London, 1808

PARLIAMENT OR KING?

Pursuing the ideal of Bolingbroke, Bute and George ran counter to the developments of the preceding half century. Under the first two Hanoverian kings, actual government had rested in the King's advisers. The Tories, exiled through adherence to the Stuart cause, had given way to the Whigs. The chief of these were

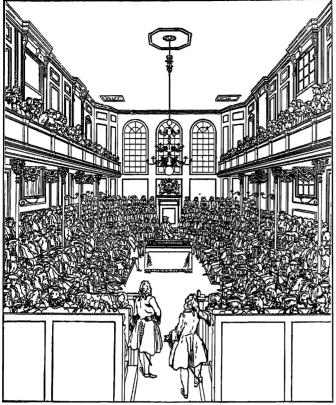
members of old and noble families, traditionally politicians. Their interests, historic and economic, favored the principles of the Glorious Revolution of 1688. In the forefront of these principles was the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty as opposed to royal will.

BUTE, THE KING'S FAVORITE MINISTER

THE first move was to break up Whig control. Pitt and Newcastle, the latter the leader of the Whigs, were especially obnoxious to the Crown. So Bute had become the King's favorite minister; and within two years the ministry was wholly subservient to royal wishes. Bute, haughty and a Scot, was unpopular. His personal influence with the Queen Mother and the King added to the public dislike. He was therefore glad of a chance in 1763 to retire from the limelight. But he had served as an entering wedge in the struggle between the King and the political cliques, and he continued to be an influential person, as may be seen in the cartoons with which the opposition, a few years later, attacked the American policies of the Crown (Nos. 108, 113, 170, 177).



129 John Stuart, Third Earl of Bute, 1713-92, from the portrait by Allan Ramsay in the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh



130 The British House of Commons in 1741-42, from an engraving by W. J White after a drawing by Gravelot

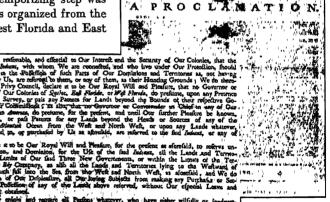
THE KING APPORTIONS AMERICAN LANDS

THE existing scheme of colonial administration was seen to be clumsy and inadequate. A tentative and temporizing step was taken by a royal proclamation of 1763. This organized from the new lands three royal provinces, Quebec, West Florida and East

Florida. The territory west of the Alleghanies became an Indian reservation, whence settlers were to withdraw. In short, the policy so long favored by the Board of Trade was adopted. It included alterations in colonial boundaries, revision of colonial charters and constitutions. restrictions of representative government, revival of economic regulation, enhancement of royal and mercantile control - all emanating from England and to be administered under English guidance.

GEORGE III USES PATRONAGE TO CONTROL PARLIAMENT

THE second step in the royal progress had been to secure control of Parliament. This was not difficult. No such thing as an organized party existed throughout the period of the Revolutionary War. The Whigs were split into bitter factions, the Tory element was little better. Amid such confusion George III, the able politician, played faction against faction to gain his ends. Moreover, he fell in with the prevailing practice of using patronage and public funds to obtain necessary votes in the Commons His "gold pills" won him meek followers; the "King's Friends" often held in the legislature a balance of power invariably utilized to further royal influence. The fall of New France, 1759, had revived the old colonial policy of the Lords of Trade. Canada, Florida and the valley of the Mississippi had been added to the established English colonies. The new problems which had arisen as a consequence had led to the first of the new King's acts to arouse widespread opposition in America.



inspection of the first from focts Sections may be seen a previous to the laid indicas its introduct, forthwith to misses themselves from forts Sections may be seen committed in the perchasing Lands of the Indicas, to the great publication of one findings and to the great Difficustion to the field Indicas; in order therefore to prevent, both expectations for the findings of the f

by for Us, in Our Name, at force Publick Mineting or Allendby of the fald Lainest to be held for that the Governor or Constraineder in Class of One Collones respectively, within which they shall ise; and shall see within the Licius of any Projectory Government, they shall be purchased easy for the Us, the second of face Progricory or Conformable to Such Directions and Institutions as We or they shall think the first that Pulyraier And, We do, by the Adviser of Gor. Proy. Control, declare and english, that the think that Lindau States and I be five and open to all Our Subjects witnesser; provided that every Perfor, client to reade with the find Subjects to take our a Lectuce for carrying on such Trade from the

 Royal Proclamation of a New Colonial Policy, from the printed copy dated London, 1763, in the Library of Congress Extract from George III's Proclamation restricting western lands to the Indians, prohibiting surveys, warning settlers to depart, and forbidding land purchase from Indians, except in the King's name.

THE MASSACHUSETTS' GOVERNOR

WHEN opposition to the Townshend Acts appeared, the prestige and power of the King were brought to the aid of the British Government in its contest with America. Sir Francis Bernard was Governor of Massachusetts. In 1764 he wrote, "To settle American governments to the greatest possible advantage, it will be necessary to reduce the number of them. . . . If there should be but one form of government established for the North American provinces, it would greatly facilitate the reformation of them. . . . A nobility, appointed by the King for life and made independent, would probably give strength and stability to the American governments as effectually as hereditary nobility does to that of Great Britain." He had already needlessly quarreled with the legislature. (Nos. 80, 81.) He had, for instance, insisted that no one should be appointed colonial agent in England without his approval; he had supported Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson in his pretensions to a seat in the Council; he had openly declared his intentions to control that body. Now further trouble was brewing for him.

At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, legally assembled at Faneuil-Hall, on Wed nesday the 28th of October, 1767.

HF Trees they note two Confectures the Parties of a bitmap of Landsman.

"That fonce fieldmail Headfare singlet be "specified upon to promote finding." On "onesone, and Manufertures is thereby "to present the ensured first progression of Euro-pean Coincodenes, which theretoe the Consery was Pictury and Rain. "Mentages as very Lury and fill Meeting the following Visses and Reddoctors were paided Unamountly.

Whereas the exceptive Up of foreign Superfluiers for the chaight author of the project difference State of the Town is not intended desirable of the Moore makes Mayfortweet (stab) or he encooled by Manne of the last additional But Holes and knopplytuse on the Towle of the Processes, which threaten the Country with Processes and Ross.

Therefore, FOTED That the Town will calk all predom to an Ityal Musican to monoming the Enrichment and Ityal Musican to monoming the Enrichment and Ityal Musican to monoming the Enrichment and Ityal Musican to Musican and Ityalian and Horizon and Musican and Ityalian and Horizon Cardine, and A wish improved from Association, and Enrichment of the State o

And natural is so able ligaries of the Tomas, that denote translational statement is the six histotics, to stil group Advantage, build home values consiste the greater listent, particularly these of last & Paper

Therefore, Fored, That this Town will by a present Ways and Mates, encourage the U.S. a. Construction of Glafe and Paper, under a pay, the Bittle American Colonies; and more open only in this Provence. ill o'Clock, P. M.

THE Committee appointed to the Forenous, to projuce a Form for Salakerpuon, reported as follows

WHEREAS the Propher labour maker a heavy but a control and the found of the late the made the found of the late the made the fraidableast to the theory made he for found filled to very bushappy a Tays and a mee Truth his fig flow Years have as a fid deline, and is some particularly vader great Emberoficants, and homelenades; i heavy play firms a base of late and the Balance of our transfer and the Balance of the same very first on and the Balance of

WE therefore the Subtrainer Josep Seafable than it is which using needing; or Office to extract to see a whole the needing; or Office to extract to see at their measuration of Committian on, to prosend building, Committee the Subtrainer, Committee the Subtrainer, Subtrainer, and the Subtrainer of Subtrainer, and the subtrainer of Subtrainer, the arctifere Uln at which throaters the Consery with Powery and Run or DO protons on only and the subtrainer of Sub

dad not further agole firstly to adhere to the her tequision reflecting language, out guilt me up any family her to the are thoughtness here who are thoughtness here, not present one or further as the property of the second part has raped fault to alfibrately unceffer;

The above Report laring been considered, the Quichen was par. Whether the time fluid best expected. Whether the time fluid best expected. First a neutronly set the Alfrenders,—Intel the time Committee to define it will their the contract to get the Subfrequent Properties and Lecturers and Le

William Cooper, Town Clerk,

133 From the broadside containing the report of the Boston town



The DEPART URE

of an

infamous B-R---T.

with a 100 Med 10 N, bond proclauses you. Feel door's with a 100 Med 10 N, bond proclauses you have been your seeds included you have been your your seeds included you have been you will seed to the control of the co

For litch hardy consider the effectively or provided Ast clay mayer carefull on a stable to or C = 0. Then closes where heavily and in the little plant is the consideration of the little plant in the consideration of the little plant is the consideration of the little plant in the consideration of the little plant in the consideration of the c

132 From a broadside *The Tom-Cod Catcher*, in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., published at the time of Governor Bernard's departure

MASSACHUSETTS' NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENT, 1767

The new taxes (No. 119) were to be collected on the twentieth of November. Numerous arrangements were prerequisite. Chief of these was the establishment in Boston, chosen as the center of imperial control, of the new American Board of Commissioners of the Customs. To Boston, therefore, America looked for leadership. And Boston was perturbed. For Bernard had refused to call the legislature in special session. So, on the twenty-eighth of October, the inhabitants assembled in town meeting, under the leadership of James Otis and Samuel Adams, and unanimously voted to enter into an agreement not to import British-made goods. Steps were taken to inform "the chief Towns in the several Colonies" of this action, and to solicit support.

The legislature finally convened, in January, 1768, in the Town House (already known as the State House). Many members "appeared completely clothed in the manufacture of the country." Samuel Adams was clerk. Thomas Cushing, a Boston merchant, was speaker. The House voted the Circular Letter of February 11 (No. 123) which Bernard sent to London characterizing it as intended to prepare for colonial union against England.



134 From the caricature A Warm Place — Hell, by Paul Revere, 1768, engraved for the Colonial Society of Massachusetts from an original owned by Mary Lincoln Eliot

MASSACHUSETTS REFUSES TO RESCIND THE CIRCULAR LETTER

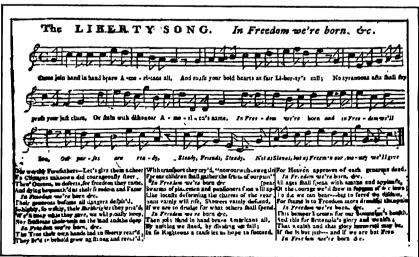
Bernard's misrepresentation met with a sympathetic response from the King and Hillsborough. Royal orders were issued to the Governor to require the House to withdraw the resolution authorizing the Circular Letter of February 11. On June 21 this order was transmitted. Otis opened the debate with a ringing arraignment of the "When Lord ministry's conduct. Hillsborough knows that we will not rescind our acts, he should apply to Parliament to rescind theirs. Let Britain rescind her measures, or the colonies are lost to her forever." For nine days the debate continued. Then, behind locked doors, the question was put, "Whether this House will rescind the resolution." Ninetytwo answered nay; only seventeen sided with the Government. Dissolu-

tion followed. The whole proceeding evoked intense excitement. The "Illustrious Ninety-two" became the popular toast. The caricature pictures the public attitude toward the dissident seventeen. Timothy Ruggles of Worcester is in the van Means are about to be employed to overcome his obvious reluctance to proceed. In the background is the cupola of the Governor's mansion, Province House.

OTHER COLONIES WELCOME THE CIRCULAR LETTER

EVENTS in Massachusetts found an echo in the South. Maryland, through its Assembly, reprimanded its Governor when he asked, as he was required to do by Hillsborough, that the Circular Letter should be ignored. Then Maryland professed entire agreement with the opinions expressed by Adams. In Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, Georgia, South Carolina, Rhode Island, an equally favorable reception was given to the epistle. Even cautious John Dickinson was moved to unusual depths of emotion. In May, 1768, the new customs commissioners reached Boston. Shortly thereafter John Hancock's sloop *Liberty* was seized on a charge

of importing goods without duty payments. Scuffles between officers of the law and the populace ensued. Dickinson broke into verse. Using Garrick's popular Hearts of Oak as a catchy tune, the staid lawyer wrote A Song for American Freedom. Shy of publishing his new venture into unfamiliar realms, Dickinson sent it to his friend Otis, who at once had it published. For years the *Liberty* Song was the most popular of all political snatches.



135 The Liberty Song, 1768 from Bickerstaff's Boston Almanact, 1789, words written by John Dickinson, music, tune of Hearts of Oat, by David Garrick, in the Boston Public Library

ıbı

THE PENNSYLVANIA CHRONICLE, G. for 1769. May 29-Jume 5.

RESOLVES of the House of Burgester, possed the 16'5 of May, 1759
Restroad, Namina THAT the sole right of important center. It posses takes on the inhabitants of the his Merjesty's Colony and Doming on of Pregnas, is now, and ever hath been, legally and constitutionally visided in the House of Bregester, haveled convened, according to the antera and established practice, with the confess of the Countill, and of his Majesty, the King of Oreast Bristads, or his Governor for the time being.
Restroad, Nomine Contradicente, That is in the undoubted privilege of the inhabitants of this colony, to perittan their Governor for the infasticant of this colony, to perittan their Governor for the infasticant of the colony, and obstat is Iswful and expedient to procure the characteries of the colonies, in duty.

ful addresses, praying the Royal interpolition in favour of the violated rights of America.

Rostoved, Nemine Contradicente, That all trials

for treason, misprision of treason, or for any felony or crime whatsoever, committed and done in this his or crime whatfoever, committed and some in this his Misferty's fact colony and dominion, by any person or perform refating therein, ought of right to be list, and conducted in and before his Majisty's counts, that within his said colony, according to the fixed and known course of proceeding 1 and that the fixing only person or persons reliding in this colony, full perform or persons to place therein, and some green experience of the rights of Britis facts person or persons to place beyond the fine to be treed, is highly designating from the mastle privilege of being treed by a jury from the vicinage, as well as the liberty of lummoning and

vicinagy, as well as the liberty of lumnosing and producing with fits on fach trial, will be taken away from the party accused.

Reference, Name Controlicente, That as humble, dutiful, and loyal addrift, he preferred to his Marally, to assure him of our invisible attachment to his facted perfor and government, and to befaceh his royal suterposition, as the father of all his pro-level humblester proofs from his facted his recognition. however remote from the feat of his empire, to gu et the minds of his level lubjects of alithus day's and et from them thoft dangers and this will enlie, from the ferring and entrying beyond for any perion refiduig in America, fulpected of any crosse whatforen, to be tried in any other manner dates by the antient and long allabilities course of proceeding.

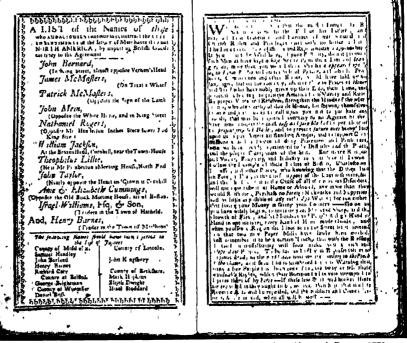
The Virginia Resolves, May 16, 1789, from the Pennsylvania Chronicle, May 29-June 5, 1789, in the New York Public Library

THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY DEFIES THE GOVERNOR

THE ministry, alarmed, determined upon stern measures. To divide the colonies, Massachusetts, as the chief offender, was singled out for treatment. In February, 1769, Parliament asked the Crown to inquire into treasonable acts in Boston, and to bring to England for trial all persons accused. "Your measures," said a member, "are more calculated to raise than to quell rebellion." So it proved. Nothing more fully illustrates the growing community of spirit in America than the events that ensued. In Virginia the new issue was first and most boldly met. The Assembly had been opened, with mutual courtesies, by the new Governor, Lord Botetourt. The first resident Governor for many years, he had been selected because of his urbanity, as a fit means of winning to the Crown the good graces of the Old Dominion. But the Burgesses insisted upon consideration of the pending political questions. The result was the adoption of a series of resolutions, asserting the rights of petition, of self-taxation and of trial by persons of the neighborhood, and beseeching the King "to quiet the minds of his loyal subjects of this colony, and to avert from them those dangers and miseries which will ensue from the seizing and carrying beyond sea any person residing in America . . . to be tried in any other manner than by the ancient and long established course of proceeding." Peyton Randolph, as speaker, sent copies to the other Assemblies. Dissolved by the indignant Governor, the members met in the Raleigh Tavern, elected Randolph moderator, and proceeded to draft a non-importation agreement submitted by Washington. The document was then circulated throughout the province.

THE CHAIN OF UNION IS COMPLETED

UP to this time, such nonimportation agreements had not been widely adopted. Many felt that they would serve merely to widen the breach; others that farming and the fisheries would unduly suffer from the stimulated manufactures. Virginia Resolves aroused the continent. Resolutions, memorials and addresses were prepared; the printingpress became active; arguments patriotic and ingenious were advanced in favor of the agreements. Late in 1769 action on the part of North Carolina "completed the chain of union throughout the continent." An economic reprisal had been set on foot.



137 A List of Unpatriotic Importers, from Edes and Gill's North American Almanack, Boston, 1770, in the New York Public Library

WILLIAM JACKSON,

an IMPORTER; at the

BRAZEN HEAD,

North Side of the TOWN-HOUSE,

and Opposite the Town-Pump, in

Corn-bill, BOSTON.

It is defired that the Sons and DAUGHTERS of LIBERTY, would not buy any one thing of him, for in so doing they will bring Disgrace upon themselves, and their Posterity, for ever and ever, AMEN.

138 Boycott of a Boston Importer, 1770, from a handbill in the Massachusetts Historical Society



140 Lord North, 1732–92, from the drawing by Nathaniel Dance-Holland (1735–1811) in the National Portrait Gallery, London

ASSEMBLIES ENDORSE NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENTS

MEASURES were framed to make the agreements effective. Colonial assemblies passed resolutions endorsing the private arrangements entered into by the citizenry. Town meetings voted to prohibit the consumption of tea. Handbills were used to persuade the "Sons and Daughters of Liberty" to boycott traders who continued to import the prohibited articles

The true Sons of Liberty

And Supporters of the Non-Importation
Agreement,

ARE determined to refent any the least Insult or Menace offer'd to any one or more of the several Committees appointed by the Body at Faneuil-Hall, and chastise any one or more of them as they deserve, and will also support the Printers in any Thing the Committees shall desire them to print.

AS a Warning to any one that shall affront as aforesaid, upon fure Information given, one of these Advertisements will be posted up at the Door or Dwelling-House of the Offender.

139 A Warning by the Boston Sons of Liberty, from a handbill in the Massachusetts Historical Society

THE PATRIOTS' COMMITTEES COMMAND SUPPORT

When public authorities — especially the redcoats — threatened to interfere with the work of "non-importation and economy" the patriots did not shrink from hints of direct action.

KING GEORGE'S WISHES ARE FURTHERED BY NORTH

ENGLISH politics had changed since the repeal of the Stamp Act. In 1767 Townshend's death had brought Lord North into office as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Here was a minister pleasing to George III. Able, courageous, good-humored, North was a dexterous politician. As a supporter of Tory principles, too indolent to oppose even extreme measures sponsored by the willful monarch, he employed his skill for thirteen years to further the King's desires. The ministry was soon to become the pliable instrument of an irresponsible ruler.

BY OPPRESSION ENGLAND INCURS LOSS OF PRESTIGE

On November 8, 1768, the King opened Parliament with a speech in which he said: "The capital town of [that] colony appears... to be in a state of disobedience to all law and government, and has proceeded to measures subversive of the constitution, and attended with circumstances that might manifest a disposition to throw off their dependence on Great Britain. On my part, I have pursued every measure that appears to be necessary for supporting the constitution, and inducing a due obedience



141 From a caricature The Colonies Reduced in the Political Register, London, Dec 1788

to the authority of the legislature." There were many in England who did not agree with this. Opposition to the King's policy was becoming outspoken. The Political Register for December, 1768, carried the above cartoon. The following explanation of it was given: "Great Britain is supposed to have been placed upon the globe; but the colonies being severed from her, she is seen lifting her eyes and mangled stumps to heaven: her shield, which she is unable to wield, lies useless at her side, her lance has pierced New England: the laurel branch has fallen from the hand of Pennsylvania: the English oak has lost its head, and stands a bare trunk." This was the moral: "The ordaining of laws in favor of one part of the nation, to the prejudice and oppression of another, is certainly the most erroneous and mistaken policy. . . . The whole state is weakened, and perhaps ruined forever!"



142 Thomas Pownall, 1720–1805, from a mezzotint engraving by Hichard Earlom (1743–1822), after a painting by Francis Cotes (1725–70), in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

POWNALL URGES REPEAL OF THE TOWNSHEND DUTIES

In January, 1770, North became Prime Minister. He was faced with a dilemma. The net revenue from America was less than three hundred pounds; while the expenses of the military establishment there were over one hundred fifty thousand pounds. The colonial boycott had in 1769 reduced imports from Great Britain seven hundred fifty thousand pounds. Something must be done, and that without surrendering to the malcontents. In the spring of 1769 Thomas Pownall had in the Commons proposed repeal of the Townshend duties: "So favorable an opportunity will never recur. Colonies are combining against our trade and manufactures; new provocations will be given; British honor will be more deeply engaged. Let Parliament then, at once, in advance of the new difficulties, repeal the Act, end the controversy, and give peace to the two countries." Pownall had long been a firm and consistent friend of America. He had been one of the best of the royal governors of Massachusetts. In 1767 he had opposed the idea of parliamentary taxation.

[331]

Anno decimo

Georgii III. Regis.

CAP XVII

An Act to repeal so much of an Act made in the Seventh Year of His present Majely's Renge, naturaled An All for greating evitarian Dutin in the British Colonies and Plantations in America, for allowing a Drawback of the Dutin of Golfeen upon the Exportation from this Kingdom, of Cosses and Coson Nutr of the Produce of the faid Colonies or Plantations, for differential the Drawbacks payable on China Earthen-ware exported to America, and for more effectually preventing the clandifume Running of Goods in the faid Colonies and Plantations, as relates to the Duties upon Gloss, Red lead, White lead, Painters Colours,

Anno Regni decimo Georgii III Regis

Paper, Pafte-boards, Mill-boards, and Scale
boards of the Produce or Manufacture of
Gr.at Britan, imported into any of IIss Ma
jefty's Colonies in America, and also to the
discontinuing he Drawbacks payable on China
Earthen-ware exported to America, and for
regulating the Exportation thereof

AG, Car UI

in the Sucritip pria of his Spatch to the Sucritip pria of his Spatch to the Sucritip Pria of his Spatch to the Stage that the

Angion, of Coffee and Cocco Noss of the Produce of the fad Colonier or Plantisation, for deformating the Drawkicks popular or Chini Earthea-were exported to America and for more effectually presenting the chefine Romany of Goods on the lad Colonies and Plantischine Romany of Goods on the lad Colonies and Plantischine Colonies of the Colonies of the Colonies and Plantischine Colonies of the Colonies of Colonies of the Colonies of Colonies of Colonies of the Colonies of the Popularism of Colonies of the popularism of Colonies of the Colonies of the popularism of Colonies of the popularism of Colonies of the Colonies of t

144

143

From an original printed copy (second and third pages), in possession of the publishers, of the Act of 1770 repealing all duties except the one on tea

THE KING RETAINS THE TEA TAX ON PRINCIPLE

But repeal was not to the liking of North and his master. Said North: "If we are to run after America in search of reconciliation, I do not know a single Act of Parliament that will remain. Are we to make concessions to these people, because they have the hardhhood to set us at defiance? No authority was ever confirmed by the concession of any part of honor or of right. Shall I give up my right?" The answer was the King's: "There must always be one tax to keep up the right" "The contest in America," North said in 1770, "is now for no less than sovereignty on one side, and independence on the other." So in April all the duties were repealed except that on tea. This was retained to assert British sovereignty. "The Grenville plan to tax America for revenue was given up, and in lieu of it was the King's plan to tax it on principle."—
J. S. Bassett, Short History of the United States, p. 173.



145 From an engraving, about 1870, by John C McRae after the painting Rassing the Liberty Pole, by F. A. Chapman

BOSTON PASSIVELY RESISTS THE QUARTERING OF BRITISH TROOPS

THE troubles of 1768 in Boston had led to the sending of troops to that place They arrived in September. Governor Bernard tried to have at least one regiment quartered in town. The townspeople insisted that all be lodged in the barracks at Fort William in the harbor. General Gage was at last forced to hire quarters at high rentals. Throughout the stay of the troops, till the eve of the Revolution, this policy of passive resistance proved effective.

THE PRESENCE OF TROOPS IRRITATES THE BOSTON PEOPLE

THE presence of the King's scarlet was a continual source of irritation to the inhabitants. Their services were not wanted; their pompous parades were offensive; their bearing often insulting. "The troops greatly corrupt our morals," said Dr. Cooper, brother of the Town Clerk, and Mayhew's successor as the political preacher of the town. "They are in every sense an oppression. May Heaven soon deliver us from this great evil." Quarrels often arose between individual

soldiers and the citizens. In all fairness to the former, the taunts of the latter were more than occasionally provocative.



147 From the painting King's Scarlet and Homespun, by Harry A. Ogden (1858—) © Gound & Co. Paris

THE BOSTON "MASSACRE," 1770

On March 5, 1770, the pent-up feelings overflowed in the episode dubbed the Boston Massacre. Though differing but in degree from earlier affrays, it aroused the populace and was for years celebrated annually in Old South Church. On the day following the affair, a town meeting authorized Samuel Adams to request the Governor to remove the troops to Castle William. This Hutchinson and his staff finally agreed to do; and for four years troops remained in Boston harbor.

H D E V E R. hiv canduly traced the rapid Growth of sheft Colonies from their lutle Beginnings to that prefent flounding State in Wealth and Population, under cycle deldinguished State of Hawen still imperfe every Mind with a humble Confidence that "no Delign formed spanfor us hall project". The measured Malicin Quidence is not of Stote has in Girting, and a lith Informing, with that the usual dath stied, the is not yet followed by the state of their States, a few first and persons because of the thabstant best frontgy in the Case of I berry is list it appears that the Mariatre of Simplerial Works is not yet full. That detailed Partial of the Case of the States, and the States of the States of

Memorandums, for a Report.

 \mathbf{W}^{E} have agreable to your Commands viewed and enquired what Cover can be bired with the Confent of the Proprietors for the Troops next Winter

We find that Out Houfer, Diffuleries and Store-Houfes can be hard to concern the Sereant, for and previte Men of four Regiments. That is thefe want Fire Flucet, Windows and creat Floors, the Expence of learning which; and for Rent, and structing them in the Conditions they now frond, will be notify to One Thoufand Pounds a Regiment. The Expence would be gradly leffened, and the Troops more comfortably quartered, if the public Buildings, fach as the Manufacturing Floofe, for, and be appropriated for the Accommodation of the Troops

It appears that Barracks can be built on a more thirfly Footing than they can be hired, and fined up. But us no Body in this Place will ad fach Works, Capt Montrofer with the Affild, asce he can a prefent depend upon, think be annow undertake in furinfla Baracks before the End of November, for more than three Regiments; the Officers of one of these Regiments in the Officers of one of the Regiments in the Officers of one of the Regiments in the Officers of one of the Officers of one o

It appers on Enquiry difficult to find Houfes for quartering Officers of the Regiments whole private M n are to be lodged in Out Houfes; Lodging Money should be given to Officers who, we cannot provide for

In chaffing Statations for the Barracks to be ballt, at anglet be wished to place them for as to make the resent Erection part of force general Plant that any be found, with a View of commanding the Obselment of the Town on States Decedons; but if they are confined to Situations where the Ground Interposed to being to the Public, we would propose to be good Barracks for New New 1991, michally of Different, on the Cammon, or on a Falld area, whater could be him.

To put two Companies into a folid Barrack, or Block-House, on the Top of Bacco-Hall, which flouid be enclosed with a Trench and Palifade

A Barnack should be built on Fort-Hill, which mught helpe alight Companies and the Artillery.

As soon as it is proper to let each Regument have in Quirters, their Efforts to get themselves

" This is a Falt, founded on the Authority of a respectable Gentieman of this Terro, issury arrived from London who there had it from Mr. Hutchirson a own Mouth

146 From a broadside urging resistance to the quartering of troops, Boston (1768), in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library



148 From the engraving by Paul Revers in the New York Historical Society



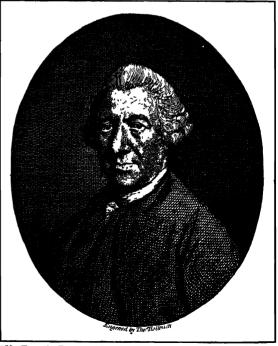
From the portrait of Hutchinson by John Singleton Copley, in the Massachusetts Historical Society

ISRAEL MAUDUIT, 1708-87, HUTCHINSON'S AGENT IN ENGLAND

In such actions, Hutchinson was not unwilling to misrepresent American conditions. His agent in this work was Mauduit. Though educated for the ministry, Mauduit had become a successful London merchant. In 1763 he was entrusted with the presentation of the interests of Massachusetts to the Government. Shortly thereafter he began issuing pamphlets favoring the contentions of the colonies; in this work, which continued until 1781, he proved very adroit. When events in America seemed to threaten a rupture of British relations, Mauduit opposed the colonies. In March, 1778, however, he declared for American independence and bent his efforts to secure it. The use of such London agents became a common practice of many of the colonies. With direct and continuous intercommunication out of the question, some such institution was needed to impress the imperial authorities with the real views of the colonists. Official dispatches often required interpretation at the hands of some one familiar with local conditions. Of such agents Mauduit was one of the ablest.

THOMAS HUTCHINSON, 1711-80. TORY GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS

Hurchinson in 1770 succeeded Bernard A descendant of Ann as Governor Hutchinson, he did not inherit any bent toward rebellion against constituted authority. He was a scholar, a man of ability, a good administrator. His long public career gives evidence of this. In 1738 he was a Boston selectman, for ten years he represented the town in the Assembly, for three years being Speaker; from 1749 to 1766 he was a member of the Council: he had been Lieutenant Governor since 1758, and since 1760 Chief Justice as well. "No man was so experienced in the public affairs of the colony; and no one was so familiar with its history, usages and laws." - BAN-CROFT, VI, p. 303. This knowledge should have served him in these portentous years; but unfortunately that long official service had brought his natural conservatism more and more into line with the views of the imperial government. In 1765 he had disapproved of the Stamp Act. In 1770 he not only supported Lord North, but urged him on.

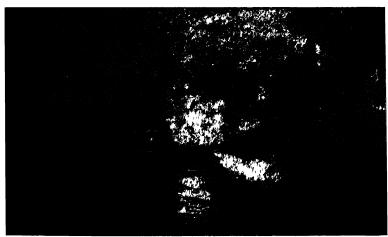


FEMININE TEA-DRINKERS WEAKEN THE BOYCOTT, 1770

LORD NORTH had originally favored the total repeal of the Townshend duties Royal persistence, combined with a belief that the non-importation agreements would fall of themselves, had won him round. In this belief he was correct. Only in New York had the agreement been well kept. After the partial repeal, Carolina, Georgia, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Massachusetts, one by one increased importations from England Merchants of New York felt the strain of their self-imposed abnegation. A poll of the people was taken in the summer of 1770—one of the earliest in American history. Only three hundred out of fifteen hundred favored the retention of restrictions on goods other than tea. So in July the merchants placed London orders for merchandise, except tea. Philadelphia, Boston and South Carolina denounced the action. "Send us your Liberty Pole," said Philadelphia. But the agreement was broken, to the joy of the Tory. That there was pressure upon the New York merchant to procure tea as well is shown by the accompanying squib. And there is little doubt that plenty of the "Indian weed" found its way into the homes of the well-to-do.

A BRITISH PATROL SHIP IS BURNED OFF PROVIDENCE

"THE people," wrote Johnson, Connecticut's agent, on October 25, 1771, "appear to be weary of their altercations with the Mother Country; a little discreet conduct on both sides would perfectly reestablish . . . warm affection and respect towards Great Britain." But such conduct was not forthcoming. Comparative calm was broken from time to time, and in very significant fashion. A most dramatic instance occurred off Providence in 1772. Patrolling that shore against smugglers was the Gaspé, Lieutenant Dudingston commanding. Smugglers were then patriots; Dudingston was exasperatingly efficient, perhaps overbearing, in the execution of his duty. One day, chasing Captain Benjamin Lindsay's sloop Hannah, the Gaspé ran aground. The news spread rapidly. Under the lead of John Brown, merchant,



152 From the painting Attack on the Gasps by Charles DeWolf Brownell, in the Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence

Man Yest may 10 1770. THE FEMALE PATRIOT, Nº 1 ADDRESSED TO THE

TEA-DRINKING LADIES or NEW-YORK.

THEN ADAM first fell into SATAN's Share, And forfested his Blifs to pleafe the Fair ; Gon from his Garden drove the fined Man, An I thus the Source of human Wees began. I was weak in ADAM, for to please his Wife, To lose his access to the Tree of Life: i in d.ar bought Knowledge all his Sons deplore. . Draru thir Inheritance, and Sin their Stoie. But why blame Adam, fince his Brainless Race Will 'ole their ALL to obtain a beautious FACE; And will their Honour, Pride, and Wealth lay down, l'ather then see a lovely Woman frown. The Ladies are not quite, fo complifant. If they want TEA, they'll fform and rave and rants And call their Lordly Husbands Ass and CLOWN. The jest of Fools and Sport of all the Town. A pleasent Spary lately I heard told Of MADAU HORBSTOOM, a noted Scold, Last Day her fruiband said, " My dearest Life, . My Kind, my Fair, my Angel of a Wife; Juli row, from London, there's a Ship come in Brings noble News will raise us Merchants Fame, The Finits of our non-importation Scheme. The Parliament, dear Saint, may they be bleft.

Have great part of our Grievances redreft:"

" Flave they indeed," replies the frowning Dame,
" Say, as there not fome Tea and China come."

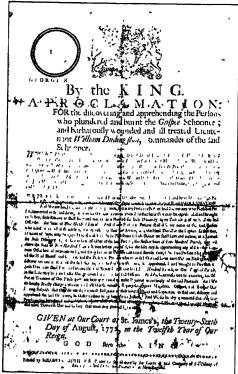
" Why, na! We can't import that Indian Weed, That Duty's full a Rod above our Head. "Cutfe on your Heads, you nafty fumbling Crew. Then round his Shoulders the hard Broom-Stick flew. Go, dirty CLOD-roll get me fome Shufbong, This Evening I'v. invited MADAM STRONG. - Silence --- you BLOCKHEAD --- hear, the Lade knocks I Bet to your Cock-Loft or expect fome Strokes." -- "Your Servant Madam, Tea is on the Board I really tho't you once had broke your Word."

I alk your Pardon, dear Miss HORNBLOOM, My foraling Brats Lept me to fong at Home; My Rapid Hulband too has gone altray

151 From a broadside dated New York, May 10, 1770, in the New York Public Library

To wait upon the Sons of LIBERTY.

and Abraham Whipple, shipmaster, an expedition was organized. During the night the Gaspé was boarded by a party of sixtyfour armed men from Providence, after a scuffle in which the Lieutenant was wounded. Sending the crew ashore, the daring townsfolk set fire to the vessel, which burned to the water's edge. It was another episode showing the degree of irritation aroused in the average American of those days by the inept conduct of the British Government.



From the original in the Rhode Island Historical Society

BOSTON'S COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE CALLS FOR UNIFIED ACTION

HAPPENINGS such as this encouraged the radical element. Adams, smelling tyranny on every tainted breeze, was convinced by now (October 29, 1772) that "this country must shake off its intolerable burdens at all events." Unceasingly he worked. More and more

he insisted that the cause of one colony was the cause of all, and that through union alone could rights be maintained. At last,

in Boston town meeting, he found occasion to set up machinery to achieve his end. On his motion there was appointed a Committee of Correspondence of twenty-one members, to exchange opinions and information with other towns. "God grant," he cried, "that the love of liberty, and a zeal to support it, may enkindle in every town." The response was pleasing. Soon Adams was leading an unofficial but authoritative colonial organization. Though Hutchinson might refuse to call the Assembly, unified counsel was now again possible and even present.

OTHER COLONIES FOLLOW BOSTON'S LEAD

WHEN Virginia, spurred by the Gaspé affair, and under the leadership of Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Dabney Carr and Richard Henry Lee, created in March, 1773, a standing Committee of Correspondence to communicate with the other colonies, Adams' hopes were realized. By July Committees were operating in six colonies; and gradually others came into existence. Through them public opinion was focused, and by them political union was foreshadowed.

Chries Shaw, Alexander Wellice, James Jauncey, James Jauncey, Cabral H Ludlow, Nicholas Hoffman, Abrhatam Walchen, Peter Van Schauek, Hannloom, Cerardus Duyckinck, Hannloom, Corge Bown, Hannloom, Peter T Currenus Peter Goeig, Bown, Peter T Currenus Peter Goeig, Abraham Brifher Lett, David Van Home, Cerardus W Beckman, Abraham Duryce Joseph Bull, William Myddam, William Myddam, Richard Sharpe, Thomas Marlton, Frances Lews, added new con. May 19th 155 From a facsimile of the original handbill of the New York Committee, May 16, 1774, in the Bancker Collection Catalogue, 1898, courtesy of Stan V. Henkels

A T a Meeting at the Exchange, 16th May, 1774, 15AAC LOW, chosen CHAIRMAN 1ft Queltion put, Whether it is necessary for the present, to appoint a Committee to correspond with the neighbouring Colonies, on the present important Crisis? Carried in the Affirmative by a great Majority ad Whether a Committee be nominated this Evening for the Approbation of the Public?—Carried in the Affirmative by a great Majority 3d Whether the Committee of 50 be appointed, or a57—Carried for 50, by a great Majority The Island of the I

Benjamin Booth Joseph Hillere, Chirles Shaw, Alexander Wallice,

The follows

The follows

William Bayard

Theophylad Bachn

Peter V B Livinghon,

Phinp Livinghon,

Phinp Livinghon,

Phing Livinghon,

Clac Sears,

David Johnfron,

Charlas Nicholl

Alexander M'Douga II,

Capt Thomas Randail,

John Moorn

Isaa Low

John Moorey
Ifase Low
Leonard Lifpenard,
Jacobus Van Zandt,
James Duane,
Edward Laught,
Thomas Pearfall,
Elus Debroffes,
William Walton,
B-shard Yang,

ROYAL PROCLAMATION CONCERNING THE GASPE

In England this lawless act was magnified into high treason. Royal orders were issued to the colonial authorities, commanding them to arrest the culprits and hand them over to be taken to England for trial. But Rhode Island had no royal governor, nor would any one move to retain the raiders. Stephen Hopkins, now Chief Justice, let it be known that he would give no cognizance to any such arrest. Even the offer of rewards by the Crown failed to bring forward the offenders. Yet they were well known. They were, indeed, with

Abraham Whipple as their leader, among the most prominent persons in Providence. They had assembled for their adventure by beat of drum and laid their plans at a public tavern And on the day following the raid one of them had openly paraded the Lieutenant's gold-laced hat.

Boston, June 22d, 1773

THE Committee of Correspondence of the Town of Byfor, conformable to that Duty which they have linkerto enteat worred to distance with Figure 19 and 200 and 19 and

A m re extraordinary Occurrence possibly never yet look Place 12 - America 4, the resolutional Lare of that gracious dising who con blottes the right Seuties of this Country to challiful file is the section of the Country of the Co

been had for us by our mistellous and indisous Estender
Our perfant Covernor has beed exertifig hunk if (as the hongrableHoule of Alfembly have experified themselves in their late Refolves).

"by his firest confidential correspondence to introduce Meafures
by his firest confidential correspondence to introduce Meafures
in the confidence of the confid

Your Friends and humble Servants,

Bigned by Directuon of the Committee for Correspondence in Boston,

bigned by interion of the Committee for Correspondence in 1991m, Man Gorpett, Town-Cerk. To the Town Clerk of delivered to the Committee of Correspondence for your Town, if facts a Committee we object, asternuft to the Goulences the Selections, to be communitied to the Town.

¹⁵⁴ From the Circular Letter, June 22, 1773, addressed to the town committees, in the Massachusetts Historical Society

ROYAL CONCESSION TO EAST INDIA COMPANY THREATENS AMERICAN COMMERCE

The fires of discontent soon received fresh fuel from England. In 1773 the East India Company, financially embarrassed, appealed to the Government for aid. This the King granted. The company was allowed to carry tea to America free of the usual duties charged for transshipment in England. Further, it might establish in the colonies stores for selling its goods. The Americans therefore could buy their tea more cheaply than the English; while the obstinate boycotting American merchant would face the cutthroat competition of a monopolistic trading corporation. The resentment of colonial merchants was that of men whose whole economic position was threatened. Their thoughts were, a few years later, mirrored by Tom Paine, the ever-ready pamphleteer, who was always prepared to write on any burning aspect of the political or economic life of the hour. "When rights are secure, property is secure in consequence. But when property is made a pretence for unequal or exclusive rights, it weakens the right to hold the property, and provokes indignation and tumult, for it is unnatural to believe that property can be secure under the guarantee of a society injured in its rights by the influence of that property."



John Hancock, 1737-93, from the portrait by John Singleton Copley in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

ASSOCIATION

THE SONS OF LIBERTY.

NEW-YORK.

Ashy, nor the Turpois of stading a Revenue in America, he shall be deceased, an Enemy to the Li of Reseave. That wheerer hall he skings, or attlicing, no the Leading, or testing of shots any Ship, or Veifit, or hall her any Fixele, Storchastic, or Collar, or any Fixee whichever, to far higherto shape at a storchastic hall be deserted, as Enemy to the Lebrarie of America Tas, fully the san Dury as shortful, or thall set to the storchastic contributes to the Ship, or P Tas, fully the san Dury as shortful, or thall set to the storchastic contributes to the Ship, or P tas, the storchastic contributes the same storchastic contributes to the same storchastic contributes to the same storchastic contributes and America storchastic contributes are equily finderinations Tax, unposed by than And, be guide to Great Barriera to the Ship the Ship that the Ship the Ship that the Ship th

NEW YORK, November 19, 1773

53 From a broadside of the Sons of Liberty, New York, Nov 29, 1773, protesting against the tea duty, in the New York Historical Society

A RICH BOSTON MERCHANT LEADS THE RADICALS

THE East India Company, however, proceeded to send out ships laden with tea, destined for various ports. Their coming was known; everywhere preparations were made. Most spectacular were the events in Boston. Here as elsewhere the new measure brought into alliance the radical leaders, such as Samuel Adams, with the more substantial citizens, as William Phillips, John Rowe and John Hancock. The latter is one of the most striking figures of the Revolution. He was a prominent merchant of Boston, of liberal, indeed, of exceedingly charitable, bent. He had amassed a great fortune, being the owner of more property in Boston than any other individual. His determined objection to the impositions of the English Government, his courage in defying the excise officers by smuggling through wines from the Indies, his wholehearted generosity toward those who suffered from the cessation of business, endeared him to the people of Massachusetts. Hancock was the first signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the first Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachu-

Whereas a Number of Mershants in this Province have inadvertently imported Tea from Great Bri-tim, mabile it is fubjest to the Payment of a Duty imposed upon it by an Ast of the British Parliament for the Purpose of raising a Revenue in America. and appropriating the fame without the Confent of those who are required to pay it:

RESOLVED, That in this importing faid Tez, they have juftly incurr'd the Displeasure of our Brethren in the other Colonies.

ind Refolued further, That if any Person or Persons shall hereafter import Tea from Great-Britain, or if any Master or Masters of any Vessel or Vessels in Great-Britain stall take the same on Board to be imported to this Place, until the said unrighteous Act shall be repeat'd, he or they shall be deem'd by this Body, an Enemy to his Country; and we will prevent the Landing and Sale of the fame, and the Payment of any Duty thereon. And we will effect the Return thereof to the Place from where it shall come.

RESOLVED, That the foregoing Vote be priated and fent to England, and all the Sea-Ports in this Province:

Upon a Motion made, Voted, That fair Copies Upon a Motion made, voted, 1 aut rair copies be taken of the whole Proceedings of this Meeting, and transfinited tonew York &Philadelphia, And that

Mr. SAMUEL ADAMS,
Hon JOHN HANCOCK, Efg;
WILLIAM PHILLIPS, ER,

JOHN ROWE, Eig; JONATHAN WILLIAMS Eig Be a Committee to transmit the same.

Voted, That it is the Determination of this Body, to carry their Votes and Refolutions into Execution, at the Rifque of their Lives and Property.

Voted, That the Committee of Correspondence for this Town, be defired to take Care that every other Veffel with Tea that arrives in this Harbour, have a proper Watch appointed for her — Alfo Voted, That those Persons who are desirous of making a Part of these Nightly Watches, be de-sired to give in their Names at McElletrs Edes and Gill's Printing-Office.

Voted, That our Brethren in the Country be defired to afford their Affithence upon the first Notice given; especially if such Notice be given upon the Arrival of Captain Loring, in Medicurs Clarkes' Brigantine.

Voted, That that of this Body who belong to the Town of Bolton do return their Thanks to their Brethren who have come from the neighbouring Towns, for their Countenance and Union with this Body in this Exigence of our Affairs.

WOTED, That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to Jouannan Williams, Efq. for his good fervices as Moderator.

VOTED, That this Meeting be Diffolved -And it was accordingly Diffolved.

A MEETING OF PROTEST ENDS WITH A WAR WHOOP On the 16th, a vast concourse flocked to that accustomed rendezvous of the patriot, Old South Church. Here, with noteworthy patience and order, final efforts were made to solve the problem. By evening

meeting, amid tremendous shouting and cheering.

failure was apparent. Then rose Sam Adams, saying: "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." As though this were a prearranged signal, an Indian war whoop at once sounded without. This was caught up by the crowd. The moderator adjourned the

BOSTON PLANS TO PREVENT THE LANDING OF TEA

The first effort in Boston was to secure the resignation of the Company's agents, two of whom were sons of the Governor. Success in this, however, was not attained. On November 28, the first of the tea-ships, the Dartmouth, appeared in the harbor. Two others followed shortly. Every exertion was now made to have the tea sent back in the ships that had brought it.

ROSTON. December 2, 1773

WHEREAS it has been reported that a Permit will be given by the Cultom-Houle for Landing the Tea new on Board a Veffel laying in this Harboar, commanded by Capt. HALL THIS is to Remand the Publick, That it was foleranty voted by the ly of the People of this and the neighbouring Towns affembled at the Old South Meeting House on Tuesday the 30th Day of November, that Old South Meeting Hootic on Tuestay the 300th Dig of Verwender, cast the find I has never flood be leaded in the Province, or pay one Farthing of Dury. And as the saling or diffiring in procuring or granting any flock Persui for landing the find Tea or any other Tea fo circumfanced, or in officing any Persals when obtained to the Malter or Commander of the faul Ship or any other Ship in the fame Satuation, mult betray an inhuman Thirst for Blood, and will also in a great Measure accelerate Con fulion and Civil War This is to affure fuch public Enemies of this Counary that they will be confidered and treated as Wretches unworthy to live. and will be made the first Victums of our just Resentment.

THE PEOPLE

N B Captain Brace is arrived laden with the fame detellable Commodity, and to peremptorily demanded of him, and all concerned, that they comply with the fame Bequitions.

From a Boston handbill, Dec 2, 1773, in the Massachusetts Historical Society

WARNINGS AGAINST GIVING AID TO THE TEA-SHIP

SIMULTANEOUSLY precautions were taken against the landing of the cargo. This made the situation virtually impossible for the ships. The collector of the port declined to issue clearance papers till all dutiable goods had been discharged, the townspeople stood ready to oppose unloading of the tea. Governor Hutchinson meanwhile had

taken measures to prevent the departure of the vessels past Castle William. The law provided that should duties not be paid after twenty days, the vessel and its cargo were liable to seizure for non-payment. The date of expiration was the 16th of December. As the day approached, Hutchinson glimpsed victory over his townsmen.



The Old South Meetinghouse, from a y The Halliday Historic Photophotograph by graph Co.

¹⁵⁸ Resolutions of a Boston Town Meeting to prevent the "Landing and Sale of Tea," from a broadslide, Dec 1, 1773, in the Massachusetts Historical Society

"INDIANS" STAGE THE BOSTON TEA PARTY

THE throng then proceeded to the foot of Purchase Street. There, off Griffin's Wharf, were moored the three tea-ships Aboard these went the "Indian" party which, in point of fact, had been making careful preparations through the day. Quietly and systematically, before a silent but eager gathering, every bit of tea was destroyed. No other property was damaged, no person harmed. "The whole," Hutchinson confessed, "was done with very little tumult." Nevertheless it was an overt and premeditated act of violence, weakening the colonial' cause



From the Chronicles of America motion picture The Eve of the Revolution

among liberal Englishmen who were friends of America and diminishing the chances for a peaceful settlement of the difficulties.

BOSTONIANS EXULT OVER THEIR DEFIANCE

GREAT was the rejoicing. "You cannot imagine," wrote Samuel Adams, "the height of joy that sparkles in the eyes and animates the countenances as well as the hearts of all we meet." From outside Massachusetts came echoes. In New York crowds "highly extolled the Bostonians"; in Philadelphia bells announced "the most perfect approbation." "The TEA is sunk in spite of all our foes," said a contemporary broadside. "A NOBLE SIGHT—to see the accursed TEA mingled with MUD

DELAWARE PILOTS.

H E Regard we have for your Characture, and our Defire to promote your future Feace and Safety, are the Ocesion of the Third Address to you.

Drekers, We are now informed by good Authority, the 1th Ten Ship was a Three Decker, the

Twe Captains us Amely he fellow, and a little afficient within.— So much the worsh for hum.— Evo, fellow a he rain-way. We final heaven him. Keel one, and see that his Bottom be well fixed, frouthold and pand. His Upper-Works see will have an Overthouting—— and as us find, he has a good dead of Quald Work about hem. We will take particular Care that fisch Part of him undergloss a thorough Rummagling.

We have a full sorph Assess of he Owner :-- for it is find, the Ship Politi was bought by him on Parpole, so make a Perny of us; and that he and Captain Ayre were well adviled, of the Bifque they would rus, in thus daring to infult and abush

Captions April with there in the Time of the Stamp AS, and ought to have become our People better than to have expected over would be for mean as to lieffer his resident to be formed down our Through, such the Performent Day winds with it.

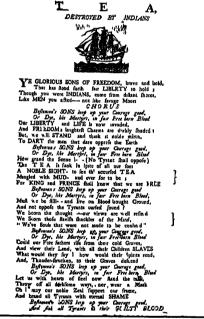
We know how well, and have calculated in a Gull and a Feather hore much at all require to fit him for an American Zelablane. And we hope, not one of your fieldy will behave fo all, as to oblige us to clap hom in the Care along fields of the Cofession.

YOUR OLD FALLEDS,
THE COMMITTEE ION TARRING AND FEATHERING.

Monday Montaing, December 27, 1979

THE TEA-SHIP being arrived, every inhabetant, who without
the preferre the Liberty of America, to defired to most at the
STATE-MOURL, This Montaing, prendity at TEA Clock, to adwife what to bed, to be done on this alarming Critis.

163 From a broadside in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia — and ever for to be." Withal, there was an undercurrent of concern and of courage. One participant epitomized this as follows: "We do console ourselves that we have acted constitutionally."



62 From a broadside, 1773, in the Massachusetts Historical Society

PHILADELPHIA REBUFFS ITS TEA-SHIP

THE tea-ship met short shrift wherever it appeared. At Philadelphia precautions had early been taken to forestall any attempt to land the cargo. On Christmas Day came news that the ship Polly, was off Chester, down the river. Five thousand in town meeting then counseled together. At their persuasion the Company agent resigned his office, and the captain agreed to sail back to London the very next day. No whiff of tea reached land; and again the colonists exulted in their strength to oppose the pretentions of a willful Government.



From a mural painting Burning of the Peggy Stewart, by C. Y. Turner (1850-1918) in the Courthouse, Baltimore

To the Public,

To the Public,

Trived laft night at Sandy-Hook, but the pilot would not bring up the Captain of the pilot would not bring up the Captain of the ratival, and that the Captain of the ratival, and that the Captain folicits for the ratival, and that the Captain folicits for the ratival, and that the Captain folicits for the fiberty to come up to provide necestaries for the fiberty to come up to provide necestaries for the fiberty to come up to provide necestaries for the fiberty to come up to remain at Sandy-the Hook. The committee conceiving it to be be the fenfe of the city that the flould have the fiberty, figuified it to the Gentlest and other necessities. Advice of this was and whenever he comes up, care will be taken that he does not enter at the customing and whenever he comes up, care will be the find and whenever he comes up. care will be the find and whenever he comes up. care will be the find in the fiberty.

A LOCAL TEA MERCHANT IS FORCED TO BURN HIS SHIP

tured servants. Anthony Stewart, local merchant and owner, paid the duty on the tea in order that he might ANNAPOLIS also had its tea party. On October 14, 1774, the Peggy Stewart arrived with a cargo of tea and indenget the servants ashore. The town's ire was raised thereby; and though Stewart made public announcement that he would burn the tea upon its unloading, a minority of the inhabitants, led by Charles Warfield, found this unsatisfactory. The merchant finally, with his own hands, fired the ship with its tea.

THE TEA-SHIPS HASTEN AWAY FROM NEW YORK

The Company's tea-ships destined for New York were délayed by winds. The Sons of Liberty became impatient to show their spirit. When a vessel, not belonging to the East India Company, happened along with eighteen cases of tea aboard, the Massachusetts precedent, costume and all, was followed. By the time the vessels of the company appeared, the course of procedure was so well understood that little confusion arose. Asking humble permission to provision his ship, the captain tarried no longer than that process required before turning back to the benefit of the troops. Thus, up and down the coast, the colonists were learning that forcible resistance London. In Charleston the tea was actually landed, and was kept in storage until, years later, it was sold for to the commands of Parliament was possible, and that such methods were at least as likely to gain the contended point for America as the use of humble petition and memorial.

THE COLONIES BEGIN COOPERATIVE RESISTANCE

THE tea parties illustrated the effectiveness of the control exercised by a de facto government. That machinery, fostered by Samuel Adams, was now strengthened under the impetus of these happenings. For instance, we find the people of Newport affirming the principles upon which colonial resistance rested and stressing the desirability of united colonial action "for the preservation of the general and particular rights and privileges of North America." It is no longer "Rhode Island" or "Massachusetts Bay," but "North America." In March, Adams wrote to Franklin, now the agent of Massachusetts in London: "It will be in vain for any to expect that the people of this country will now be contented with a partial and temporary relief, or that they will be amused by Court promises, while they see not the least relaxation of grievances. By means of a brisk correspondence among the several towns of this Province, they have wonderfully animated and enlightened each other. They are united in sentiment, and their opposition to unconstitutional measures of Government is become systematical. Colony begins to communicate freely with colony. There is a common affection among them; and shortly

Colony of RHODE-ISLAND, &c.

At a Town-Meeting held at NEWPORT, the 12th Day of January, 1774, HENRY WARD, Esq; MODERATOR.

WHERAS the Eaß India Company, netwithfead.

We the refoliations of the Americans note to many the respective their confers, in order to be fold, in the network of the reformation thereof no figure And whereas they may attempt to be confers, in order to be fold, in the necessary, and the many there is the result of the Americans, and the results of the result

." Erry one of the shore VOTF3 passed without a fingle different, except that to tagal e into the rife of t, agal & which there were but about 5 or 4 hands up ——Noven liftending the weather was detremely sard, a server way for fall a town mooning here, as the above, except forenesses to the highest Rengale day toue, for rea-

Printed by SOLOMON SOUTHWICK

Resolves of a Newport, R I, town meeting, Jan 12, 1774, urging action against the tea duty, from the copy in the New York Public Library

the whole Continent will be as united in sentiment and in measures of opposition to tyranny, as the inhabitants of this province" Such was the hope of the radicals. And no one was a better judge than Adams himself; for he was on intimate terms with all classes of the people, from the denizens of the taverns to the ministers of the gospel.



From a cartoon published in Paris, 1774, drawn and engraved by François Godefroy (1720-88)

A BOSTON MOB MALTREATS A CUSTOMS OFFICER The events of December, 1773, had aroused a zeal that did not slowly cool. On New Year's Eve a half-chest of tea was burned on the Common. On the 20th, three barrels of Bohea suffered immolation to the cause. On the 25th, John Malcolm. a customs officer who had made indiscreet remarks concerning English retribution, was taken from his house, tarred and feathered, and paraded through the public streets.



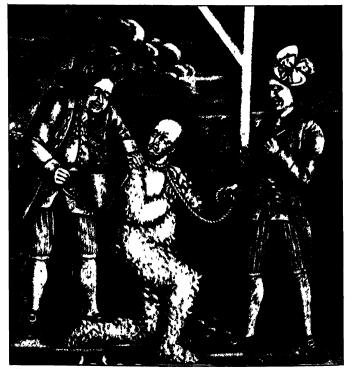
168 From an English cartoon Bostonians Paying the Exciseman, London, 1774, original in the Library of Congress, Washington

LONDON MOCKS COLONIAL VIOLENCE

POOR John Malcolm became the subject of many cartoons, both in America and in England. This one, and the one that follows. pictures the state of public feeling in the home country. It portrays the treatment meted out to the unfortunate exciseman by the homespun ruffian-patriots of Massachusetts. In addition to the indignity of a coat of tar and feathers, he appears to have been forced by the mob to drink of the obnoxious tea. In the background are shown the customary Liberty Tree and the tea-ships, ice-bound in the harbor. Many such prints, ridiculing the matters at issue between the Government and the colonies, were published in London just prior to the Revolution, for this was preeminently the age of political satire, both in text and picture, and the English excelled in the arts of irony and sarcasm. So appreciated was the "American custom" at this time, that a "tarring and feathering" scene was introduced into a popular pantomime at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, and became one of the features of the performance.

REBELLION IN AMERICA IS CLASSED WITH RADICALISM IN ENGLAND

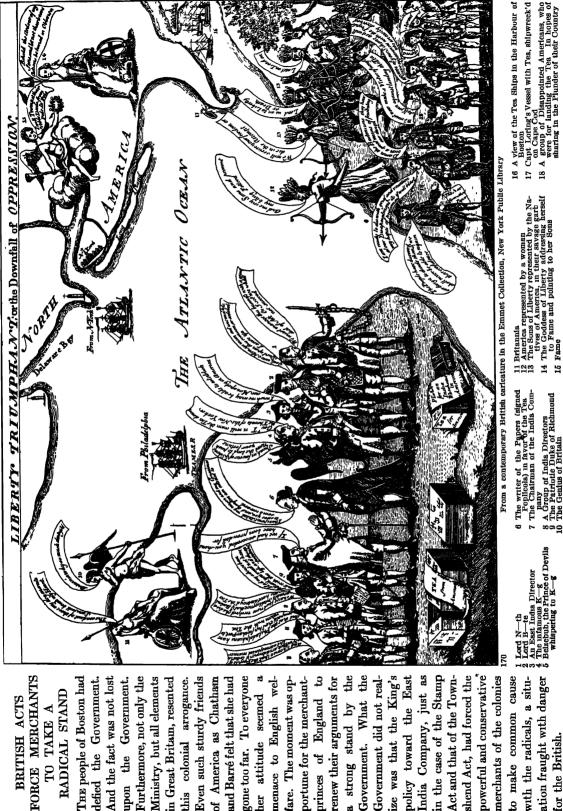
THE title of a companion to the preceding cartoon was evidently suggested by the report that Malcolm was to become a King's pensioner. (In those days, "Macarony" was a term of contempt and derision.) The scaffold, under which the Sons of Liberty kept Malcolm for many hours on a winter's night, is here shown in place of the Liberty Tree. The number "45" had to do with John Wilkes, at that time Lord Mayor of London. Some years before, the forty-fifth issue of his political paper, The North Briton - the title was a travesty on Lord Bute - got him into trouble with the King. Jailed, Wilkes at once became a popular idol, and represented, in England, the opposition to royal prerogative practised in America by the Sons of Liberty. Thus were interwoven the strands of rebellion at home and in the colonies.



169 From a cartoon A New Method of Macarony Making, in The Boston Port Bull a Pictured by a Contemporary London Cartoonist, 1774, by R. T. H. Halsey, published by the Groller Club, New York, 1904

FORCE MERCHANTS BRITISH ACTS TAKE A Q.L

in the case of the Stamp powerful and conservative Furthermore, not only the gone too far. To everyone a strong stand by the ize was that the King's policy toward the East India Company, just as THE people of Boston had defied the Government. And the fact was not lost the Government. Ministry, but all elements in Great Britam, resented this colonial arrogance. Even such sturdy friends of America as Chatham and Barré felt that she had menace to English welfare. The moment was opportune for the merchantprinces of England to renew their arguments for Government, What the Government did not real-Act and that of the Townshend Act, had forced the merchants of the colonies her attitude seemed upon



- 17 Capt Loring's Vessel with Tea, shipwreck'd on Cape Cod
- 18 A group of Disappointed Americans, who were for landing the Tea. In hopes of sharing in the Plunder of their Country



171 From a British caricature Lord N—h in a Fix, in possession of the publishers

THE BRITISH MINISTRY CAN SUGGEST NO SOLUTION

LORD North was in a fix. Though he was intelligent enough to perceive the issue, the indecisiveness he often showed in times of crisis again displayed itself. For a situation such as this his natural amiability was no solvent. America was touchy; England was indignant. On the seventh of March, 1774, Parliament listened to a message from the Crown on the proceedings in Boston. "Nothing," said North, "can be done to reestablish peace without additional powers from Parliament." Yet he submitted no plan of action.

LORD NORTH ADOPTS A POLICY OF PRESSURE

But strong pressure was at work upon him. The press was vehemently demanding punishment. The King was using every artifice to bolster North's courage. The apparent acquiescence of America's friends promised an easy road. So, on March 14,

he moved (though, says

Burke, with noticeable languor) the first of a series of penal measures, aimed at Boston. This was the Boston Port Bill. Meeting practically no opposition, it received the royal assent on the 31st. Boston harbor was, after June first, to be closed to all commerce. Marblehead was to become the port of entry, Salem the seat of government. This was to continue until the East India Company and all others should be indemnified for their losses, and until the King should be satisfied that in future Boston would be obedient. It became known that the army and the fleet would be used to enforce the Act.



172 From a cartoon in the Oxford Magazine, London, Apr 1774

MORE ROYAL ACTS AIM TO REDUCE THE COLONIES

Four more Acts of similar tenor followed in rapid succession. One provided that where a person in Massachusetts was accused of "murther

Georgii III. Regis.

ANNO DECIMO QUARTO

[1047)

CAP. XLV.

An Act for the better regulating the Government of the Province of the Maffachufe's Bay, in New England.



1) on E. C. o by Letters Passent maker knowledge, of the Cince does or England, must in maker handledge the Chief passe of the Marian of Cheir passe of the Marian of Cheir hand where have been passent on the Chief, and have passential, the threat Colonies, Correlator Chief of the Chief of t

thirtes, am Challs of Lant therein mentionels, tans One tail Previous, to the Manue of There Majdies Province of the Majdies Province of the Majdies Province On the Majdies Province Quality of the Majdies Province Quality of the Majdies of the Ma

or other capital crime," and officials thought a fair trial in the courts unlikely, the case could be transferred to a court in another colony or to one in England. A second revived the law of 1665 which permitted the quartering of troops; and General Gage succeeded Hutchinson as civil Governor of Massachusetts. Most important was the Massachusetts Government Act (No. 173). In violation of her royal charter, the Council of Massachusetts was to be appointed by the Crown; all minor executive and judicial offices were to be filled by appointment; and town meetings were severely restricted. The Quebec Act organized the territory acquired in 1763 from France into the Province of Quebec, with a Government centralized under the Crown. The Act also sanctioned the Catholic religion for this large domain, many portions of which had long been claimed by Virginia, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. This Act, destined to become the corner stone of the relations between the French and English in Canada, gave grave offence, because of some of its provisions, to the English colonists in America.

173 From a copy of the Administration of Justice
Ad. 1774, in the New York Public Library

5. 4 EXECUT of the Right Honourable the Earl WCH A M. in the House of Lords, upon reading the Amend mer in the QUEBEC BILL, on Friday, the 17th June, 1744 ther with his Lordship's SPEECH, on the Third Rend ing in the House of Lords, of the Bill for Providing with QUARTERS, the Officers and Troops in AMERICA.

HER ULLUSTRIBUS Locals

HE unfavourable fiets of health, under which I have long house, ed, could not geven me from laying beings your Lordings my hought on. Hill now before your and on the American Sales in general we take a reading they of those modern which induced they desired to leave their mixture requires the innumera-

thought on the fill now before your and so the Anterior Merician is generally and so the Anterior Merician is generally and the fill of those more which induced by absolute to leave their shirt contrary to precising the temperature of the whereplosed regions of the whereplosed regions of the whereplosed regions of the which the contrary to minimize the more than the preference out of the decendants with an areally fished. There was no some of the world into which men of their free and anterprising turn would not fly, with alter that period, in their native country. And thall we wonder, my herds, if the defendant of the Hullivigius character; burnificant for the Hullivigius character; burnificant for the world in the high side colones were the whole of the proceedings, I am apt to think the Anterior fill hullis colones been planted by any other handdoms than our away, the inhabitants would have carried with thanthe charks of flavery, and the forter of defounds the world, to whate a fretch of liberty manifest will assume the secretary of the world to whate a fretch of liberty manifest will assume the secretary of the world to whate a fretch of liberty manifest will assume the secretary of the world to whate a fretch of liberty manifest will assume the secretary of the secretary of the secretary of the world, to whate a fretch of liberty manifest will assume the secretary of the secretary to all laws of proper and the secretary to all laws of provinces and the secretary to all laws of proper to the secretary to all laws of provinces and the secretary to all laws of pr to be remembered as great instances to infacult the world, to what a frection of libertymanifest will amount a frection of libertymanifest will amount a frection of libertymanifest will amount a free of the libertymanifest will a more a first of the libertymanifest will be a first of the libertymanifest with the libertymanifest will be a first of the libertymanifest with the libertymanifest will be a first of the libertymanifest will be a first will be a first will be a
manifest will be a first will be a first will be a
first will be a first will be a first will be a
first will be a first will be a first will be a first will be a first will be a first will be a first will be a first will be a first will be a first will be a first will be a first will be a first libertymanifest will be a first will be a first libertymanifest will be a first will be a first libertymanifest will be a first will be a first libertymanifest will be a first be a first will be a first libertymanifest will be a first be a first will be a first libertymanifest will be a first will be a first libertymanifest will be a first will be a first libertymanifest will be a first will b

you clap a navel and inditary extinguister were their harboux, gade paint the lin of a few lawlef. Raphengal methatic abstron, spon the whole body fellight habitant.

My Lords, this memory is little obliged to the Francer and Francers of this Teaton; the Americans had, almost lorger, in their excell of gratitative for the riperal of the Stamp and, any igners in the riperal of the Stamp and, any igners in the of the Medical Contary; habre fecond an emplaying the different previous, who should be molt dutiled and fewerard in their exceedings of loyering for their Signal Benerossessimum of loyering for

as of loyalty to their spay.

so you will readily partners by the so you will readily partners by the so you will readily partners by the generated at detere from governor to a mobile Lard their is office.

It has been a disposition to the full anjoy mean of the fundamental rules of the importance of the fundamental rules of the limits of the fundamental rules of the fundam

es they have avoided flore thisein of dif es pute, and have last a foundation for re-es moving some caulis of former alteran-tion."

"this, my Lords, was the temper of the American; and would have continued to, had it not been marropted by your frou-less addressors to tax them without their

artitle empire as were as the shown south who guide the springs of government; and consequently, they will have a watch all eye over their heerter, to prevent the least encroachment of an Arbitrary Administra-tion on their horedizary rights and provi-

tion on their hereditary rights man printeger.

This observation is so recently exemplified in an excellent pamphles which comes from the pen of an American gradients, that I shall take the liberty of reading to your Lorsi-shop his thoughts on the occapetacty of the British Parliament to tax America, which as my opinion, for that interesting matter in the clearest point of view.

"The high court of Parliament, (Lys. "be) is the impress legislative power over the whole tempire; in all free facts the constitution is fixed; and as the tuperme of legislative derivers its powerband an horsey from the constitution, it cannot everleap the bounds of it, without destroying the

re legidative derives its powehand an horsy from the confluction, it cannot ever leap the bounds of it, without defitoring us own foundation; for the confluction afternate such limits both fovereignty and allegiance: And therefore his hisjesty; American fubjects, who acknowledge themselves boundary the use of allegiance, have an equitable claim to the full unjoy meant of the fundamental rules of the English confluction; that 's an elsa tial unatterable right to patts; languated

is into the Bruish constitution as a fendacomental law, and were installment and icrevocable by the subject within the
realm; and that what a mak harkmeetily
acquired, a abfairely has swel; which
he may freely pure, but which cannot be
the the from him without his consent."

"This, my Levis, though no more des-trine has been always my receiving and the alterable opinion; and I will agrify it to my grave, that this country had no right, under Heavist, it has discrete. It is countrary to all the principles of judice and earth palicy, which will be the discrete and the first Hossen, is to an discress. It is courrary to all the principles of judice and civil policy, which netther the exigences of the fact or even the acquiseforce in the text, could justify upon any occidion whitever. Such proceedings will never meet with they without for faccots; and inflowed of adding to their midares, as the Bill now before you mid in an object of their midares, as the Bill now before you moist undrusted judge, adopt fusse lessent measures, which may like them to their dairy, proceed hite a kind and infofficient particles and, inflead it thole hash and flower proceedings, pads on any like them to their dairy, proceed hite a kind and infofficient judges, and, inflead it thole hash and flower proceedings, pads on any like the original to end to be a fact of the control of the flower in your food and off thunate arms; and I will vestime to affirm, you will foot them child the worthy of their its. But, the old thair underthy of their fact hope, andesped the Houle will immediately adopt, I will be among the foremoid of the illulations afforming the movement for fact hereafted in the final control of the first of the first of the prevent a trutter relapte making affording parent! A parent, my Lords, whose welfare has ever been my greated at douglong parent! A parent, my Lords, whose welfare has ever been my greated at douglong parent! A parent, my Lords, whose welfare has ever been my greated at declaie, the period u not far dilatar when fac will want the affiliance of her most direct in the period of the first of the fact of the form Jörding her my pour affiliance, my prayers likall be ver for her wellars. hand of Providence prevent me from Mord-ing her my pour affictance, my prayers field be ever for her welfare,

Langth of days be in her reght hand, and in her left rishes and boson ; may her want be want of pleasantness, and all her paths be pure.

On Friday the 17th of June, the order of the ord was read in the Hr use of least for the nu endurants made in the Onel'ear for the au endanent made in the l'inchec bill to be taken inte confideration. I he fame were accordingly read by the al rk; and the quellion being pat, for the Haufe to agree to the gamthomers. Lord that m role up, and entered fully into the judged of the bill. He fad, "I twould involve a great country in a thouland difficulties, and in the whole people under arbitrary power: That is was a most cruel, odd us, and apprefive menfare, tearing up judice and svery good principle by the roots: That by sholifaing the trial by say, is disposed the freasers of the bill thought that made of proceeding, tegether with the labane corpus, mere moon-faint; whill every true Englishman was ready to buy down his tills, founer that lofe thole two bullwarks of his perfound femeting and property. The macely flaps flag, thus the Canadean would not be ship to feel they had been used to a bitrary power, was an idea as ridinalous as fails. The hills distribute as deep as ridinalous as fails. The hills distribute the mode as ridinalous as fails. The hills distributed to the state of the man deep as ridinalous as fails. The hills distributed the contribute as a ridinalous as fails.

174 Chatham's Speech in The House of Lords, June 17, 1774, from a London broadside in the New York Public Library

THE EARL OF CHATHAM

THESE coercive measures did not pass without some voiced opposition. Burke in one House, and Chatham in the other, counseled moderation. "I trust," wrote Chatham, on the Christmas Eve of 1774, "that it will be found impossible for freemen in England to wish to see three millions of Englishmen slaves in America." But the King's majority was not to be hindered by argument. Parliament was irritated by Massachusetts; and the royal advisers who since 1766 had been waiting their chance now found it.

The Esvits which we have long forefern are now come upon this town and prowner, the long meditated firake is now given to the end laberry of this country? How long we may be allowed the enjoyment of our religious theory is a question of infinite moment. Religion can never be retained in it's purity where tyranny has usinged the place of realon and judice. The bill for blocking up the harbour of Bollon is replied with injustice in the life blocking up the harbour of Bollon is replied with injustice in the life of the locking up the harbour of Bollon is replied with injustice and cruelty, thoulands of innocent men, besides women and inlants, are by it reduced to indegence and distres, and though we in this town more immediately feel this distrib, yet our brethren in the other towns of this province, and all the other colonies must see the fuster injustice which we now about it in our life the common casts, and that risy themselves must see the study and the common casts, and that risy themselves must see the surface that the common casts, and that risy themselves must see the surface that the country power, we are now furnished by our enemies with a still more glaring evidence of a fixed plan of the British administration to bring the whole continues into the most humiliating bondage. A bill has been brought into parliament apparently for the purpose of taking awy our charter rights, wherein it is to be enabled that the counted of the properties of the properties of the superior seems of country, and that this hearts superior seems the superior of the country, and that this hearts such as the superior seems of the superior seems of council as hereoferer, but by the governor alone, the superior seems of the supe

the pretext of lupporting or carrying into execution the late or other acts of the British parliament, shall murder and destroy the people of this country, from being track in the province (even if they should be indected by finding paral furers as shall be choice by the sheriff of the country in the Firm of the perform of the performation of the shall be first to either of the other colonic, or even to Great Britain, to be raid for mandering the inhabitation of the Malichatictur-Bay. And provision is also made to prevent our meeting together in our corporate tapacity as a town, unless the one on the mouth of March for the election of the town officers, except the matter or business of the meeting a lauly before the governor, and has leave in writing is obscaned for a meeting of the

There is but one way that we can conceive of, to prevent what is to be deprecated by all good men, and ought by all pollible means to be present of the second of the seco

of their limited impolitions, we trult in God, our sanauymen never will fubilit.

We have received fisch affurances from our brethreit is revery part of the province of their readilact to adopt isch merfurer at may be lakelyto fave over country, that we have not the leath doubt of an almost universita greeness for this purpole; in considerace of this, we have drawn up a form of a covenant to be labslanded by all adult persons of both faxes; which we have feature every town an their province, and that we might not give our enemies time to counterach us, we have endeavoured that every town flouid be furnished with facts a copy on or before the fourteened say of this month, and we sarredity defair, that you would use your timost endeavour that the fubstription paper may be filled up as loon as possible, that so they who are in expectation of overthrowing our liberties may be deficiouraged from proficienting their which deligns; as we look upon this the last and only method of preferving our land from flavery which countered they is in blood, may God profiper every undertaking which tends to the falvation of his people. We are, de-

BOSTON, JUNE 8, 1774.

From the Boston Circular Letter of June 8, 1774, urging complete suspension of trade with Great Britain; in the New York Public Library

BOSTON'S REACTION TO THE INTOLERABLE ACTS

A copy of the Port Bill reached Boston on May 10. Action was electric. The Act was printed with deep bands of mourning and burnt by the common hangman. The committee of correspondence, led by Samuel Adams, with representatives of eight neighboring towns present, sent a circular to like committees in all the colonies, recommending suspension of trade with Great Britain till the Act should be repealed. On the 13th, a town meeting dispatched a similar appeal "to all the sister colonies, promising to suffer for America with fortitude, but confessing that singly they must find their trial too severe." Thus Boston, rejecting revolution, founded its faith on the tried policy of non-importation, backed by united colonial action.

ENGLISH LIBERALS DISAPPROVE THE INTOLERABLE ACTS

This cartoon well shows how American affairs were regarded in England, not as an isolated matter, but as part and parcel of a corrupt system. Parliament has been dissolved; the members are going home. The



coachman is remarking, "I will not overset Ye, if Ye don't overset Yourselves." A roistering passenger observes, "May the Patriots ride uppermost," while a beggar in the street cries, "You have starved me and my children." The harsh treatment meted out to America by the "Intolerable Acts" was to the English liberal merely another example of incompetent, unrepresentative British Government. Placemen, inclosures, restrictions upon freedom of the press (Wilkes) were in England fully as devastating as the Boston Port Bill.

From a cartoon in the London Magazine, Vol. XLIII, Oct. 1774



From an engraving by Paul Revere in The Royal American Magazine, Boston, June 1774, after the carlcature in the London Magazine, April 1774

THE PORT OF BOSTON IS CLOSED TO COMMERCE

On the same day General Gage entered the harbor, bringing additional troops to enforce the Boston Port Bill. Promptly on June 1, the port was closed by a cordon of vessels. The official records were removed to Salem. Soldiery and artillery were landed, cannon mounted, fortifications erected between Boston and the mainland. The cartoon, by Paul Revere, shows Lord North, the Boston Port Bill protruding from his pocket, pouring scalding tea down the throat of prostrate America; Lord Mansfield, with his lawyer's precedents, pinions her arms; Britannia stands aside in tears; while France and Spain are avaricious spectators

THOMAS JEFFERSON SUMS UP AMERICAN RIGHTS

From Maine to Georgia came responses to the appeal of Massachusetts. Pamphlets arguing the cause of Massachusetts and the colonies generally flooded the country. One of the ablest was penned by a man who was soon to achieve an international reputation. Early in the summer of 1774 appeared Thomas Jefferson's A Summary View of the Rights of British America. This carried to a new stage the arguments which were later to justify political separation from the home country. In all of the provinces, and in England as well, the name of Jefferson soon became familiar as that of a man ardent in opposing governmental tyranny.

SUMMARY VIEW

RIGHTS

BRITISH AMERICA.

Set forth in force

RESOLUTIONS

ROY GRONSTRE

The Inspection of the present Delegates of the People of Vincinia, now in Convention.

It is the indispensible duty of the supreme magistrate to consider himself as along for the whole consinually, and obliged to Support its dignery, and along to the sensite, with judice, their various rights, as he would be faintful to the great trul reposed in him.

Cicuro's Oc. R. c.

By a NATIVE, and Member of the House of Burgelies.

WILLIAMSBURG, Proud by CLEMESTINA BURGE

LONDON,

Re-printed for G. XIA u al w, at No. 46, near Serjuents
Lan, in Flort Street, 1774-

178 Title-page of a copy of the first London issue in the New York Public Library



179 From a cartoon The Bostonians in Distress, published in London, 1774, reprinted by the Groller Club, New York, 1904

BOSTON RECEIVES HELP FROM SISTER COLONIES

Expressions of sympathy with Boston took also more substantial form. As the blockade of the port drew near, supplies of foodstuffs poured into the town. And after the blockade became operative and starvation faced the population - for commerce had been the mainstay - such voluntary contributions continued. Windham, Connecticut, sent a flock of slicep, South Carolina two hundred barrels of rice; money came from Maryland, New York, Montreal, even London. George Washington's name heads a subscription list circulated in Fairfax County, Virginia. In the picture the cartoonist has depicted men of Boston being given the punishment in America meted out to slaves convicted of capital offenses, who, thus imprisoned, were left to starve as an example to their fellows in bondage. parallel was a forcible one, as the petitions of the Americans had long said that, bereft of their rights, their condition would be that of slavery. The cannon, with muzzles pointed toward the "Liberty Tree," represent the "8 pieces of ordnance" which were parked upon the Common. The background shows royal troops landing as reinforcements. In the distance are the "four or five frigates" which Lord North had predicted

would be sufficient to enforce the Boston Port Bill. Marblehead men are seen giving food to the prisoners. A shallop is laden with baskets of codfish, in answer to Boston's cry for assistance. Sermons preached by Boston clergy probably suggested the long-handled contribution boxes. This print was exceedingly popular in England.

BOSTON PRACTICES INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT

DESPITE such aid, food and fuel became scarce; unemployment increased. Then was shown the vigor and flexibility of Sam Adams' machinery. Disregarding the official Government installed by the Acts of 1774, Boston proceeded to govern herself through the Committee of Correspondence and her town meeting. Through these agencies means were found to employ the poor and needy. Street improvements were undertaken: leather was found for the shoemakers, iron for the blacksmith. Voluntary levies were made upon the citizenry, and these were paid while taxes remained uncollected. In short, the new Acts were inoperative beyond the lines of the British soldiers.

VOTES and PROCEEDINGS of

the Town of

B O S T O N,

JUNE 17, 1774.

'AT a legal and very full meeting of the freebolders and other subshituans of the town of Boston, by adjournment at Fancoul-hall, June 17, 1774.

The Hon, JOHN ADAMS, Esq; Moderator.

UPON a motion made, the sown again entered into the confideration of that article in the warrant, Vis. It confider and determine what measures are proper to be taken upon the pedient enginesy of our polite at fairst, more especially relative to the late eddt of alleriding perliament for blocking up the harbour of Botton, and annihilating the trade of this town," and after very ferious debases thereby,

VOTED, [With only one diffractent] That the committee of correspondence is enjoined furthwith to wrate to all the other colories, acqualating them that we are not did, that weare deliberating upon the fleps to the control of the control of the colories of our public affair; i that am brother prefer in agreement of our public affair; i that am brother prefer in a control of the prevince, with no maximapled four and correctly and that we may late a non-confirmation agreement; and that we may waiting with anasous expectation for the realist of a comtanemal congress, whole meeting we impair any define, in whose wildows and formerly we can sended, and in mythose wildows and formerly we can sended, and in

and before the town fitch letters, as they had received in antiwer to the circular interer, wrote by them to the feweril colonies and all the fee poor town in this previous face the reception of the flowing must hill; send the figure they published year. Yorks, maninously. That our warmest change to ministed to our heckers up the continent, for that turnally, foreight and affection with which they have seen inferred, and which they have expressed inwards the different seen which they have

Vorte, unanimonly, That the thurks of this town busad hereby are, given to the assumittee of correspondence, for their faithfuined, in the difference of their truft, and that they be defired to continue their vigilance and aftivity in that fevtice.

Whereas the Overfeers of the poor in the town of Bofton are a body politic, by law continued for the reception and diffribution of all charizable donations for the ufe of the poor of faid town.

VOTED. That III groups and donations to this nown and he poor therefor it this differelling fastion, by paid and delivered has the hands of faid Oversiers, and by them appropriated and distributed in concert with the committee listify appointed by this town for the multidistributed why make means of employing the poor.

Vorse, That the sownalerk be directed to publish the proceedings of this meeting in the (everal news papers.

The meeting was then adjourned to Manday the arti

Attelly

WILLIAM COOPES, Town Clock

MASSACHUSETTS APPOINTS DELEGATES TO THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

WHILE Boston was thus governing itself, General Gage was endeavoring to operate the Intolerable Act. Thus we find the Massachusetts Assembly in June meeting in Salem, official capital of the province. By this time, as the Boston Evening Post of June 20 tells us, a colonial congress "was the general desire of the continent, in order to agree on effectual measures for defeating the despotic designs of those who were endeavoring to effect the ruin of the colonies." Hence on June 17 Samuel Adams secured the adoption of resolves appointing delegates to such a convention to assemble at Philadelphia on the first of September. As these resolves were being adopted. Gage's messenger stood outside the locked doors bearing a proclamation dissolving the legislature, the last to meet under royal sanction.

NEW YORK'S CALL FOR THE FIRST CONGRESS

THERE was, in a sense, nothing novel in this. There were the precedents of Leisler's call in 1690, the Albany Congress of 1754,

SALEM, June 17, 1774-Province of Massachusett's Bay.

The following Reforcs passed the House of Repicientatives this Day by a very great Majority, and are now transmitted to the Selectmen of the several Towns and Districts in this Province Iami Adar

WHEREAS the Houfe, taking into Confidencies to which the American Colonies, and the Province to which the American Colonies, and the Province to particular, are and must be reduced by the Operation of german little Ada of Parliaments, have determined that it is highly septement that a Communities though the province of the Province of the Colonies be the Committees that are or fluil be appointed by the freezal Colonies on this Continent, to consult together upon the prefent State of the Colonies, and to deliberate and determine upon wife and proper Measures to be by them recommended to all the Colonies for the Recovery and Etablish elect of their plat Rights and Liberties. Civil and Religious, and the Refraction of that Union and Harmony between Great Pfittian and the Colonies, mak ardently defired by all good Men. And the Honorrable Laws Bowons, Efg. the Thom I no-Harmony between Great Pfittian and the Golomes, molk ardently defired by all good Mea. And the Honorable Jaws Bownows, Efg. the Hon Thomas Cramino, Ffg. Mr Samuak Adams, loss Madas, and Robert Texat Pains. Efjures, are appointed a Committee on the Part of this Province, for the Purpoles aforefaid, any three of whom to be a Querum, to meet fach Committees or Deligates from the other Colomies, as have been or may be appointed, either by their teforether Honorable Pfilms. of whom to be a Questim, to meet luch Committees or Deligates from the other Colonies, as have been or may be appointed, either by their respective Houses of Burgesses or Representatives, or by Convention, or by Committees of Correspondence appointed by the respective Houses of Assembly, in the City of Phinadelphia, or any other Place that flad be quagrainfost furnish by the pinateomittees, on the 1st Day of September ant. And wherea the House dealershor, That there is paid to fail Committee out of the public Treasury, the Sum of First HUNDRED POUNDS, to enable them its dicharge the important Trust to which they are appointed, they upon their Return to be accountable for the Same—And Guil Resolve was first up to the home able Board for their Concernerace, who accordingly concurred the Ricolve of the House, but his Excellency the Covernor declined in Confert to the Same—Wherefore that Hunse would Recommend, and Wherefore that Hunse would Recommend, and whey do accordingly bertoy recommend to the they do accordingly hereby recommend, and they do accordingly hereby recommend to the feveral Towns and Diffries within this Province, that each Town and Diffries, raife, collect and

To the Honorable Thomas Caffung. Eq. 1974

WHEREAS thus House, taking into Consideration of FIFE HUMBRED POUNDS by the Fifteenth Day of August sections, agreeable to which the American Colonies, and third Province to which the American Colonies, and the Frederick of the Jak Province Tax, to enable them to disperation of gerstain I the Adts of Parliament, have determined that it is highly expedient that a Comcable for the time.

TADIC 10t IDE 13IDC.	
County of Suffelt	
Bafin, f. 47 a 11 Freshem, Ranburt, 7 a 11 Freshem, Ranburt, 7 a 11 Breshem, Ranburt, 3 a 8 Rondbem, Millen, 1 a 10 Soughten, Breateris, 4 b to Marghandata, Freshem, 4 b to Marghandata, Rondbem, 3 a 4 Reliaction, Dickers, 3 a 5 io Walpele, Medicaled, 2 a 5 io Chr. fee,	113 7 1 8 9 2 9 3 2 17 9 2 8 0 2 10 4 0 10 4 0 10 4 0 10 4
County of Effer	
Salum, f. 31 et. 5. Recordell, Danvert, 6 d. 6. Glerrefer, Iphoch, 6 d. 7 Topfild, Newbary, 7 a d. 8 realfred, Markhary Park, 7 a d. 8 realfred, Markhary, 5 d. 8 Marcheffer, Galavert, 5 a 18 o 8 realfred, Reverty, 9 a 8 o 8 realfred, Reverty, 9 a 18	3 19 10 5 12 7 2 9 0 2 8 7 2 3 9 0 17 7- 2 3 3 2 16 7 2 16 9 2 3 12
Powerallorings, x 8 0 Newcosts, Correction, x 16 9 Western, x 16 9 Western, x 16 9 Western, x 170 Date,	: II :
County of Gumberland.	
Faimouth, 1 North Yarmouth, 2 29 2 Harpfuell, North Yarmouth, 2 29 2 H'indham, Starbusugh, 2 19 10 Cape-Finabeth, Ernsfuelth 2 2 0 Garbam.	0 1 10 0 1 10 1 17 14

181 The Massachusetts Resolves, from a broadside, Salem, June 17, 1774, in the New York Public Library

and the Stamp Act Congress of 1765. Moreover, the project had often been mooted in these past years. Indeed, by May, 1774, the demand seemed to rise spontaneously from many places. The first somewhat authoritative call came from New York. Here the Sons of Liberty wrote to Boston regarding the step. It was in answer to this that the Massachusetts Assembly on June 17 designated the time and place of meeting.

. New York . 16, 29, 1/1 (pentlemen

a Backer

183

182



185 From the painting A Room in Raleigh Tavern, Williamsburg, Va., by Howard Pyle, for Woodrow Wilson, A History of the American People, 1901 © Harper & Bros

METHODS VARY IN THE SELECTION OF DELEGATES

OTHER colonies rapidly fell into line. Delegates were selected in a variety of ways. In Massachusetts, as we have noticed, appointment was by the Lower House of the legislature. In New Hampshire, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, North Carolina and Virginia, provincial congresses made the selection; in Connecticut, the committee of correspondence; in South Carolina, a public meeting held in Charleston; in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, the legislature. New York employed a different system whereby the nominees of the Sons of Liberty were endorsed by groups in other parts of the state; while three countries sent separate representatives. Georgia alone failed to select.

VIRGINIA UNOFFICIALLY PREPARES FOR THE CONGRESS

THE apparent spontaneity of the movement is shown by events in Virginia. The House of Burgesses, on May 24, adopted Jefferson's resolutions setting aside June 1 — when the Boston blockade began - as "a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, . . . for the heavy calamity which threatens destruction to our civil rights." Two days later Governor Dunmore found this action a cause for dissolving the House. So, as they had done before, the members gathered in Raleigh Tavern as an unofficial body. There, on May 27, they adopted resolutions for an annual colonial congress "to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America may from time to time require." Simultancous was the issuance of a call for a provincial congress to select delegates to the continental meeting. Thus, once more, Massachusetts and Virginia took the lead in opposing the Government in London. The work of the committees of correspondence was bearing fruit. A feeling of community of interest, of common danger, had been created through the persistent and extensive activity of a few of the more intrepid spirits in the colonies. United action was now a real possibility.

ADVERTISEMENT.

HE Committee of Correspondence in New-York, having on Monday Night last proceeded to the Nomination of five Persons to go as Delegates for the said City and County, on the proposed General Congress, at Philadelphia, on the 1st of September next; the five sollowing Persons were nominated for that Purpose,

Philip Livingston, James Duane, John Alfop, John Jay, Isac Low.

The Inhabitants, therefore, of this City and County, are requested to meet, at the City-Hall, on Thursday next, at 12 o'Clock, in order to approve of the fald sive Persons, as Delegates, or to choose such other in their Stead, as to their Wisdom shall feem meet.

By Order of the Committee,

ISAAC LOW, CHAIRMAN.

TUESDAY, 5th

CONGRESS INCLUDES MANY OF THE ABLEST AMERICANS

On the fifth of September the delegates gathered at Philadelphia City Tavern. Here it was determined to hold the meetings of the Congress in Carpenter's Hall, a building recently erected, containing a spacious assembly room. Thither the members walked. In all, there were fifty-five, many of them the ablest Americans of the time — Samuel and John Adams from Massachusetts, Roger Sherman from Connecticut, John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, Christopher Gadsden from South Carolina, Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry and George Washington from Virginia. One, Stephen Hopkins from Rhode Island, had participated in the Albany Congress, eight had attended the Stamp Act Congress; the others were, with few exceptions, experiencing for the first time the emotions evoked by inter-colonial deliberation.

THE OPENING OF CONGRESS

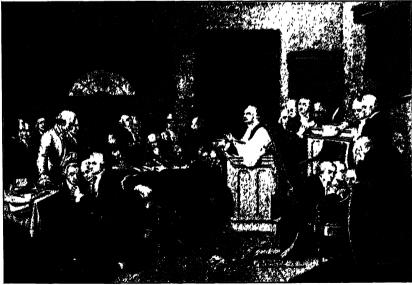
On the first day, Peyton Randolph was chosen president, and Charles Thomson, a Pennsylvania patriot, secretary. An oath of secrecy bound the members; sessions were to be



Interior of Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia

© Rau Brothers, Inc

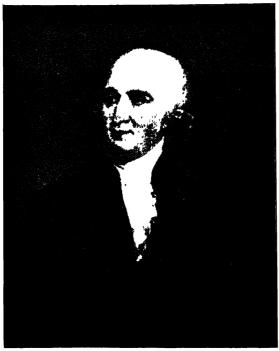
held behind closed doors. These were wise precautions; although our knowledge of their proceedings is scanty, we know that the deliberations were not always harmonious and dispassionate. On September 6 a rupture was avoided only by the political skill and whole-hearted earnestness of Samuel Adams. His colleague, Cushing, had moved that meetings should be opened with prayer. To this John Jay of New York and Rutledge of South Carolina objected, since diversity of creed made it impracticable. Then rose the sturdy and artful Puritan and, declaring that "he was no bigot," suggested that on the following morning prayer should be offered by Mr. Duché, the local Episcopal clergyman. Adams' motion prevailed, and one snag to cooperation was



188 From an engraving The Fust Prayer in Congress by Sadd after a painting by T. H. Matteson (1813-84)

Reading from lett to right First row (kneeling) Patrick Henry, John Rutledge, George Washington, Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, John Jay, Isaac Low Second row (kneeling) Nathaniel Folsom, Robert Treat Paine, Thomas Lynch, Philip Livingston, John Dehart, Thomas M'Kean, Roger Sherman, William Paca, Rev Mr Duché, Samuel Ward Third row (standing) Caesar Rodney, Edward Rutledge, T Cushing, Eliphalet Dyer, Samuel Adams, John Adams, George Read, Silas Deane, Richard Smith, Stephen Hopkins, William Livingston, Samuel Rhodes, Col William Floyd, Stephen Crane, John Morton, Thomas Mimin, Charles Thomson

removed. And when, on the morning of the 7th, Duché appeared, there were new impulses to call for solidarity. For news - subsequently proved false had just come that the British forces had bombarded Boston. Consternation prevailed in the city, doubt in the minds of delegates. Duché read a Psalm and several petitions from the Book of Common Prayer, concluding with an invocation, vividly described by John Adams, so patriotic and reverent that he received a vote of thanks. At its end the assemblage was filled with a new exaltation of purpose and a determination to carry through the difficult tasks that lay before them.



189 James Duane, 1733-97, from the portrait, 1805, by John Trumbull (1756-1843), in the City Hall, New York, courtesy of the Municipal Art Commission

SOME AMERICANS ARE SLOW TO JOIN THE RADICALS

YET all the political maneuvering of Sam Adams could not gloss the fact that the Congress contained two opposing groups, one radical and the other conservative. The conflict between them became most tense on September 28, when the conservative Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania presented a "Plan for a Proposed Union between Great Britain and the Colonies." This was a last and sagacious stand of those who hoped to conciliate all parties. The plan involved the appointment by the Crown of a presidentgeneral of the colonies; with him was to be associated a council of delegates selected every three years by the several provinces. The laws of the council were to be subject to parliamentary veto, while acts of Parliament pertaining to the colonies could be nullified by the council. This plan received earnest support from some of the abler leaders of Congress, among them John Jay and James Duanc of New York and Edward Rutledge of South Carolina. Their strength is shown by the fact that the plan was laid on the table by a majority of only one vote. Duane incurred odium at this time by his efforts in behalf of the Galloway Plan, and by his

suggestion that the Congress recognize the validity of the Navigation Acts. Allied by marriage with the powerful Livingston family, Duane was one of a group of prominent lawyers who were willing to venture all to maintain the English connection. In 1776 he objected to the Declaration of Independence. Once war became inevitable, however, he threw in his lot with the colonies, and served them well. He was a member of the Congresses from start to finish, of the New York Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution, and mayor of New York City from 1784 to 1789, and later served as Federal District Judge.

CONGRESS, UNOFFICIAL AND WITHOUT LEGAL AUTHORITY

MASSACHUSETTS and Virginia led the more advanced group, with able backing from such men as Sherman of Connecticut — men who denied all parliamentary authority over the colonies. At the outset of the Congress, Patrick Henry had given the key to the views of this party. Debate had arisen as to the method of

determining questions. Some suggested that each delegate should have one vote; others that the provinces should have equality of power. The latter won. It was in this debate that Henry declared, "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American." To his mind a nation had been born, entitled to treatment proportionate to its dignified status.



190 From the painting Pairick Henry in the First Continental Congress, by Clyde Osmer DeLand [1872-in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, courtees of The American Telephone and Telegraph Company

Proceedings of the General Congress of Delegates from the several British Colonies in North-America, held in Philadelphia,

Brittiff Colonies in North-America, held in Philadelphia, September 1774.

From the Pasartzvatia Pasart Title Promited the Cognitive Profession of the Cognitive Professio

191 The Suffolk Resolves before Congress, from a broadside in the New York Historical Society

CONGRESS APPROVES THE SUFFOLK RESOLVES, SEPT. 17, 1774

THE radicals made great headway when the Congress was persuaded to approve the Suffolk Resolves. These had been adopted under the leadership of Joseph Warren, at a public meeting in Dedham, Massachusetts, on September 6, 1774. Their language was more defiant than that which had been used publicly hitherto. To the Intolerable Acts, they said, "no obedience is due from this province." And "whereas our enemies have flattered themselves that they shall make an easy prey of this numerous, brave and hardy people," those "who are qualified" are urged "to acquaint themselves with the art of war as soon as possible, and do for that purpose appear under arms at least once a week."

T #95]

To the KING's most excellent Majesty.

Most gracious Sovereign,

E your Majesty's saithful subjects of the Colonies of Newbampsare, Massachusels Bay Rhode-Illand and Provident Plantaions, Conneancut New Tork, New-Jorse, Pennishania, the counties of Newcaste, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Girol na. and Suib-Carolina, in benalt or oursives and the inhabitants of these Colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in General Congress, by this our humble Petition beg leave to lay our grievances before the Throne.

A STANDING army has been kept in these Colonics, ever fince the conclusion of the lare war, without the consent of our Affemblies, and this army, with a considerable naval armament has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes.

The author ty of the Commander in Chief, and under him of the Brigadieri-General has, in time of peace, been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America.

THE Commander in Chief of all your Majefty's forces in North' America has, in time of peace, been appointed Governor of a Colony.

The charges of usual offices have been greatly increased, and new, expensive and opprefixe offices have been multiplied.

2 T

192 First Page of the Petition to the King, from the Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress at Philadelphia, Sept 5, 1774, printed by William and Thomas Bradford

THE ACTS OF THE CONGRESS WIN PRAISE FROM LORD CHATHAM

Gradually differences were overcome or compromised; and on the twenty-sixth of October adjournment was taken, after May 10, 1775, was fixed as the date for a second Congress. The actions of the Congress were now a public matter. Among them were a petition to the King, an address to the Canadians asking them to join in the next Congress, an address to the people of Great Britain, and one to the people of the colonies. Of these papers, on their receipt, Chatham said in the House of Lords, "For solidity of reason, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion under a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious . . . that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be fatal."

AMERICA MAKES A DECLARATION OF RIGHTS AND GRIEVANCES

More important than these papers was the Declaration of Rights and Grievances, adopted October 14. This specified a dozen Acts of Parliament whose repeal would be prerequisite to harmony. They were "infringements and violations of the rights of the colonies." In lofty language that at times resembles that of England's earlier Bill of Rights, the Congress enumerated these rights, inalienable because inherent, because guaranteed by the British constitution, and because granted by the colonial charters.

[60]

trary proceedings of parliament and adminifiration, have feverally elected, confututed,
and appointed deputies to meet and fit in general congress in the city of Philadelphia, an
order to obtain such establishment, as that
their religion, laws, and hiertens may not be
subverted: Whereupon the deputies so appointed being now assumbled, in a full and
free representation of these colonies, taking
into their most serious consideration the belt
means of attaining the ends aforefaid, do in
the sirtlylace, as Englishmen their ancestors in
like cases have usually done, for afferting
and vindicating their rights and liberties,
DECLARE,

Referred, N. C. D. 1. THAT they are engittled to hie, liberty, and property: and they have never ceded to any devering a power whatever, a light to differhable either without their confent.

Referred, N. C. D. '2. That our ancefors, who first settled these colonies, were at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural born subjects, within the realm of England.

Refelred.

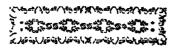
[61]

Releved, N. C. D. 3. THAT by such emigration they by no means forfested, surrendered, or loss any of those rights, but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them, as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

Refolved, 4 THAT the foundation of English thetry and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other curcumitances cannot properly be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their night of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal golday, suggest only to the negative of their severage, in frich manner as has been hereto force used and accustomed. But from the meeting of the case, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we checitually consent to the operation of such acts of the British paliament, as are bona fide, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother countries, much the repetitive members, excluding every idea of taxation internal or external, for raising a revious on the liabites in America without their consint

Н

Resolved.



THE

Association, &c.

Delegates of the leveral Colonies of New Hampfare, Maffachufert's Bay, Rhode-Ifiand, Connecticut, New York, New Jerfey, Penniylvania, the Three Lower Counties of Newcaffle, Kent, and Suffex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolinia, and South-Carolinia, deputed to represent them in a continental Congress, held in the city of Philadelphia, on the fifth day of September, 1774, avowing our allegiance to his Majesty, our affection and regard for our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain and elsewhere, affected with the deepest anxiety, and most alarming apprehensions at those grevances and distribles, with which his Majesty's American subjects are opportested, and having taken under our most ferious deliberation, the stare of the whole continent, find, that the present unhappy situation of our affars, is occassioned by a ruinous system of colony administration adopted by the British Ministry about the year 1762, evidently calculated for inslaving these Colonies, and, with them, the British Empire. In prosecution of which fystem, various Acts of Parliament have been passed for rassing a Revenue in America, for depriving the American subjects, in many instances, of the constitutional trial by jury, exposing their lives to danger, by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the sea, for extending the province of Quebec, so as to border on the weltern frontiers of these Colonies, whenever a wicked Ministry shall chuste so danger, thus by the instance of cityl principles and ancient prejudices to dispose the inshabitant to act with hostility against the free protestant Colonies, whenever a wicked Ministry shall chuse so direct them.

To obtun redrefs of these grievances, which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his Majetty's subjects in North-America, we are of opinion, that's non-importation, non-consumption, and non exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the most (reedy, est. ctoal, and peaceable measure. And therefore we do, for ourselves and the inhabitants of the leveral Colonics, whom we represent, firmly agree and associate under the faced the

[8]

Thereast. That all manufactures of this country be fold at reasonable prices, so that no undue advantage be taken of a future scarcity of goods.

Fourteentb. And we do further agree and refolve, that we will have no trade, commerce, dealings or intercourse whatfoever, with any colony or province, in North America, which fiall not accede to, or which fiall be freeder violate this efficiation, but will hold them as un worthy of the right of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country.

And we do folemnly bind outfelves and our confituents, under the ties aforelaid, to adhere to this affociation until fuch parts of the feveral Acts of Parliament paffed fince the close of the last war, as impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molaffes, fyrups, pancles, coffee, fugar, piemento, indigo, foreign paper, glass, and patients olours, imported into America, and extend the powers of the Admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American fubject of trail by jury, authorise the Judge-ceruscate to indemnify the profecutor from damages, that he might cherwic be liable to from a trial by his peers, require oppressive fecunity from a claimant of ships or goods feized, before be final be allowed to defend his property, are repealed—And until that part of the Act of the 12. G 3 ch. 24. entitled, "An Act for the better fecuning his Majesty" dock yards, magazines ships, ammunion, and sleres," by which, any persons charged with committing any of the officines therein described, in America, may be tried in any thire or county within the realm, is repealed—And until the four Acts passed in the last selfion of Fariament, viz that for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston — That for altering the charter and government of the Massachusett's—Bay ——And that "For extending the limits of Quebic, &c." are repealed. And we recommend it to "he provincial conventions, and to the committees in the respective Colonies, to establish such farther regultions as they may think proper, for carrying into execution this Association.

The foregoing Affociation being determined upon by the Condness, was ordered to be fublicitled by the feveral Members thereof, and thereupon we have hereunto fet our respective names accordingly

In Congress, Philadelphia, Offober 20, 1774

Suyton Randolph Insident
Jul Sullwarn Mew Hampshire:
Nattet Johon Mapachusetts
Thomas bushing Mapachusetts
Turnul Adams
Jaha Adams
Jaha Adams

JYZAY JAN

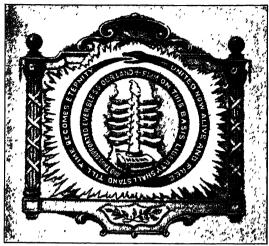
195

194

First and eighth pages of The Association, 1774, from a printed copy in the New York Public Library, with signatures of members from New Hampshire and Massachusetts Bay

THE COLONIES DECIDE NOT TO TRADE WITH ENGLAND

To render effective the American position, the Congress drew up The Association. This was an agreement not to import British goods after December 1, 1774, and to export no goods to Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies after September 10, 1775. This aroused severe opposition from many quarters. Each section had economic interests involved: South Carolina in rice, Virginia in tobacco, Rhode Island in the slave trade, Massachusetts in the West India trade. Its adoption has been termed "virtually the beginning of the federal union." — Howard, Preliminaries of the Revolution, 1905, p. 295. Without doubt, the chief value of the Congress was to publish to the world that Massachusetts could not be isolated from her friends, that all had a united purpose. This unity, moreover, was promoted by the opportunity afforded provincial leaders to come to know one another and to acquire habits of coöperation.



From The New York Journal or General Advertiser, Dec 15, 1774

A LIBERTY EMBLEM APPEARS IN THE PRESS

THE new spirit of unity was quickly symbolized. Here we have the emblem that appeared in the New York press of December 15, 1774, and on the titlepage of the Proceedings of the Congress. Twelve hands support the liberty pole, adorned with the Phrygian cap, and resting on the Magna Charta. Encircling all is the living snake of earlier days. (See Nos. 72, 73.) Upon his body is inscribed a motto of promise and hope.

OPPOSITION TO THE TRADE BOYCOTT

Opposition to The Association came not solely on the floor of Carpenter's Hall. The colonial secretary, Lord Dartmouth, denounced those who signed that compact as guilty of treason. And in the colonies were those who deprecated such action. Most influential of these

was Samuel Seabury, rector of a church at Westchester, New York. Seabury was born (1729) in Connecticut, had entered the ministry of the Established Church in 1753, and was later (1784) to become the first Episcopal bishop in America. Humble and modest, he held pronounced political views. Now, in a series of pamphlets of which the foremost was his Free Thoughts on The Proceedings of the Continental Congress, he brought out, in a simple, homely fashion, the consequences of economic disruption in the country. Such an upheaval would cause great distress in England and Ireland, for which America would be held responsible. As a result, their trade would be diverted from America, to the latter's permanent "For example," he writes, these measures would "ruin our market for flaxseed, for which our best customers have always been the Irish. You know, my friends, that the sale of your seed not only pays your taxes, but furnishes you with many of the little conveniences and comforts of life. The loss of it for one year would be of

more damage to you, than paying the three-penny duty on tea for twenty. . . . And yet the Congress have been so inattentive to your interests, that they have laid you under almost an absolute necessity

of losing it the next year."

FREE THOUGHTS. The PROCEEDINGS of THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, Held at PHILADELPHIA Sept 5, 1774. WHERTIM Their Errors are exhibited, REASONINGS CONFUTED. AND
The fatal Tendency of their Non Importantion, Non-Exportantion, and Non Consumption Measures, aclaud open to the planet Understandings; The ONLY MEANS pointed out For Preferring and Securing
Our prefent HAPPY CONSTITUTION L E T Т E R THE FARMERS, AND STHER IMMABITANTS OF NORTH AMERICA In General, And to those of the Province of New-York By a-FARMER Hear we, for I WILL Speak! PPINTED IN THE LIAM M DCC LYAIV

From Samuel Seabury, Free Thoughts, 1774, in the New York Public Library

FULL VINDICATION OFTHE

Measures of the Congress, FROM

The CALUMNIES of their ENEMIES; In Answer to

LETTER, Under the Signature of A W. FARMER.

Files Sophifies is exposed, his Carolis confuted, his Artifices detected, and his Wit ridiculed, I N

A GENERAL ADDRESS To the Inhab tants of America.

A Particular Address To the FARMERS of the Province of New-York. dlejander Framilton. Fortes magne of & pravalebit. Truth is powerful, and will prevail

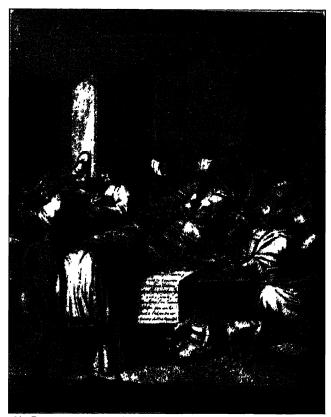
> NEW YORK Printed by James Rivineton, 1774

HAMILTON DEFENDS THE MEASURES OF CONGRESS

Sucн an argument, couched in everyday language, made a profound impression. By many the pamphlet and its successors were received with applause, by others with execration. In answer appeared other pamphlets. One, entitled A Full Vinducation of the Measures of the Congress, displayed great dialectic skill and knowledge of constitutional law; and was therefore credited to one or another of the eminent leaders. Soon it was learned that the writer was Alexander Hamilton, then in his 'teens and a student at King's College, New York. During the following winter Hamilton wrote more articles, the enthusiastic reception of which brought him favorably into the public view.

BOYCOTT MOTIVES GOVERN FIRST WOMAN'S CLUB

EVEN before publication of The Association. local action had been taken. In many cases resolutions were passed giving prior approval to all measures that might be adopted by the Congress. In other instances, non-importation and non-consumption agreements were framed. Perhaps the most interesting among the latter was made at a tea party at Edenton, North Carolina. Here in October, 1774, some fifty housewives gathered together and established America's first woman's club. Its purposes were two: to withhold all countenance from "that pernicious custom of drinking tea," and to insure that the members "would not promote ye weare of any manufacture of England." Within six months after the passage of The Association, it had been ratified by all colonies except Georgia and New York. And in these colonies, as elsewhere, local vigilance committees were created to enforce the agreement. There was thus in operation a rather complete set of political institutions, fitted to the emergency, extra-legal in origin and sanction, yet rapidly supplanting the official machinery of government established by law.



199 From a contemporary British cartoon, A Society of Patriotic Ladies at Edenton in North Carolina



200 From a cartoon The Alternative of Williamsburg, printed in London, 1775

THE ENGLISH SATIRIZE THE COERCION OF AMERICAN LOYALISTS

THE Continental Congress and its resolves served to draw ever more distinctly the cleavage between radicals and conservatives, between Patriots and Loyalists, between those who relied upon the old royal and established authority and those dissatisfied with the trend of events. High-handed conduct by Governor Lord Dunmore had made Williamsburg, Virginia, "the heart of rebellion." In the principal street was set up a gibbet, hung with tar and feathers ready for the Loyalist who was so bold as to refuse to sign conformity with the acts of the Congress. This London cartoon is of interest as illustrative of phases of contemporary English opinion. The gift for John Wilkes denotes both colonial recognition of his fight for liberty and the English intermingling of domestic violence with American contumacy. The presence of a cleric may refer to the Parson's Cause of 1763, or to colonial resistance to attempted English ecclesiastical control of American religious life. The English cartoonist makes the homespun of the Patriots distinctly uncouth beside the comely garb of the coerced Loyalists this in accord with the English newspaper press of the day, which from sympathy with the London merchant constantly stressed the inferiority of American-made clothing.

CHAPTER III

INDEPENDENCE

S petitions and addresses and memorials were received in England with contempt and evasion, the hopes of the colonials fell. Bit by bit, faith even in the good will of the King disappeared. Conservative Americans were at a loss how to act. But the more impetuous spirits were not unwilling to try forcible resistance. There was still little thought of war, or of political independence. Resort to arms was deemed a necessary action to protect the liberties of Englishmen. Lexington and Bunker Hill (see Vol. VI) were moral victories won by men who hoped that thus they might regain their rights while remaining subjects of the crown of Britain. For the time, the colonials saw nothing impossible in a loyal rebellion.

Yet the situation was impossible. Its clarification was due to a considerable extent to a fortunate bit of journalism. Thomas Paine, an English radical, after a few months in America gave a clear and vigorous statement to thoughts that had occupied men's minds increasingly since the battle of Bunker Hill. His Common Sense (No. 223) was a small link in the chain of events that led to the Declaration of Independence (No. 231–34). This ever famous pamphlet forced the issues of the conflict upon the attention of the provincials. They must now choose whether they would become Patriots or Loyalists. Under it the Patriots aligned themselves in a common cause; under it were erected new governments to replace the old; and through it the new body politic entered the world of independent states.

With the military history of the Revolutionary War it is not the purpose of this volume to treat. Yet it may be observed that on the field of battle the Americans were unexpectedly fortunate. For too long a time Britain regarded the rebellion as nothing but a feeble insurrection, easily to be suppressed, if, indeed, it did not collapse of its own weight. Her commanders exhibited, in a half-hearted manner on the whole, only mediocre ability. Her counsellors at home were often disdainful or seemingly indifferent.

This was in part due to Britain's position at the time in the world of states — which was such that she had to act with caution. In Europe the War of the American Revolution was considered little more than a new phase of the long struggle against England's rising commercial supremacy, as another opportunity to weaken a trade rival. Holland, ever with an eye open for the main chance, used every opportunity to humble Britain's trade and to win that of America. France and Spain were not displeased to see England in trouble. Yet these states were not at first ready to ally themselves openly with the rebellious colonies of their rival. It required all the diplomacy of Franklin, all the persuasiveness of such French liberals as LaFayette, and finally, the victory of Saratoga, to bring France, doubtful at first of the military strength of the Americans, into the war.

Even with such military good fortune and foreign sympathy, a successful outcome for the rebellion was not easily attained. Not until five long years had passed did victory seem certain; and with victory came new problems as momentous as those causing the war.

MASSACHUSETTS MAKES MILITANT PREPARATIONS

Armed conflict seemed inevitable. Congress had counseled that "the schemes agitated against these colonies have been so conducted, as to render it prudent that you should extend your views to mournful events, and be, in all respects, prepared for every contingency." Throughout the colonies the answer came in militant form. In the early fall Washington had declared his willingness to march to the relief of Boston at the head of a thousand men. But Massachusetts was herself making ready. The Assembly had been summoned to meet at Salem on October 5, 1774. General Gage, fearing consequences, now revoked the call and removed the seat of government back to Boston. Disregarding this action, many of the representatives assembled at Cambridge and organized a Provincial Congress, with John Hancock as President and Benjamin Lincoln as Secretary. The last vestige of pretense that royal authority controlled outside of Boston vanished. The Provincial Congress took over the government of the country districts. It also passed resolutions to organize the town militia and the "minute-men."



From a caricature in the London Magazine, Feb. 1775

In Provincial Congress,

Cambridge, October 26, 1774.

Whereas in Confequence of the profession of the

Wherefore it is the Opinion of this Congress-ought more to be deprecated than Hostilines we wince has not the most distant Design of attac -That notwithstanding nothing but Slavery

Britan and the Colonae:

Wherefore is is the Opinion of this Congress—That notwithsisanding nothing but Slavery ought notice to be deprecated than Holtshines with Great Britan—notwithsinding the Province has not the most distant Design of attacking, annoying or molesling his Majely's Troops aforeful, but on the other Hand will consider and treat every Attempt of the Kind as well as all Measures tending to prevent a Reconciliation between Britain and the Colonies as the highest Degree of Emanyty to the Province—Nevertheless there is great Reason from the Considerations aforefuld, to be apprehensive of the most fixel Consiquences, and that the Province may be in some Degree provided aguing the fame, and under full Persusion that the Measures experied in the following Resolves are perfectly consistent with fush Refolves of the Continental Congress as have been communicated to us. It is Residued, and herby Recommended to the Fevral Companies of Miliua in this Province, who have not stready chosen and appointed Officers, that they meet forthwith, and elect Officers to Command their respective Companies, and that the Officers so command their respective Companies of Miliua in this Province, who have not stready chosen and appointed Officers, that they meet forthwith, and elect Officers to Command their respective Companies so forthwish, and proceed to elect Field Officers to Command their respective Companies for chosen as few preventions of the present Regiments too extensive, that they divide them, and fettle and determine their Limits, and proceed to elect Field Officers to Command the respective Regiments for forted, and that the Field Officers to electronic the state of the respective Companies, and form them into Companies of fire Privates at the least, who shall equip and hold themselves in Readiness to march at the shortest Notice, and that each and serve Company to formed, choose a Capatin and two Leutennaes to ochmand them on any necessary to each Britalion for Companies of the Province of the Private and t

BENJAMIN LINCOLN, Secry

201 From a broadside of the Resolves of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, recommending the towns to prepare for defense, in the Massachusetts Historical Society

THE PRIVY COUNCIL FAVORS THE USE OF FORCE

In the fall of 1774, new elections gave added parliamentary power to the ministerial party. With press and Parliament favoring, the Privy Council determined that force must be used to suppress the rebellion in America. "The New England governments," wrote the King to Lord North, "are now in a state of rebellion. Blows must decide whether they are to be subject to this country or independent." The accompanying caricature represents this phase of contemporary English public sentiment. King George and his chief Minister, Lord North, are dancing in carefree fashion around the thistle, symbol of Scottish predominance in the councils of state. They appear to be exulting in a supercilious manner at the impending confusion of those who have opposed the royal policies embodied in the Acts of 1774. Lord Mansfield weighty representative of the law, and supporter of those policies - particularly as embodied in the Quebec Act - is giving to the performance benign approval. Above, the thistle sheds its effulgent rays to all corners.

The motion made by Lord North on M 'n-

day laft is as follows :

That it is the opinion of this Commit tee, that when the Governor, Council, and Affembly, or General Court, of any of his Majesty's provinces or colonies in America, half propose to make provision according to the condition, sircumflances, and fittation of fuch province or colony, for contributing their perpertion to the common defence (fuch the, General Court or Affembly of fuch provisée et c iony, and disposable by Parlia-mant) and shall engage to make provis a also for the Civil Government and the Administration of Justice in such province or colony; it will be proper, if such proposal stell be approved by his M jesty and the two Houses of Parliament, and for to long as fuch provides that I be made accordingly, to chear, in mipel of fuch province or colony, w levy any thety, tax, and affeliment, except only find during us it may be expedient to continue as levy and impole for the regulation of commerce, the nett produce of the dades last mentioned to be carried to the sections of facts province or colony respecsively."

A motion was made, after a long debate, for the Chairman to leave the Chair,

Agin 88 Noes - 274 Then the main theklon was put, and agreed to.

From the London Packet, Feb 22, 1775, in the New York Public Library

LORD NORTH OFFERS CONCILIATORY RESOLVES

On January 19, 1775, the Congress petition (Nos. 192, 193) came before Parliament. The next day Chatham moved that the British troops be at once withdrawn from Boston. "An hour now lost may produce years of calamity." But Pitt's insight was not shared by the ministry. Yet the friends of America persisted. Chatham presented, on February 1, a scheme that, with mutual concessions, would have paved the way to harmony between America and England But Parliament refused to give this bill even the usual courtesy of lying on the table. On first reading it was overwhelmingly rejected. Then, a few days later, Lord North surprised everyone by bringing in a conciliatory resolution (No 203). The measure was regarded with distaste by the high Tories and with suspicion by American sympathizers. Disingenuous and trivial as it was, only strict party discipline secured its passage.

EDMUND BURKE SPEAKS ON CONCILIATION

THE true policy of the ministry became clear on the tenth of February. On that day North, asserting that "as the Americans had refused to trade with this kingdom, it was but just that we should not suffer them to trade with any other nation," asked leave to bring in the New England Restraining Act. Permission was granted by a vote of two hundred and sixty-one to eighty-five. This was one of the important factors in driving colonial Americans from the fight for their rights under the English constitution to a battle for political independence. In the ensuing debate Edmund Burke made

his famous speech on conciliation. Burke had already shown interest in American affairs. His first speech in Parliament had been in January, 1766, favoring the reception of the petition of the Stamp Act Congress. He had disapproved of the Townshend duties and of the Intolerable Acts; and now in March, 1775, he won the hearts of Americans by his plea for her cause.

The Speech of Edmund Burke, Eq. or

The SPEECH of EDMUND BURKE, Eq. on moving his Refulutions for Conciletum with the Colonies. March 23, 1775.

[Castinued from our lot of the mention of the medium of war. Not peace through the health with the fourtiess and endiefs negociations. Not peace to size out of surverfal distance from a figure. Not peace to the outlet of the surverfal distance from principle in all parts of the empire. Not peace to depend on the jurifical determination of perplexing quantum of a complex go amount. It is fimple peace fought in its natural courfe, and its striking quantum. It is firely peace fought in its natural courfe, and its striking hausts. It is peace fought in the lipsit of peace, and laked in principles povely peace. In people by remaining the from self-peace, confliction to your people; and (far from a Rhome of railing by differed) to reconcile them to each other in the lame at and he casely, to give permanent indiffication to your people; and (far from a Rhome of railing by differed) to reconcile them to each other in the lame at and he bestoff government.

My idea is nothing more. Refused policy ever has bound to be such a first own, as fraud in the month of the month of the second intention, which is no easily differented at lah, is, let me by, of no mean force in the government of mankind. Genuine flamplicity of heart is an healing and amounting principle. My plan, it has first, being formed upon the most simple grounds langinable, was dispoint some people when they heart. It has nothing to recommend it to the practure of certoon arm. There is nothing at all new and captivating in it. It has nothing at the practure of certoon arm. There is nothing at the process of the project, which has been lively laid upon your table, by the noble Lord in the bias ribbance, or the project, which has been lively laid upon your table, by the noble Lord in the bias ribbance, and the process of search restoon to the interior and provinces are not provinced to the proper of the or your mace, at every in fant, to keep the passe a

have inflitted a mode that is altogether new; one that is, indeed, wholly alten from all the ancient methods and forms of parliament.

The principle of this proceeding is large enough for my purpore. The means proposed by the noble, load for carrying his ideas into remetion, I think, indeed, are very indifferently faint to the end; and that I thall endeavour to flow you helfer I fit down. But, for the prefent, I takes any ground on the almitted principle. I mean to give peace. Peace implies reconclisation; and, where there has been a material dispute, reconclisation does in a manner always imply controllor on the one part or on the other. In this state of things I make no difficulty in affirming that the proposal ought to originate from us. Orest and acknowleged force is not impaired, either in effect or in opinion, by an unwillinguals to exert kissif. The superiour power may offer peace with honors and with falley. Such an offer from fach a; ower will be actribated to magnatismity. But the concessions of fear. When such a one is differently he in wholly at the mercy of his superior, and he lotes for ever that une and those changes which, as they happen to all men, are the strength and of the contract of all interiors of all interiors of all men, are the strength

one is straimed, se is whotly at the mercy of his fuperior, and he lofer for ever that time and those changes which, as they happen to all men, are the firength and refourtes of all inferious power.

The capital leading questions, or which you must this day decide, are their two. First, whether you ought to concode; and forcadly, what your confision ought to be. On the first of these questions we have gained its I have Just taken laboraly of observing to you fome ground. But I me tentible that a good, deal more is full to be done. Indeed, Sur, to trable us to determine both on the one and the other of these great questions with a firm and precise judgment, I thank in may be necessary to consider distinctly the true nature and the preculiar circumstances of the object which we have before us. Because after all our firegile whether we will or not, we must govern America according to that nature, and to those circumstances, and not according to our own imaginations; and not according to our own imaginations; and not according to abstract ideas of right; by no means according to a before the over one imagination one; not according to a before the event of the severa
nette Spy, Worosster, Sept 29, 1775, in the New Yorks.

and provoked with little danger. It will prove that force degree of care and careton is required in the handling fach an object; it will fave that you ought not, in reafon, to trife with fo large a mass of the not, in reafon, to trife with fo large a mass of the interests and feedings of the human race. You oreld at no time d.; fo without guilt, and be afford you will not be able to do it long with inspanity.

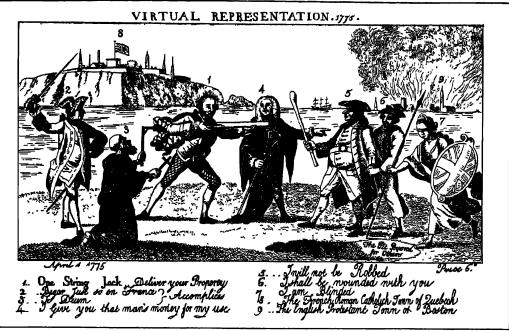
But the population of this tomarity, the great and growing papulation, though a very inspartant consideration, will lofe much of its weight if not combined with other circumbraces. The commerce of your colonies is out of all proportion beyond the numbers of the people. This ground of their commerce indeed has been tred form days ago, and with great ability, by a difflaguished perfen at your har [fir. Glover].

This greatleman after thiny-five yours—it is fo long finch he appeared at the fame phost to plead for the commerce of Great-British, has come again before you to plead the time caufe, without any other effect of time than that to the fire of imagination and estimat of crudition, which even then maked him as one of ination and the of erudicion, which even then me

of crudition, which even then marked him as one of the first literary characters of his age; he has taked a constimutate knowledge in the consumerable interest of his country, formed by a long otheris of miligheness, and differentiated by a long otheris of miligheness, and differentiated by a long otheris of miligheness. Sir, I how I be inscriptable in coming after firsh a perfen with any detail, if a great pert of the members who now fill the heats, had not the milichance it is absent when he appeared at your her. Indicate, Eir, I propose to take the master at periods of these factors are all of the substant aligness from whence, if you will look at this fabject, it is impossible that it should not make an impercious upon you.

to beer, sets impossible that se means not make an in-precious upon you.

I have in my hand tope necessate, use a compara-tive face of the export trade of England to in resinate, as it Anod in the year 1704, and as it fixed in the year 1772. The other a face of the export trade of this country to its calcules acker, as it flood in 1772, compared with the whole trade of England up rell parts of the world (the colonies included) in the year 1704. They are from good vouchers pube inter-



From the caricature Virtual Representation, dated Apr 1, 1775, in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston THE KING APPROVES THE NEW ENGLAND RESTRAINING ACT

In March the Act received the royal assent. Once again the British Government had shown its inability to comprehend that the colonial problem was no longer one of Massachusetts, or of New England, but of a continent. Even in Canada signs of dissatisfaction were not lacking and Governor Carleton was employing all his ingenuity to prevent an open expression of sympathy with the southern provinces. The contemporary cartoon here shown carries, in handwriting of the time, the following "explanation" "No. 1 intends the K-g of G.B., to whom the House of Commons (4) gives the Americans' money for the use of that very H. of C., and which he is endeavoring to take away with the power of cannon. No. 2, by a Frenchman, signifies the tyranny that is intended for America. No. 3, the figure of a Roman Catholic priest." [This alludes

perhaps to the Quebec Act and its sanction of that religion, or to Carleton's attempt to enlist the Catholic priesthood in political propaganda.] "Nos. 5 and 6 are honest American yeomen, who oppose an oaken staff to G-'s cannon, and determine they will not be robbed. No. 7 is poor Britannia blindfolded, falling into the bottomless pit which her infamous rulers have prepared for the Americans. Nos. 8 and 9 represent Quebec triumphant and Boston in flames, to show the probable consequence of submission to the present wicked ministerial system, — that popery and tyranny will triumph over true religion, virtue, and liberty."

FRANKLIN WARNS LORD NORTH

WHEN Lord North apprised Franklin of the ministerial policy, that great American replied: "The people of Massachusetts must suffer all the hazards and mischiefs of war, rather than admit the alteration of their charter and laws by Parliament. They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety." This attitude received warm assent in America on the receipt of news of the actions of Parliament. The second Massachusetts Provincial Congress was in session at Cambridge. In February this assemblage spurred on the military preparations authorized the preceding fall. In the other colonies like efforts were on foot.

New-York, May 8, 1775.

Extract of a Letter From Philadelphia.

To a Gentleman in this City, dated the 6th inft.

ESTERDAY evening Dr. F. R. AN K. L. I. N. arryad here from London in fix weeks, which he left the noth of March, which has given great joy to this sown, he siys we have no favours to expect from the Ministry, nothing but fubmission will faisify them, they expect little or no opposition will be made to their troops, those that we now coming are 'for New York, where it is expected, they will be received with cordulary. As near as we can learn there are about four thouland proops coming in this fleet, the men of war and transport are in a great measure loaded with dry goods, to supply New York, and the country round it, agents are coming over with them. Dr. Franklin is highly pleased to find ma srming and preparing for the worst events, he thinks nothing else can sive us from the most appect shavery and nothing elfe can fave us from the most abject shavery and destruction, at the same time encourages us to beise restricted opposition, will be the means of our falvation.

The Ministry are alarmed at every opposition, and lifted ap again at every thing which appears the least in their favour, every letter and every paper from hence, are read

NEW-TORK.
Printed by JOHN ANDERSON, et Beckman's Ship?

06 From a facsimile of a New York Handbill, May 8, 1775, in the Bancker Collection catalogue, 1898



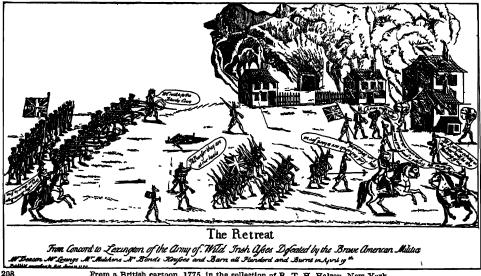
7 Joseph Warren, 1741–75, from the portrait by John Singleton Copley, in the Mussum of Fine Arts, Boston ⑤ Detroit Publishing Co

WARREN WROTE, SPOKE AND DIED FOR AMERICA

A LEADER in this movement was Dr. Joseph Warren of Boston. After graduation at Harvard, Warren had in 1764 begun the practice of medicine The following year witnessed the beginning of his political activity. In 1772 he gained further prominence by delivering the memorial address on the Boston Massacre. The same year found him a member of the Committee of Correspondence. In 1774 he was the draftsman of the sturing Suffolk Resolves. In October he became head of the Committee of Safety, charged with the preparation for defense. Winning manners, cultivated speech and manliness had won him wide affection. When the redcoats in Boston threatened the life of the "Massacre" orator for 1775, Joseph Warren pushed forward to the post of danger. So crowded was Old South Church that March day that the speaker, ever loath to create unnecessary trouble, climbed in at a window to the rear of the pulpit. There followed a noble exhortation to the people to resist the wrongs which America "had suffered from the hands of cruel and ungodly men." The British officers in the assemblage made no move to stop his oration. But Warren scarce outlived the echoes of the speech. For he fell at Bunker Hill, perhaps the greatest single loss to the American cause throughout the war.

THE BRITISH RETREAT FROM CONCORD

WARREN had said. "America must and will be free. The contest may be severe; and the end will be glorious. We would not boast, but we think, united and prepared as we are, we have no reason to doubt of success, if we should be compelled to make the last appeal; but we mean not to make that appeal, until we can be justified in doing it in the sight of God and man." That appeal was taken on the 19th of April, 1775. General Gage, determined to destroy munitions stored at Concord, sent out a detachment under cover of night and secrecy. Warren discovered the move; and Dawes and Revere carried the message, the consequences of which are familiar to all (See Vol. VI). The British forces were saved from utter rout solely by the appearance of reinforcements under Lord Percy, under whose protection the retreat to Boston was managed.



THE COLONIES PRESENT A UNITED FRONT

THE country was roused. Everywhere Lord North's plan of conciliation was pushed aside. Ticonderoga and Crown Point were taken. Stimulated by the improvised revolutionary governments, a united front was presented to England. The familiar symbols of earlier protests were revived to quicken public spirit. Here we find Thomas Paine, disguised as a classicist, urging the common cause through the medium of verse on the Liberty Tree. The prophecy of Warren was met. The Provincial Congress of South Carolina adopted, on June 3, an Association; "The actual commencement of hostilities against this continent by the British troops, on the 19th of April last, and

POETICAL ESSAYS.

FOR] U L Y.

For the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINES

LIBERTY TREE. Ancw Song.

Tune, The Gods of the Greeks.

TN a chariot of light from the regions of day,
The Goddess of Liberty came;

Ten thousand celestials directed the way, And hither conducted the dame. A fair budding branch from the gardens

above, Where millions with millions agree,

She brought in her hand, as a pledge of her love. And the plant the named, Liberty Tree.

ground, Like a native it flourish'd and bore. The fame of its fruit drew the nations around.

To feck out this peaceable fhore. Unmindful of names or diftinctions they came,

For freen in like brothers agree, With one ipirit endued, they one friendthip purtued, And their temple was Liberty tree.

Beneath this fair tree, like the patriarchs

of old, Their bread in contentment they eat, Unvex'd with the troubles of filver and

gold, The cares of the grand and the great. With timber and tar they Old England fupply'd,

And supported her power on the feat Her battles they fought, without getting For the honour of Liberty tree.

The celefial exotic ftruck deep in the But hear, O ye swains, ('tis a tale most profane,)

How all the tyrannical powers, King, Commons, and Lords, are uniting amain,

To cut down this guardian of ours; From the east to the well, blow the trumpet to arms,

Thro' the land let the found of it flee, Let the far and the near, -all unite with a chter,

In defence of our Literty tree. ATLANTICUS.

Ode by Thomas Paine on the Liberty Tree, from the Pennsylvania Magazine July 1775

the dread of insurrections . . . are causes sufficient to drive an oppressed people to arms. We, inhabitants of South Carolina, . . . thoroughly convinced that under our present distressed circumstances we shall be justified before God and man in resisting force by force, do . . . associate as a band in her defense against

every foe; hereby solemnly engaging that, whenever our continental or provincial councils shall deem it necessary, we will go forth, and be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to secure her freedom and safety."



209

210 From a British caricature in possession of the publishers

FRANCE AND SPAIN EAGERLY WATCH AMERICA

In the quiet of Mount Vernon, Washington wrote: "Unhappy is it to reflect that a brother's sword has been sheathed in a brother's breast, and that the once happy and peaceful plains of America are to be either drenched with blood or inhabited by slaves. Sad alternative! But can a virtuous man hesitate in his choice?" The English sympathizer agreed, but saw in the conflict issues both narrower and wider than a struggle for continental liberty. On the one hand, Lexington seemed only the outcome of the light-hearted misrule of the King's friends, North, Bute and Mansfield. Yet the American war loomed also as a European war. France and Spain were thought eager to utilize the civil strife to humble Britannia and to regain Latin supremacy in the world. The cartoonist in his Bunker's hill. or the blessed effects of Family quarrels, represents Spain striking the shield from Britannia and holding America with a rope while France stabs Britannia in the back.



211 From a carlcature published at London, Feb 1776, courtesy of R T H Halsey and the Groher Club, New York

CONGRESS DECLARES PRINCIPLE OF RETALIATION

FACTS could not be dodged. The Second Continental Congress, meeting on May 10, 1775, determined to lend its support to the Cambridge forces. Washington, a man with a distinguished military record, was chosen commander-in-chief of the army arrayed against what he called "the ministerial troops." For the "patriots" were not yet fighting for national independence, but for relief from the oppressive conduct of the King's ministers. So on July 8 the Congress adopted a petition to the King, "beseeching" him to use his office to interpose between the colonies and "those artful and cruel enemies, who abuse your royal confidence and authority, for the purpose of effecting our destruction." On the day on which Richard Penn was to present this to the Government, there was issued, as answer, the proclamation "for suppressing rebellion and sedition." The Crown and its ministry were prepared to call the bluff of the colonies, or to put down the insurrection.

ENGLISH LIBERALS CRITICIZE BUTE'S POLICY

This cartoon, offered for sale in London shortly after Bunker Hill, depicts another phase of English opinion. The British lion naps in the sunshine, careless of his realm. King George, North, Mansfield and the bishops watch Bute as that conspirator seeks to secure, with one fell blow, all the coveted wealth of America. The last lines of the legend read:

About her Neek they put a Cham, And more their Folly to compleat They Stampt upon her Wings and Feet. But this had no Effect at all, Yet made her struggle, flutter, squall, And do what every Goose would do That had her Liberty in view, When one of more distinguished Note Ciy'd D—n her let me Cut her Throat. They did, but not an Egg was found But Blood came flowing from ye wound.



By the KING,

A PROCLAMATION,

For fuppreffing Rebellion and Sedition.

GLORGE R.

11 F.R. L. A. S. many of Our Subjects in divers Parts of Our Colonies and Plantations in North America, milled by dangerous and ill-defigning Men, and forgetting the Allignance which they owe to the Power that has proteded and fulfationed thems, after various diludely Ads committed in Diffurbance of the Publick Peace, to the Obfurchian of Irwiul Commetce, and to the Oppretion of Our loyal Subjects carrying on the fame, have at length pieceded to an open and avowed Rebellion, by arraying themselves in hodita, Manner powerfund the Execution of the Law, and traiterously preparing, ordering, and Levying War, and till Us., And whereas there is Reason to apprehend that fush Rebellion hatti been much promoted and encouraged by the traitorous Correspondence, Counsels, and 'Consort of divers wicked and deligitate Persons within this Realm: To the End therefore that none of Our Subjects may neglect or violate their Duty through Ignorance thereof, or through any Doubt of the Protection which the I aw will afford to their Loyalty and Zeal; We have thought fit, by and with the Advice of Our Privy Council, to fifte this Our Royal Pricelamation, hereby declaring that not only all Our Officers Civil and Military are obliged to exert their utmost Endeavours to supports fuch Rebellion, and to bring the Traitors to Justice, but that all Our Subjects of this Realm and the Domitions thereunto belonging are bound by Law to be adding and additing in the Suppression of such Rebellion, and to disclose and ask known all traitorous Conspirates and ecommand all Our Officers as well Civil as Military, and all other Our obedient and loyal Subjects, to tile their utmost Endeavours to withsland and supports such they traisfing to disclose and make known all Traisfors and traitorious Conspirates which they shall know to be against Us, Our Crown and Dignity; and for that Purpole, that they traisfint to One of Our Principal Secretarias of State, or other proper Officer, due and full Information of all Persons who shall be found carrying on Corre

Given at Our Court at St. James's, the Twenty-third Day of August. One thousand fiven hundred and seventy-five, in the Fifteenth Year of Our Reign.

God fave the King.

PROMINENT LOYALISTS OPPOSE VIOLENCE

This last reference included the large body of colonists remaining faithful to England. John Adams estimated that one-third of the population were at first opposed to armed rebellion. Included in their number were most of the official class, the clergy, and those whose vested interests had bred a conservative political attitude. Some, of course, were simply playing the game of expediency, but many, like Galloway, admitted the grievances of America while honestly shrinking from violent methods of remedy. Many a thoughtful and patriotic conservative distrusted the radical elements in the colonies and feared the consequences for society that might result from war and from a successful revolution. Not a few of these men were driven to sacrifice property, position and friends by their loyalty to the ancient kingdom whence their forefathers had come.



214 James Rivington, 1724-1802, from a portrait by an unknown artist in the New York Historical Society

Two of these Loyalists deserve mention. One, Jonathan Boucher.



213 Jonathan Boucher, 1738–1804, from Letters of Jonathan Boucher to George Washington, collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Brooklyn, 1899

Virginia rector and friend of Washington, drew down upon himself by his frankness the wrath of his parish. Boucher was a devout follower of the doctrines of Filmer and Hooker; passive obedience was to him the most effective and only honorable means of securing redress of wrongs. In his sermon, published in 1797, may be found the ablest statement of the Loyalist case. Boucher gave such offence to the members of his congregation that m 1785 he was obliged to return to England The other was of a more militant turn. James Rivington had in 1773 established the New York Gazetteer as an organ for the Government party. Its virulence led to its being wrecked in 1775 at the hands of enraged Patriots. Rivington's utterances came to the notice of the Continental Congress, to which, while it was considering his case, he wrote that "however wrong and mistaken he may have been in his opinions, he has always meant honestly and openly to do his duty as a servant of the people." Soon after he was appointed King's printer for New York, and in 1777 he resumed publication of what soon became the Royal

Gazette. This was the chief American vehicle for the Loyalists, and Rivington was singled out by the Patriots for vicious scorn. William Livingston wrote to Gouverneur Morris: "If Rivington is taken, I must have one of his ears; Governor Clinton is entitled to the other; and General Washington, if he pleases, may take his head." Rivington was cleverly satirized by Francis Hopkinson, Philip Freneau and John Witherspoon. Nevertheless, when the British cause became doubtful he played the spy and provided Washington with important information.

NEW-YORK

Connecticut, Hudfon's River,

WEEKLY

ADVERTISER.

PRINTED at his OPEN and UNINFLUENCED PRESS, fronting HANOVER-SQUARE.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Efquire,

Commander in Chief of the Army of the United Colonies of North-America.

To the INHABITANTS of CANADA

FRIENDS and BRETHREN,

HE unnatural Contest between the English Colonies and Great-Britain, has now risen to such a Heighth, that Arms alone must decide it. The Colonies, confiding in the Justice of their Cause, and the Purity of their Intentions, have reluctantly appealed to that Being, in whose Hands are all human Events. He has hitherto smiled upon, their virtuous Efforts—The Hand of Tyranny has been arrested in its Ravages, and the Brit sh Arms which have shone with so much Splendor in every Part of the Globe, are now tarnished with Disgrace and Disappointment.—Generals of approved Experience, who boasted of subduing this great Continent, find themselves circumscribed within the Limits of a lingle City and its Suburbs, suffering all the Shame and Distress of a Siege. While the freeborn Sons of America, animated by the genuine Principles of Liberty and Love of their Country, with increasing Union, Firmness and Distipline repel every Attack, and despise every Danger.

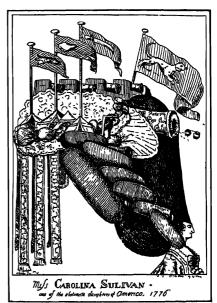
Above all, we rejoice, that our Fnemies have been deceived with Regard to you—They have perfunded themselves, they have even dared to say, that the Canadians were not capable of distinguishing between the Blessings of Liberty, and the Wretchedness of Slavery; that gratifying the Vanity of a little Circle of Nobility—would blind the Lyes of the People of Canada.—By such Artisses they hoped to bend you to their Views, but they have been deceived, instead of finding in you that Poverty of Soul, and Baseness of Spirit, they see with a Chagrin equal to our Joy, that you are enlightened, generous, and vintuous—that you will not renounce your own Rights, or serve as Instruments to deprive your Fellow Subjects of theirs.—Come then, my Brethren, unite with us in an indissoluble Union, let us rua together to the same Goal.—We have taken up Arms in Desence of our Liberty, our Property, our Wives, and our Children, we are determined to preferve them, or die. We look forward with Pleasure to that Day not far remote (we hope) when the Inhabitants of America shall have one Sentiment, and the full Enjoyment of the Bellings of a free Goyernment.

Incited by these Motives, and encouraged by the Advice of many Friends of Liberty among you, the Grand American Congress have sent an Army into your Province, under the Command of General Schutzer, not to plunder, but to protect you, to animate, and bring forth into Acht in those Sentiments of Freedom you have dictoted, and which the Tools of De pottin would extinguish through the whole Creation.—
To co-operate with this Design, and to frustrate shose cruel and perfidious Schemes, which would deluge our Frontiers with the Blood of Women and Children; I have detathed Colonel Arnold into your Country, with a Part of the Army under my Command—I have explined upon him, and I am certain this he will consider himself, and aft as in the Country of his Patrons, and best Friends. Necestaires and Accommodations of every Kind which you may surroll, he will thankfully receive, and render the full Value—I invite you therefore as Friends and Biethren, to provide him with such Supplies as your Country affords; and I pledge myself not only for your Safety and Security, but for ample Cempensation. Let no Man defert his Habitation—Let no one she as before an Enemy: The Caule of America, and of Liberty, is the Cause of every virtuous American Citizen; whatever may be his Resigion or his Descent, the United Colonies know no Distinction but such as Slavery, Corruption and arbitrary Domination may create. Come then, ye generous Citizens, range yourselves under the Standard of general Liberty—against which all the Force and Artisee of Tyranny will never be able to prevail.

G. Washington.

CANADA HOLDS ALOOF FROM COLONIAL UNION

The colonists were not, then, united. Much of the time of the new commander-in-chief was consumed in consolidating the American front against England. One fair prospect was Canada. The Congress hoped that loyalty to the British Crown sat but lightly on the recently conquered French. Franklin and the Catholic John Carroll of Maryland were sent to try their hand at winning Canadian support. They found George III's French-speaking subjects, however, not greatly interested and Sir Guy Carleton showed too great military ability. Canada was not won to the cause.



217 From a British cartoon in the collection of R. T. H. Halsey, New York

THE BRITISH ARE REPULSED OFF CHARLESTON

Counting upon Loyalist strength in Carolina, the British offensive was opened there. A fleet under Admiral Sir Peter Parker appeared off Charleston on the 4th of June. The citizens had built a crude fort of green palmetto on Sullivan's Island, commanding the channel. This rough defense the Admiral thought to annihilate. But his shots were buried harmlessly in the soft logs, while a telling fire from the Island played havoc with the fleet. After ten hours of fighting the latter was glad to withdraw. It was another heartening victory for the Patriots, another blow to the Loyalists. (See Vol. VI.)



218 From the painting Tory Refugees on Their Way to Canada, by Howard Pyle for Woodrow Wilson, A History of the American People, 1901 © Harper & Bros

LOYALISTS ARE DRIVEN FROM THEIR HOMES

INDEED the Loyalists proved of little aid to Great Britain. Though numerous in New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, South Carolina and Georgia, the superior zeal of the Patriots kept them disorganized and downcast. They received scant sympathy at the hands of the dominant group. Harried from pillar to post, many fled to Canada and England, leaving all their possessions behind. New York proved for a time the sanctuary of hundreds. Indignities of manifold character were heaped upon the Loyalists remaining in America. Some were thrown into the underground mines of Newgate prison. Others suffered still greater seventies. This fratricidal war is the great tragedy of the Revolution.

THE FIRST VICTORIES BRING ELATION

HOPE ran high among the revolutionaries. It seemed as if their goal would be attained overnight. Broadsides of the period contain many songs and verses that illustrate the exultant spirit of the people.



219 Reception of the American Loyalists in England, from an engraving by H Moses after the painting by Benjamin West



Two favorite SONGS,

made on the Evacuation of the Town of BOSTON.

by the British Troops, on the 17th of March, 1776.

IN Revelteen bundred, and feventy fir,

In Revelteen bundred, and feventy fir,

In March the eleventh, the time was prefix d.

Our forces march'd on upon Dorchefter-neck,
Made fornfictions against an attack

The morning marc following, as How e did efpy,
The banks we cat up, were fo copous and high,
the banks we cat up, were fo copous and high,
The banks we cat up, were fo copous and high,
And control of the bank force upon with their might,
Loud due to the morth force as they we made in a nigh.
Now we her the first her force as they we made in a night
And drive off the Yakarus from Dorcheffer hill

Or he'd leave the harbour and has no their will.
Howe rallien has forces upon the next day,
One party embark'd for the Calle they fay,
But the wind and the weather against them did light,
Din Govemor's Bland it drove 'con that might
Then being didoourig'd they foon did agree,
From Bunker and Bollon, on board hipto fileeFreat Kinwe lold but fenlis, hely for a week,
From Bunker and Bollon, on board hipto fileeFreat Kinwe lold but fenlis, hely for for a week,
From Bunker and Bollon, on board hipto fileeFreat Kinwe lold but fenlis, hely for for a week,
From Bunker and Bollon, on board hipto fileeFreat Kinwe lold but fenlis, hely for for a week,
From Bunker and Bollon, on board hipto fileeFreat Kinwe lold but fenlis, hely for for a week,
From the men and the weather her both for forScall Howe, Pharpole like, did harden hus heart,
Selig thirty for victory to mannam hu part
Height mit from victory to mannam hu part
Height mit from victory to mannam hu part
Height mit from on the parties to face
Yet nevertheleth being haughty of heart,
On Friday one untern a deliperate carron,
Saying fight me throw utern a deliperate carron,
Saying fight me throw the corron of the trees.

IT wa'nt our will that Benker Fhill I From us should ear be taken; We thought 'twould niver be remool, But w. find we are Mistaken. The foll-hers but the hill farewell, Two images lett fanteus, The street was a second of the following the first hill farewell, Two images lett fanteus, The street was deepen and the following for truce was fent therefor, To fee if the hill was clear, No living foul was found thereon, But their images froot there. Their has they wave, come if you please, There's none here to modelt us, To wooden men that there do Rand, Are only to diffy us Their images they foon three down, Not one man's life was last them, No fonce they were on the bill. But they landed into Boston. The wooden men that there, I have not the following for the tree of the following for the following for the following for the tree of the following for the what farey three their beth bomb normat. With the blazing of your guin that night, And roung of your mortars, The folders lavy did for the finders of the finders of the finders come. To tract us all in quarters. The barracks being fee on fire. What made the folders quiver. They foon embark on board there had for the finders of the finders of

pere they are bound of but the great Gop on y all our heads be cov BY THE HONORAPLY

JONATHAN TRUMBULL, Efg.

Common and Commander is Cluef of the Logish Colony of Convolution Mem-England.

PROCLAMATION.

The Race of Mankand was reason at a fairs of Innocence is all Viceri in, folged I only to the Lives of Goo inst.

Creature, and through his rich bondards, defined for virtuant Libras, and Happingh he and duriver and them novel fivil use, autodition into the World, and Manhand correport 1 is Wast before vivil, or and Inquire came in like a Borrd, and Takashori became request, and a pray to the Vinters, in, it ex an Lippingh and the states of the Cooper of the C

The Ger of Herven favored and prospered their Undertaking , made Roem for their Settlement , me calci and multiplied down to a very neutronic Prople, and multiplied down to a fine for the Company of the Comp

Gon Austron's has been pl-sled, of his infrast bleety to futured our Attempts, and give us many Inflances of fig-des Sweeth and Delbermer; but the Writto of the Rusey is little increaling, and not contrast such before mission in all the Breeze which can be but those has used Kingdom to recrute his treat Purposes, has processed and is tending all the Aftertomarus be and obtain term foregen Countries, to adult an extrapating the Rights or Afternas and with their's, all marks all the Liberty recruins ag man ig Mankred.

means no treatment recovering mint ig transmiss. It is this recovering the period of t

respectively. The first set of the first

And off the Alexanders of the Cooper in the Cooper, are discribed and the first to publish that theologicalism in their P Bend Cooper's made to gregations, and to call with the Laborations thereof by their seek poor for imple and publi-

4.70' Virial, in Hand, at i'n Count (!; after in He via de phe eleth Day of June, elect Domine 1770. JOVATHAN TRUMBER L.

Proclamation of Jonathan Trumbull, June 18, 1776, from a broadside in the New York Public Library

NEW POWERS ARE GRADUALLY ESTABLISHED

More prosaic, but more perplexing, was the dilemma facing Congress. How could the fact of war be reconciled with continued allegiance and the theory of subjection to the British crown? Illegal bodies had assumed actual political control in the colonies, and the result was a general confusion. John Adams even feared that the system would "injure the morale of the people, and destroy their habits of order and attachment to regular government." Civil government must continue. So, as early as November, 1775, the Congress recommended the establishment of new governments where the old had fallen. This policy was fully accepted as orthodox by the Resolution of May 15, 1776. The fact of war was pushing the colonies to a declaration of independence.

CONNECTICUT'S GOVERNOR SUMMONS RECRUITS

What was that goal? Time and time again it had been stated to be freedom from the oppression of England's Government. But freedom is a word of fire. Whereas it at first meant simply relief from the unconstitutional acts of the British Parliament, it came, bit by bit, to mean political independence from the mother country. Throughout the literature of the period runs this ambiguity. Here we find it in a proclamation of the devout Jonathan Trumbull, that stanch adviser of Washington, "Brother Jonathan" of the war. As Governor of the "English Colony of Connecticut" he summons recruits to fight England! This confusion of thought in the minds of the rebel leaders well indicates how loath they were to surrender irrevocably the benefits of political union with the motherland. Pulled by diverse desires in opposite directions, they were for the most part opportunists, taking steps as need for them arose.

IN CONGRESS

MAY 15, 1776.

*

"II EREAS his Dritannic Majefly, in conjunction with the Lords and Commons of Great-Britain, has, by a late Act of Parliament, excluded the inhabitatio of these United Colonies from the protection of his crown. And whereas no answer whatever to the humble potitions of the Colonies for redrois of gravances, and reconciliation with Great-Britain has been or is likely to be given a but the whole force of That king lom, aided by foreign mercenaries, is to be exerted for the duftruetion of the good people of their Colonies's And whereas it appears absolutely urreconcileable to reason and good confesence, for the people at these Calonier now to take the ouths and affirmations necessary for the support of any government under the Crown of Great-Britain; and it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the faid Crown thould be totally figpressed, and all the powers of government exerted under the authorrity of the people of the Colonies for the preferention of internal peace, Virtue, and good order, as well as for the defence of their lives, liberties and properties, against the boldie invalions and creek depredations of their one-

RESOLVED, That is be recommended to the respective Affemblies and Conventions of the United Colonies, where no Government fufficient to the exigencies of their affairs has been hitherto established, to adopt such Govarrament as (hall in the opinion of the Representatives of the Pudple best conduce to the happinesh and Safety of their Constantants in particular, and As Extraft from the Minutes,

CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY.

EMILADELPHIA: Proted by JOHN DUNEAP

PAINE'S BRIEF FOR INDEPENDENCE

OTHER events had contributed to this end. Parliament, in December, 1775, had again played into the hands of the Patriots. The Prohibitory Act forbade all nations to trade with America, and made vessels so trading lawful prizes of war. This was the Act that called forth the Resolution just noticed (No. 222). Said John Adams: "It makes us independent in spite of our supplications and entreaties." In a soil fully prepared was now sown Tom Paine's Common Sense. Published January 10, 1776, within a few weeks one hundred thousand copies were sold. The pamphlet was a passionate and brilliant brief for independence. "It is repugnant to reason, to the inward order of things, to suppose that this continent can longer remain subject to any external power. The utmost stretch of human wisdom cannot at this time compass a plan short of separation." It became the bible of the Revolution, found wherever there was a Patriot.

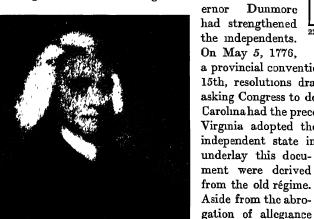
VIRGINIA ADOPTS THE FIRST FREE CONSTITUTION

THE South had not waited for Congressional sanction to form new governments. In Virginia the conduct of Gov-

> Dunmore had strengthened the independents. On May 5, 1776,

to the British crown. there was no radical departure from the government of the

colonial days. In the



4 Edmund Pendleton, 1721-1803, from the portrait by Thomas Sully (1783-1872), in the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond

Virginia convention sat two men whose names are indelibly written in American history. Both Edmund Pendleton and George Mason had been prominent in Virginia politics. The former had been of the committee of correspondence in 1773 and of the first Continental Congress, both were members of the Virginia Committee of Safety in 1775, the former being President. In 1776 Pendleton drafted the resolution calling for national independence, while Mason prepared the famous Declaration of Rights. In 1788 reappeared the nationalism of the one, the devotion to freedom of the other; for while Pendleton, as chairman of the Virginia ratifying convention, was a leading advocate of the adoption of the Constitution, Mason, with Patrick Henry, led the opposition to a document regarded by them as dangerous to human liberty.

COMMON SENSE:

ADDRESSED TO THE

INHABITANTS

E R Ţ С M

On the following interesting

s U B J F С

- Of the Origin and Design of Government in general with concile Remarks on the English Confirmation.
- II. Of Monarch and Heroditary Succession
- Ille Thoughts on the prefent State of American Affairs.
- IV Of the prefent Ability of America, with fome miled-lineous Reflections
- A NEW FDITIEN, with feweral Additions in the Eody of the Work. 10 which is added in APPFNDIX, together with an Address to the People called QUAKERS
- N. P. The New Addition here given ingreases the Work upward of one Third

Man knows no Mafter fave creating Heaven, Or those whom Choice and common Good orden. Thomsow.

PHILADEI PHIA PRINTED And so to by W and T BRADFORD

223 Title-page of the issue, 1776 (new edition), in the Thomas Paine National Historical Society, New Ro-chelle, N Y

a provincial convention met to frame a new constitution. On the 15th, resolutions drafted by Edmund Pendleton were adopted asking Congress to declare separation from Great Britain. North Carolina had the preceding month taken similar action. On June 29 Virginia adopted the first written constitution of a free and independent state in America. The fundamental ideas which



225 George Mason, 1728-92, from a copy by Henry Inman (1801-48) of an original portrait, about 1758 (since lost), by John Hesselius, in the Virginia State Library, Richmond

(11 1 had in grouped , 2 9 116.) A Declaration of Night's mare by the Representatives of the good people of Virginia, altembled infull and fite bonvention; Shights to pertain to them and thur as the Basis and houndation of 4000 1. That ale minace orealis equally free & indepen certain or herer beneficial Sught, if which they a . any learnhant, defining is desest their postirily; are the bijo ament of side while the youth the means of ac Interising property & pursuing & obsaming Happie . 2. " Frank well prover is by if or W. W. derived from the people; Inal Magistrates in their Sevendo, and at Mines anniable to their !! 3. That four ment is or ought to be instituted for common Benefit, to obertion & Security of the proportion or Community. Of all the surrious mades & Frommes mind that is best a hich is capable of Intone Jurus, a treativity of thebon

226 First draft of the Virginia Declaration of Rights, adopted June 12, 1776, from the original in the Virginia State Library, Richmond

THE TIDE OF EVENTS BEARS CONGRESS TOWARD FREEDOM

EVENTS were thus pushing the Continental Congress toward an unequivocal declaration. Many an American, wavering between loyalty to a great nation and a fight for independence, suddenly made up his mind when the news came that the British Government had hired Hessian troops for service against the colonies. The Second Congress, which met in the State House, included, like the first, men of all shades of political faith. But now the conservatives were weaker than before; while the patriots had the times with them. Yet there were weighty reasons for delay and hesitancy. A final break with the home country, to which many of the leaders still felt a sentimental attachment, might alienate powerful English sympathizers such as Pitt and Burke. Open rebellion, moreover, would bring non-intercourse, never favored by the commercial class. Then, too, such a declaration must be that of a united people. The

That these United Colonies are, and of night oright to tel free and independent States, that. They are absolved from all allegeance to the British Conver, and that all political connection between them and the Mate of Great thickens is, and right to be, totally defoolved

That it is expedient fortiweth to late. The noof offectual measures for forming foreign alliances

That a plan of confederation be proposed will be anomalied to the next colonies for their consideration and approbation

228 Resolution of Richard Henry Lee, as reported from Committee, June 7, 1776, from the original in the Library of Congress

VIRGINIA'S DECLARATION SERVES AS A MODEL

SEVENTEEN days prior to the adoption of the Virginia Constitution this work of George Mason received the assent of the convention. Composed of sixteen articles, its resemblance to the document of July 4 is striking. The spirit of its author is seen in his statement of 1778: "We have laid our new government upon a broad foundation and we have endeavoured to provide the most effectual securities for the essential rights of human nature, both in civil and religious liberty. The people become every day more attached to it, and I trust that neither the power of Great Britain, nor the power of Hell will be able to prevail against it."



227 Independence Hall, Philadelphia, from a photograph by Frank Cousins

conservatives—for example, Wilson of Pennsylvania and Jay of New York—reported their constituents unready for such a step.

LEE'S RESOLUTION FOR INDEPENDENCE

Thus, when Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, obeying the mandate of the Virginia Convention, introduced on June 7 a resolution for independence, debate ensued. On the 8th and the days following, his resolution was considered in Committee of the Whole. Adoption was urged by Lee, the Adamses, Jefferson and others. But the moderates, led by Dickinson of Pennsylvania, persuaded the Congress to postpone the first resolution,

declaring independence, till action had been taken on the third, the plan of confederation.

THE RADICALS ENDEAVOR TO WIN THE MODERATES

To win over, in the interim, the reluctant colonies became the endeavor of the radicals. They had already secured the appointment of a committee to draft the Declaration "lest any time be lost in case the Congress agree to the resolution" of Lee. Of this committee, four - Jefferson, Franklin, John Adams and Roger Sherman - were radicals, while the moderates had but one representative in the person of Robert Livingston. Early in their deliberations this committee assigned to Jefferson the task of preparing the draft. The work submitted by him received few changes at the hands of Franklin and John Adams.

NEW YORK DELAYS UNANIMITY FOR INDEPENDENCE

On July 1 the Lee resolution again came before the Congress. Debate closed with a vote showing nine colonies in favor and two against the declaration. The delegates from New York refused to vote, while Delaware was evenly divided. The following day another vote was taken. The



229 From the painting Writing the Declaration of Independence, by J L G Ferris (1863-), in Independence Hall, Philadelphia

result showed the all-night efforts of the radical leaders. The South Carolina delegation now determined to side with the majority, running the risk of misrepresenting their distant constituents. Caesar Rodney,



230 From the painting in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, The Congress Voting Independence, by Robert Edge Pine (1730-38), left unfinished at the artist's death and completed by Edward Savage (1751-1817)

who was eighty miles from Philadelphia, rode all night and arrived in time to swing the Delaware vote to the affirmative. Enough Pennsyl-, vania delegates were won over to secure a final vote of twelve to none, with New York still abstaining. A week later the New York convention gave its approval. Unanimity had been secured. On the same day the report of the drafting committee was taken under advisement. Debate was lively, and several changes were made. On the 4th, the edited Declaration of Independence was formally adopted by the Congress.

First and second sheets of Jefferson's hand-written draft of the Declaration of Independence, with revision by Benjamin Franklin and John Adams, and before its further revision by Congress, from the original in the Library of Congress

231

Lilibill		
Merchant March	offigure in the their states of the second to be second to be second to the second to	4 - 2 - 4 - 4 - 4 - 4 - 4 - 4 - 4 - 4 -
delly the forms of sur grown anders unjusted such grown has be deliming un-yand i governory. Il chalancy as the our taun of best heard they they they they they they they they	in the same	Lak Le had deproud Hole Le had deproud Hole Le had deproud Hole Hole Hole Hole Hole Hole Hole Hole
Himmy fractions had been gone gone gones. Healing However had been gone gones. Healing However had been gone gone gone. Healing was file place with my compared to the gone of the gone	Lena of our falliss. Affigures Letter of our falliss. Affigures Letter of our falliss. Affigures and retires tought, whiley of trong them wite elemeny weared well then franchester. If he was the color fallis provided the was the color to provided to he was the color to provided to he to a some deap of homes our firstly.	at loute of people to one in an action of the loute of the state of th
	2 1 377 2 1 8 1 2 1935	of sistengus bad shis, he is now construct those way propriet to rise in account of sistengus bad shis, he is now construct that therefore of which he had deprived they considered the sistengus of winds to propriet they are given as the sistengus of winds the sistengus of winds of the way of the winds the winds the winds the winds the winds the winds of the winds of the winds of the winds the winds of the
Tedelloy on and inspected for the standard but for the standard our charlos but for a standard but for a standard our charles but for a standard our course, the standard our cours, tranged our partie. The standard our cours, tranged our parties our cours, tranged our for a st his time transfer our cours, tranged our cours, tranged our cours, tranged our cours, tranged our course, the standard our course, when the standard our course, when the standard our course, when the standard our course, our course our course, of such course, our course our course, of such course, our course our course, our course our course, our course our course, our course our course of such courses.	ale agas, sears, b conditionally in the conditional of included in the conditional of the behalf the three periods and the conditional of the conditional of the behalf the behalf the conditional of the behalf the conditional of the behalf the conditional of the behalf the conditional of the behalf t	at dis, he come concluy the purchase that the the purchase spaces it from me committed against 1 the opening of how paragraphic the opening of how paragraphic to pittent have been an et pittent have been an et pittent have been an et pittent from paragraphic the opening according according to the opening according according the opening according to the opening accordin
Table for our for taken among our of for read pounds our our our for the state of the state our our our faire of the state our our for the state our our for the state our our faire of the state our our faire faire faire our faire our faire faire our fa	at need I treen at meed I treen at meed I treen at refer of the Interest of th	F 3 64 F 3 7 F F 7 17 18 13 1
to the state of th	School of the state of the stat	g dichery more is, g first from the f
The state of the s		
The state of the s		The second secon

Independence Leclo inter marle str. 4 lader s tores Guild States of Comment on Consent Con-* I renounce all allegance Vollyction to the langs of treat Indus they too have been deed to the wave of justice of on Bank Alabe may of wighted and for the for Hom, and to hold Hom as we hold the nate of manking enomies in was by their free election re-established then in prower at this very time to be To witer Whenen is 4th people or perhament of Great Anheim, and fined soldrors of over common į nakê by He weelk of the strongth of Great Portugus. Hat in anath we must endeaver to forest our tion of grandbarr 4 of freedom of ceases is below their deposit house it the mad to part the opposite of you to cottan, The feet there then franches to seed over rate orby a aakii to Kair matura quitees Vonagona THE STATE OF ains the last day to exposury affection and . That as free Yundepondant states thy shall to to assert and declare these colones to be free an konstred to division these warm ver ; " a. r these underling wethron sour several forms of govern but Sixtak Warager man and Hung which moby e foundation for pary are friends Carried A

234 Third and fourth sheets of Jefferson's hand-written draft of the Declaration of Independence, with revision by Benjamin Franklin and John Adams, and before its further revision by Congress, from the original in the Library of Congress

233



From the painting, 1815, The Declaration of Independence, by John Trumbull, in the capitol, Washington

THE DECLARATION IS SIGNED ON AUGUST 2ND

THE form of the Declaration as it came from the committee was Jefferson's, and he was proud of it. He was noticeably restive as the Congress proceeded to alter the report; and in the succeeding days he prepared several copies of the document as the committee had reported it, with the portions changed or rejected by Congress underlined. One copy he sent to Lee, who had said that it was "copied from

Locke's Two Treatises on Government," with the words, "You will judge whether it is better or worse for the critics." So many members were absent on the 4th that no effort was made to secure the signatures of the members. But on the 19th a committee to engross the resolution on parchment was authorized; and on August 2 the final copy was ready. The members present then affixed their names, and in the course of time, two other signatures, those of Thomas McKean and William Thornton, were added.



236 Algernon Sidney, 1622-83, from the portrait by Justus van Egmont (1601-74), in the National Portrait Gallery, London



237 James Harrington, 1611-77, from the portrait by A Van der Venne (1589-1662) in the National Portrait Gallery, London



graving by William Sharp (1749-1824) after the portrait by George Romney (1734-1802)

IDEAS FROM MANY MINDS ARE MERGED IN THE DECLARATION

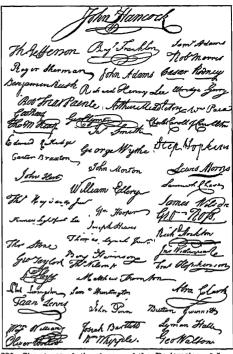
The political ideas in the Declaration were not new. The philosophy — even the phraseology — is that of the colonial thought of the time. In Locke's Two Treatises on Government (1689), Sidney's Discourses concerning Government (1698), Harrington's Oceana (1656), Pame's Common Sense (1776), the patriots found the principles of government that justified revolution. Though no book or pamphlet was used in the preparation, Jefferson was "so thoroughly imbued with the republican spirit of the Parliamentarians of the times of the Commonwealth, that the paper reflects their dignity of thought and solidity of style." — FROTHINGHAM, Rise of the Republic, p. 548. Jefferson himself has ably stated the purpose and achievement of the Declaration: "Neither aiming at originality of principle or sentiment, nor yet copied from any particular or previous writings, it was intended to be an expression of the American mind, and to give to that expression the proper tone and spirit called for by the occasion."

THE PUBLIC HEARS THE DECLARATION

The meetings of Congress were held behind closed doors. So, while the Philadelphians knew that Lee's resolution had been adopted, the Declaration of Independence first appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of July 6. Two days later the Province bell, henceforth to be called the Liberty Bell, announced a public reading in the State House yard. From a stand built for astronomical observations, John Nixon's strong voice carried out over the great crowd assembled below. After the ceremony the royal coat-of-arms, suspended over the court-room door, was torn down and burned.



240 From the engraving by John C McRae, about 1870, after the painting Pulling down the Statue of George III, by Johannes A Oertel (1823-1909)



239 Signatures of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, reduced from the original document

THE DECLARATION ANIMATES THE COLONISTS

No state paper ever received such widespread and hearty endorsement. As couriers carried

it over the country it was everywhere welcomed by popular assemblages. New York on the 10th celebrated by pulling down the statue of the King, erected but six years before, and ordering the monument to be run into bullets. *The New York Gazette* of July 15 further reports that "In Pursuance of the Declaration of Independence, a general Gaol Delivery, with respect to Debtors, took place." In Boston,

on the 18th, the Council "proclaimed from the Balcony of the State-House the DEC-LARATION of the AMERICAN CON-GRESS, absolving the United Colonies from their Allegiance to the British Crown. . . . After which, Thirteen Pieces of Cannon were fired from the Fort on Fort-Hill. . . . The Ceremony was closed with a proper collation to the Gentlemen in the Council Chamber. . . . On the same Evening the King's Arms, and every sign with any Resemblance of it, whether Lion and Crown, Pestle and Mortar and Crown, Heart and Crown, etc., together with every Sign that belonged to a Tory was taken down, and the latter made a general Conflagration of in King Street." William Whipple, one of the signers, expressed the effect of the Declaration upon the people, in a letter written July 16: "It has had a glorious effect --- has made these colonies all alive."



241 Reading the Declaration from the Old State House, Boston, from a reconstruction based on contemporary accounts © Halliday Historic Photograph Co.

Scorpe wash a ster Connagger cacheef of the armin of the Martin Thates of anence

There before me Estaphing may 13th 1778 major in

242 Facsimile of Washington's Oath of Allegiance, in the War Department, Washington

HOWE'S OVERTURES

LITTLE wonder, then, that Lord Howe, commander of the royal forces in America, hoped to win without the necessity of bloodshed. While Congress was voting independence, the British army, aiming to threaten the rebels at a crucial point, was concentrating on New York. To oppose this formidable array, Washington, with unfriendly Tories at his rear, had a few thousand raw militiamen. Yet all overtures of conciliation from Howe were spurned, and the British reverted to the military weapon.

THE BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND



244 From a caricature in the London Magazine, Nov. 1776

THERE followed, on August 27, the battle of Long Island. New York fell to the British. The Americans retreated to Jersey. The victory seemed to the British ministry to be decisive. The cartoon pictures Lord North, surrounded by the King, Bute and Mansfield, triumphantly playing Howe's dispatch to the chagrined opposition, typified by Wilkes, Rockingham and a strumpet

GREAT DIFFICULTIES FACE THE NEW NATION

A SEQUEL of the Declaration was that Americans were compelled to take sides for or against the new government. The oath of allegiance became the test It remained to make good the Declaration of Independence on the field of battle. That was to be no easy task. The American army was small, poorly equipped and irregularly paid. State jealousies often jeopardized success.

NEW-YORK, July 18.

On Sunday afternoon a barge from the fleet, appeared to our bay, with a write flag, which was there not by the General's barge with teveral Gentlemen of the ainty on board. The flag was fert from Lord Howe, with a letter to his Excellency General Wallangton. But as the letter was impropely flucted, it was not received, though much fourned by the officer, who, we hear, faid it contained nothing of a holide nature—that Lord Howe can't overpossed of infinited power, and was much conceined be had not accord a few days fromers, which would have effected a technical fluctuation. See, However it forms I so that the product of a negociation—an arknew a spinent or the will him.

Indeed the idea of coming over to propole a plan of recombination, is in every trive oblived and indiculous, for with Colonies never in valid the rights of Bintan, and only down their own, there was no occasion at off for negociation. The moment Grev Bankin recorded from het noish lagars, the was was at an

The very projection therefore, of a magnation, was a project that Organization, partitled in her incroactament coather a magnatic to the coats and was mineral an actional hittle course.

On Their y another than trom the first he peared, and was not as actione, when a letter was again offered, but for the faire reason as the former, reposed

A gentieman from Virginiallys, that General LEE had tent there the some troops, who were on their much for Carolina, when are ther express arrived, ordering them mail to march, and by all accounts the first has mix with rutch damage a Carolina, but the particulars we have not yet heard.

culars we have not yet heard.

We hear from Poughkeepfie, that 23 persons disaffected to our common cause, endeavouring to differin the friends of liberty, have been taken up by order of the roundite of that, place, who have ordered the meto Midefield gaol.

with Liberty Cap. 243 Contemporary account of Howe's offer of conciliation, from The New England Chronicle, July 25, 1776, in the New York Public Library

By Richard Viscount Hour of the Kingdom of Ispland, and Wineyan Howe Elgy Ganeral of the Majerry's Forcer in America, the King's Commissioners for restoring Peacy to His Mainery's Colonies and Plantations in Nagari-America, &c. &c. &c.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS by our Dedications of the 17th or fully and 19th or Section 19th, 17th Court of His May, 12 vin 1ft or 10 - Literatury control. The Subjects in the Colonies of Provinces of Non-Harrison, Monacological and Provinces of the Society Soci the Time lower Coughts on Disawers, Menteren, America, America Surveille Surveille and and trans. . If it is the Libert remains to then just Allegamen war promised a fice and good by to , at one is reduced early not and the bloom, one has a fire a cored to a sur at their Liberty and Properties, upon the true Principles of the Contraction, Ann Willest a nowels through the and the Leonge of more of other availed themselves of the Affirence, therein made, Averal Soles or arm of the second Charles of the Soles of the Affirence, there made, Averal Soles or arm of the second Charles of the Soles of the So Opposition to the ER blithment of high Government and Place, and diversity reliable new Yerle of the extrement and Place and high the other section of the extrement and Place and the extrement of the extrement Influence and Power, are mile, first to I was, by a about Ar , a I M is presistant, research to the fel so and Aded on at the Maried Salyest , To define every Mirr of Reconcilistics, and populative references of My. In the Captar-Rel and addition to the more affected back Titlement of Ha Mistr's mad grain . In cross, and if the 'Relativation the proper brought a Maghel to the high the Especialist of handing the Time wit michab lach for the estimated to sevence, and organized and the responsibilities the time that may be already, but no, in this Mayrers Name, and In Nature of the Proce the country of U., he che cherge and command of Pertons wife overs who are all maked tages or a Arms against His Mych, Core ment, to diland I and a mil a control Dealines, in respictive and provide and or temperature of command all tack a her Peris a crosses of mid I are shown in the New of Council or Smalley Competing, Commercially or after Machine, by whatever a Name or Pames known and differentially is, or who me be the folion of one data under from any in hat origins, to promite, to aversion, and other Alleration, take upon went to after over any O Last referring Man, and g Troops, tuting our armed Shaps and Verley, a optionary, on obtain the Mark two Salays to debit and cook, from all look are contable the age of the organity all tach unapped Process and Authority, to the Pencium he released, a fieldy "Ramiffion of puft Offiness quest the Apprehensions of the Court, and all the labeliants of the and to must be could be benefit of the Majefty's patern d Goodnets in the Pretervation of their Prop tv, the Pa t ran mod their Connerce, and the Security of the rundt valuable Rights, make the just and moderate Authority of the Crown and Purkeman of Carat-Barryry A. D. We may be about the and made known made Neg, that every Perfor who within SIXTY DAYS from the Day of the Due bored il ill apper b 'the et a circu, or Lightenine Coverant, or Communiter in Conet in any of His Migely's Colones or Promotes aforefaid, or before the General or commanding Officer in His Majolis's Faces and As rate s, or any other Other in His Majolis's Service having the Command of any Detachment or Persas of the Map fit's lorces they, or before the Admirat or Community in the first H. Map it's likes, or any other Officer communiting any of His Majesty's Staps of War, or any armed Vessel in His Majesty's Service, walten any of the Port / Harmy, Creeks, or upon the Coult, of America, and shall think the Benefit of this Proclamation, and at the same Time testify his Obesticate to the Lives, thy substraining a Beclaration in the Words following, " I. A. B. do promite and declare, that I will remain an a peaceable Obellience to His Markity, and will not take up Arms, nor encourage Others to take up Arms, an " Opposition to Hu Authority," fhall and may obtain a full and tree Purdon of all Testions and authoritions of Treation, by hum heretoloou communed or done, and of all Forfaceres, Attantaters, and Penalties for the Com-, in I upon producing to Us, or to eacher of Us, a Certificate of such Ma Appearance and Declaration, shall and may have and receive fuch Pardon made an I palled to lam in due form,

GIVEN at New-York, this Thertoch Day of November, 1276

By Command of their Excellencies, HEN. STRACHEY, HOWR. W. HOWE.

Princel by Machonath & Cameron in WATER STRIBE, between the COLIER-HOUSE and the OLD SLIP,

Proclamation signed by Lord Hows and General William Howe, New York, Nov 30, 1778, offering protection to all who should return to British allegiance, from a broadside in the New York Public Library

BRITISH OFFER OF PARDON

Again the British resorted to peaceful penetration of the American position. Renewed offers of pardon brought to the side of the Crown some three thousand Jersey farmers. Desertions from the Continental army were constant. With the remainder — a bare three thousand - Washington crossed the Delaware, in early December, into Pennsylvania, while Howe threw outposts across New Jersey. The Congress fled to Baltimore. (See Vol. VI.)

TOM PAINE

THESE were dark days for the patriot cause. On the 17th of December Washington wrote: "Our only dependence now is the speedy enlistment of a new army. If this fails, I think the game will be pretty well up." The dismal circumstances of the Americans offered little inducement to volunteers. It was at this moment that there was published the first issue of Paine's Crisis, a series of pamphlets that appeared intermittently until the close of the war. This first number was a clarion call to the Patriots. "Up to help us; lay your shoulders to the wheel. . . . Let it be told to the future world, that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, the city and country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet and repulse it." A week later came Trenton and the beginning of the brilliant campaign that ended with the recovery of Jersey and the reinvigoration of the flagging spirit of the rebels.

The American CRISIS.

NUMBER L

By the Author of Common Sense.

By the Author of Common Sense.

THESE are the times that my men's fouls. The funmer folder and the fundance patroes well, in this crufts, fannak from the fervice of his country; but he that flands it no w, deferves the love and thanks of man and woman Tyranny, this hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this confoldation with us, that the harder the confisit, the more glorious the trumph. What we obtain too cheap, we effect too lightly.—"In dearness only this gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to fet a proper price upon its goods, and it would be firming undeed, if so celefinal an article as Francoom should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared, that the has a night set only to Tax, but; ""s "alm as in ALL CARS WHATIONERS," and of beauting as slavery upon earth. Even the expedient is impous, for so unlimited a power can belong only to God.
What that the Independence of the Continent was declared too floon, or delayed too long, I will not now enter into as an argument, my own simple opinion is, that had it been eight months earlier; it would have been much better, We did not make a proper use of last winter, neither could we, while we were in a sependent fate. However, the fault, if it were one, was all our own; we have none to blame but ourselves. But no great deal is loft yet, all that Howe has been doing for this month put is rather a grow outle have quickly repulfed, and which time and a little refolution will foon recover.

I have as little figerituon in me as any man living, but "The prefers winter" (meaning the last). "Is work an area to the first as little figerituon in me as any man living, but "The prefers winter" (meaning the last). "Is work an and a little refolution will foon recover."

- "The prefent winter" (meaning the laft) "is worth in age, if rightly employed, but if laft, or neglected, the whole "Continent will parake of the end;" and there is no punishment that man idea not deferve, be he who, or what, or where he will, that may be the means of incrining a feetow the precious and affeld."
- 246 Title-page of The American Crisis, Philadelphia, Dec 19, 1776, in the New York Public Library



From the carcature *The Flight of Congress*, published at London, Nov , 1777, by William Hitchcock, in the collection of R. T. H. Halsey, New York

PHILADELPHIA FALLS INTO THE HANDS OF THE BRITISH

YET this success was but momentary. With the aid of the fleet and the Hessian mercenaries, the British, in the fall of 1777, captured the American capital. Once more Howe rested content. The Americans were being pushed back; their Congress was forced to fly to Lancaster and York; their credit was almost annihilated by the profuse issues of paper money. Even Burgoyne's surrender in October was soon overshadowed by the sufferings at Valley Forge. (See Vol. VI.)

AMERICA'S FRIENDS IN PARLIAMENT

THERE were, however, a number of hopeful conditions. America was not without influential aids in England. Chief among the opposition to the King's Friends in Parliament were Rockingham, Pitt, Burke and Fox. The last named entered Parliament as a stripling in 1768. For a time he supported the ministry; but in 1774 he changed sides, and from then on he steadily grew to a position of leadership. Of picturesque character, he came to favor the American cause and to push its interests with vigor and adroitness.



248 Charles James Fox, 1749–1806, from the portrait by Karl Anton Hickel (1745–98), in the National Portrait Gallery, London

AMERICA HONORS AN ENGLISH INTELLECTUAL

BEFORE the outbreak of the American Revolution Richard Price, a liberal clergyman and educator, had risen to prominence among the intellectuals of England. He had won for himself the reputation of being one of England's leading students of finance. He saw in the struggle of the colonials a fight for the liberties of Englishmen as well as Americans. He read Tom Paine's Common Sense and wrote Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America. His reasoned arguments for liberty fell on friendly times in England. The press could not supply the demand for his pamphlet. "It ran into five editions in as many weeks, and into over a dozen editions in the course of the year." - ROLAND THOMAS, Richard Price, p. 74. To the end of the war Price maintained an unshaken stand for liberty and an unwavering support of the Americans. The writings of "Dr. Price," as he was known in America, made a profound impression west of the Atlantic. On October 6, 1778, the American Congress resolved "That the Honorable Benjamin 249 Franklin, Arthur Lee, and John Adams, Esquires, or



Richard Price, 1723–91, from the portrait by Benjamin West, in the Royal Society, London

any one of them, be directed forthwith to apply to Dr. Price and inform him that it is the desire of Congress to consider him as a Citizen of the United States, and to receive his assistance in regulating their finances."

Librate d'Europe ou Adas Politique

ten film la Objert de 3º Nacher

LOZUB

JOHN BULL.

Dodie aux Pale Alejo Angles

250 From a contemporary French carlcature The Arbiter of Europe or Political Atlas, published in Paris, in the collection of R. T. H. Halsey, New York

For personal reasons Price declined to come to America. But this was not the end of American recognition for his services. The following is a minute from the records of Yale University: "At a meeting of the Yale Corporation on April 24, 1781, it was voted to confer the degree of Doctor of Laws upon George Washington and upon Richard Price."

EUROPE SMILES AT BRITAIN'S EMBARRASSMENT

By the fall of 1777 pressure from many sources in England counseled resort to a conciliatory policy. Those suffering from the disturbed trade conditions began to cry out against higher taxes levied to carry on a fruitless war. Naval administration was notoriously corrupt and inefficient. In the cabinet itself appeared divisions of opinion. In January, Lord North had proposed the restoration of America to the condition of 1763, only to be overridden by the war party. Perhaps most influential was Britain's isolated position in international affairs. France, Spain, Holland, Prussia - none was sorry to see her embarrassed. From the beginning, the continental countries had regarded the American rebellion as an unexpected and fine opening to recover the prestige and the power that England had so recently won from them. And now the British merchants had learned that the American war was costly; and even the ministry was inclined to consider it more than an easily suppressed insurrection. cartoon, representing England bearing the burden of the thirteen consolidated colonies on his back, well illustrated the current feeling.

LORD CHATHAM'S

SPEECH

FN TRE

BRITISH HOUSE OF LORDS,

AT THE

OPENING OF THE SERSION,

BOTH NOVEMBER, 1777.

ON THE

DEBATE

FOR

ADDRESSING THE THRONI

Taken Verhaum as his Lording Spoke it.

(C 8)

spirited Remanstrance of the Duke of Alva, I leabth found herfelf obliged to depy the Hermish I vales all countenance, support, or even entrance into her dominions, and the Count Le Marque, with his tew desperance followers, was expelled—HI uppening to arrive at the Brille, and finding it wask in defente, they made themselves masters of the place—And this was the foundation of the United Provinces—

Mý Lords, this ruinous and ignominious lituation, where we cannot act with fuccefs, nor fuffer with honour, calls upon me to remonstrate in the strongest and loudest language of Truth, to refeue the Ear of Majuly from the delutions which furround it in part known -No Man thanks more highly of them than I do,-I love and honour the linglish troops —I know their Virtues and their Valour —I know they can atchieve any thing except Imposibilities, -And I know that the Conquest of English America is an Impossibility You cannot, -- I venca is an Impoffibility ture to fay it, You CANNOT conquer Amesica - Your Armies last War effected every thing that could be effected; -and what was it? It coll your numerous army, under

(9)
the command of a most able General *, now a noble Lord in this house, a long and laborious campaign to expel 5,000 Fienchmen from French America -My Lords, you cannot conquer America -What is your prefent fituation there? We do not know the worst, but we know, that in three cam paigns we have done nothing, and fullered much. Belides the jufferings, perhaps the total los, of the Northern Force The best appointed Army that ever took the field, commanded by Sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines -He was obliged to relinquish his attempt, and with great delay and danger to adopt a new and distinct plan of optiations We shall foon know, and in any event have resson to liment, what may have happened fince .- As to conquest, therefore, my Lords, I repeat, it is impossible -You may swell every expence and every effort flill more ext. 141 gantly,-Pile and accumulate every affiliance you can buy or borrow, traffic and barta with every little pitiful German Prince that fells his fubjects to the shambles of a foreign Prince,-your efforts are for ever vain and impotent -- doubly fo from this mercentry aid on which you rely, for it initates to an incurable refentment the minds of your one-

Sir J ffry (now Lord) Ainhert

251 Title-page of Lord Chatham's Speech of Nov 1777, printed in London, 1778, in the New York Public Library

Pages 8 and 9 of Lord Chatham's Speech, printed in London, 1778

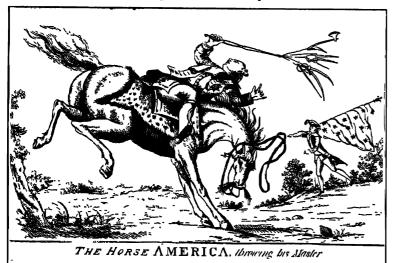
25

PITT WARNS OF FRENCH INTERVENTION

FEAR of French intervention in the American war led to further British efforts toward conciliation. Pitt, in a speech on the 30th of May, deftly joined this dread with the American issue as viewed by the liberals. "We are the aggressors. Instead of exacting unconditional submission from the colonies, we ought to grant them unconditional redress. Now is the crisis, before France is a party. Whenever France or Spain enter into a treaty of any sort with America, Great Britain must immediately declare war against them, even if we have but five ships of the line in our ports, and such a treaty must and will shortly take place, if pacification be delayed." With the opening of Parliament in November, Pitt again pressed for conciliation.

BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER

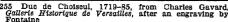
On the second of December had come the news of Burgoyne's surrender Lord North "was so agitated that he could neither eat nor sleep, and the next day at the levee his distress was visible to the foreign ministers.



254 From a British cartoon published Aug 1, 1779, in the collection of R. T. H. Halsey, New York

He desired to make peace by giving up all the points which had been in dispute with America, or to retire from the ministry. Concession after defeat was humiliating; but there must be prompt action or France would interfere." - BANCROFT, History of the United States, 1866, IX, p. 478. Fox said "If no better terms can be had, I would treat them as allies, nor do I fear the consequences of their independence." The King and Lord George Germain, however, stood out for a continuation of the war. On January 20, 1778, the Parliament was adjourned.







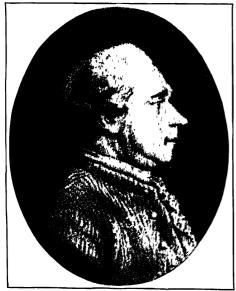
256 Comte de Vergennes, 1717-87, from an engraving after a portrait by Antoine Callet (1741-1823), in the Emmet Collection. New York Public Library

FRENCH DIPLOMATS SURVEY THE SITUATION

ALL this anxiety about the French was far from groundless. The Seven Years' War had disrupted the European balance of power by enhancing England at the expense of France. Traditional French foreign policy called for a rectification of such a maladjustment. It is, then, not surprising to find Choiseul, adept French diplomatist, watching with keen interest the early signs of unrest in British America. In 1774, Vergennes, equally versed in diplomacy, became minister of foreign affairs. At once he saw the possibilities latent in American revolt. France might regain the power lost in 1763; at the least, England might be driven from the North American continent whence she had so recently ousted France. (See Vol. VI.)

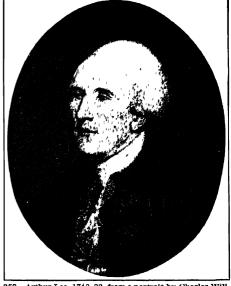
CONGRESS SENDS AGENTS TO ENGLAND AND FRANCE

In November, 1775, the Continental Congress had created "a Committee of Correspondence with our friends abroad," the function of which was to probe European sentiment toward the American struggle. Arthur Lee



267 Silas Deane, 1737-89, from an engraving by B Reading after a drawing from life by Pierre du Simitters (-1784) in Philadelphia, published at London, 1783

of the famous Virginia family, then in London, was made its agent. Lee had been educated in England and had lived abroad since 1766. \mathbf{T} his experience, combined with his reputation as propagandist for the American cause, now proved serviceable. In June, 1776, Silas Deane of Connecticut reached Paris as Congressional agent at the capital of Louis XVI.



58 Arthur Lee, 1740–92, from a portrait by Charles Willson Peale in Independence Hall, Philadelphia



259 Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, 1732–99, from a lithograph by Jacques Matthieu Delpech (1775–1832), Parls, in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

FRANCE SENDS AMMUNITION TO AMERICA

VERGENNES had already been approached, indirectly of course, in behalf of the Americans. Through the agency of Beaumarchais, dramatist and wealthy gentlemanadventurer, active aid was now given. "Take every precaution," wrote Vergennes to a colleague, "that our motives, our intentions, and, as far as possible, our proceedings, may be hidden from the English." In 1775, Beaumarchais had held conversations with Lee in London. So the firm of "Rodrigue Hortalez et Cie" began to sell merchandise to "Timothy Jones" of Bermuda. In reality, Jones was Silas Deane, and Beaumarchais, aided by the French Government, was the vendor of ammunition.

CONGRESS SEEKS EUROPEAN RECOGNITION

The second of the Lee resolutions of June 10, 1776, read: "That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign alliances." In the autumn of that year, therefore, the Congress took further action to secure French aid. In December, Benjamin Franklin, in European eyes the greatest of Americans, joined Deane and Lee in the diplomatic game to be played. Lee was soon sent on a vain mission to Spain to win her support.

Vergennes had in August urged upon Louis XVI the expediency of war with England; but the King and his chief minister, Maurepas, were unwilling to burden a demoralized treasury in such a dubious cause. News of the battle of Long Island dampened any ardor for American liberty.

In Gongrep Oct 16. 1776

Additional Influencing to Benjamin Frank
lin, Silas Deane and
commissioning from the anited Jeales of Americals
the Sing of France

Whils you are suychating the affair you are charged with at the want of Trunce; you will have your will have your will have your function with the minister and agence of their curoses princes and tales relations to the surface princes and tales relations.

You that entraovar when you find output to and convenient to obtain from them a recognish of our independency and correspond, and to conclude the tries of peace amily and commerce between their princes or flates and us, promoted that the famule is not inconfilled with the heaty you that makes with his man! Their with the heaty you that makes with his man! Their with the manusity with his man! Their other mayory; that they do not obtain us to become a party in any war, which may happen in confequence thereof that the immunities acomptions, previleges, production, depute a document on the contrary thereby thipulated be equal or experienced. If that cannot be effeld, you flat to the utrust of your prover, prevent their lating past with goal

Balain in the war which his butannic trajecty gorofecules ag ainst us, or entering ento opposive allians;
with that king, and protest and present remomphanics
against the farm, defiring the interpolition, midiation,
and good offices, on oar behalf, of his most Christian
majesty the king of Trance and of any other primes
or flates, whose dipositions on not hopple towards us.
In case coerfures to enable to you by the trictufers or agants of any curopean primes or flates
for commercial teatures between them and us, you
may conclude fuch heaties accordingly.

FRANKLIN MAKES A FAVORABLE IMPRESSION IN FRANCE

Franklin then assumed, with much personal satisfaction, a Messianic rôle. Overwhelmed with plaudits from the Encyclopedists, fêted as the disciple of new truth, he deftly led French public opinion — at least that opinion which would be serviceable -to believe that the cause of American independence was the cause of human liberty. This was the easier because there were on the continent few Americans, because Paine's Common Sense and Richard Price's Observations on Civil Liberty and the Justice of the War with America were exceedingly popular, and the French were ever ready to believe evil of England. The quintessence of this incident is found in the allegory pictured here. Clasping the altar of Liberty kneels America near her benignant protector Franklin. Above is Minerva ready to shield them from harm; while below Hercules, wearing a Gallic cock for crest, hurls backward into the sea downcast Neptune and Britannia with the chains she would have used to hold America.



262 From an engraving L'Amérique Indépendante, 1778, by J C le Vasseur after a design by Borel, in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

THE DUTCH TRADE WITH AMERICA

MEANWHILE assistance came to the revolutionaries from another source. Holland was a commercial country and governed by the commercial spirit. Though she was tied by treaty to England, little love was lost between the two peoples. The Dutch "wished nothing more than to see the Republic's commercial rivals in the hands of a receiver." — Van Loon, Fall of the Dutch Republic, 1913, p. 197. The American war was thus an opportunity not to be wasted. With no fleet, America was at the mercy of England on the sea. But the Dutch had ships, munitions of war, and the desire to make a profit. So a brisk smuggling trade between the Dutch West Indies and American ports sprang up, much to the annoyance of the English. Many of the more influential among the Dutch sympathized with the American cause; and private loans to the rebels



From a contemporary Dutch cartoon in the collection of R. T. H. Halssy, New York

were forthcoming. Here is pictured Dutch propaganda for the United States. The King, about to be disrobed of his royal prerogatives by two stalwart Americans, calls on the faltering North for aid. At one side are Englishmen petitioning Cromwell, who had given them such mighty support in their commercial rivalry with the Dutch, to come to their aid now, when the ministry of North was turning a deaf ear to their pleas. The Goddess of Justice, however, is about to strike the unsuspecting English.

265

ENGLAND'S ENEMIES TAKE ADVANTAGE OF HER QUARREL

The international situation was becoming distinctly menacing for Great Britain. The indiscretions of Deane had let her know of his secret negotiations at the French Court; the avarice of the Dutch had been detected; but England hesitated to declare war upon these unfriendly neutrals. The longer she hesitated, the bolder they became. The bolder they grew, the more they came to believe that Great Britain could not win in the struggle. The process of stealing from England her naval and commercial supremacy seemed as easy as milking a cow. With the Howes resting in captured Philadelphia, and with the British fleet incapacitated by a negligent administration, the British lion seemed harmless. This cartoon proved quite popular, and was reproduced in America, probably by the hand of Paul Revere. It represents the American Congress disarming

Creaty of Alliance

The most Christian King and the United States of North america, to Wit , New humpshue, Manuchusetts Buy, Rhoderwood, Connecticul, Hewyork, Hen Jersey, Lennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia Hoth Carolina South Carolina , and Georgia , having this Day concluded a Treaty of amity and Commerce, for the reciprocal advantage of their Subjects and Citizens have thought it necessary to take mto comederation the means of Frongthewing those engagements and of rundring them useful to the fafety and tranquility of the two parties, particulary in case Great Britain in Resentment of Hal commedion and of the good correspon-- dence which is the object of the Said Treaty, should break the Peace with france, either by Jured hostilities, or by hundring her commerce and a navigation, in a number contrary to the Rights of Nations , and the Peace Subsisting between the troo Cronsus; and his Majesty and the Said united -

the British cow of commerce by cutting off its horns. A Hollander is milking the cow, while a Frenchman and a Spaniard wait with bowls for milk. A British ship is stranded at Philadelphia, where English generals are forced into inaction. The British lion drowses, and its master is too dismayed to rouse the beast to defend his prerogatives.



264 From a French cartoon Ill turns to him who wishes Ill, (trans), in the collection of R T H Halsey. New York

FRANCE SIGNS A SECRET TREATY

THE diplomacy of Franklin needed, therefore, but the stimulus of the victory at Saratoga to throw France openly into alliance with the United States. Two months after the news of this success reached Paris, the secret treaty was signed. France sought the weakening of her ancient enemy and the trade of independent America.

States

To jour Done of Pairs, the Sixth Day of Jain a Strik to private district the In Tebruary one thousand seven here I force we specially the re ord and reventy eight las Deares

The condition of Strandlers lass Deares

The state of th

288 Facsimile of Treaty of Alliance with France, Feb. 5, 1778, from the original in the Department of State, Washington



267 From a French engraving attributed to "Corbut, 'Boston, 1778, Dedicated to the Generals of the British Army by an Enthusiasi for Liberty (trans), in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

FRENCH AND AMERICANS REJOICE OVER THEIR ALLIANCE

HAILED with delight by the French intellectuals who in their enthusiasm garbed themselves in hats and coats à l'américaine, the alliance brought new courage and hope to the American colonies. This French cartoon represents the angel of France bearing a shield embossed with a Medusa's head to inspire terror, and brandishing a flaming sword with which it chases the English from Philadelphia. A group of Americans dance around the Liberty Pole, "rejoicing over the rebirth of the Golden Age."

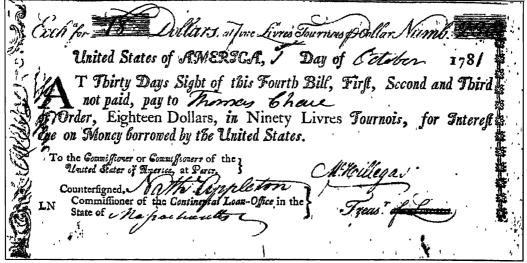
FRANCE HOPES TO WEAKEN ENGLAND

To the French ministry the objective of the alliance was less the desire to see a new nation born in America than to protect French interests, to humble England. Vergennes in a state paper of August, 1776, had urged French entry into the struggle. "The war will form a connection between



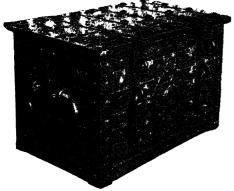
288 From a French engraving attributed to "Corbut," Boston, 1778, Dedicated to the Lords of the British Admirally by a Member of the American Congress (trans), in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

France and North America which will not be merely a temporary expedient. Nothing can divide the two nations. Commerce will form a durable if not eternal chain between them; it will revive industry, bringing into our harbors the commodities which America formerly poured into English ports. Even could we be passive spectators of the revolution in North America, can we look on unmoved at which is taking place in Hindustan, and which will be as fatal to us as the American revolution to England? If the revolution in Hindustan is once begun, it will console England for her losses, by increasing her means and her riches tenfold. This we are still able to prevent." The cartoon represents England as an Admiral (1) with the wings and feet of a vulture. The creature is tied to a tree; the American Congress (2) cuts off its talons, while the Spaniard (3) holds one of the wings which the Frenchman (4) clips to prevent its flying.



269

From an original scrip covering interest on money borrowed by the United States under the French loan to America, in possession of the publishers



270 Strong Box of Robert Morris, courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

FRENCH GOLD PAYS AMERICAN SOLDIERS

In America news of the alliance caused outbursts of joy. The winter of 1777–78 had been depressing. Without funds, the Congress could not relieve the sufferings at Valley Forge. The farmers preferred the specie of the British in Philadelphia to the depreciated continental money. So French coöperation meant French gold to fill the coffers of the Revolutionary treasury, without which further prosecution of the cause seemed hopeless indeed.

LORD NORTH MAKES CONCESSIONS

RUMORS of the French treaties had crossed the Channel. In a desperate effort to stave off a Continental war Lord North, on the 17th of February, announced to the Parliament a plan

of conciliation with America, repealing the imposition of taxes on the Colonies With nearly unanimous consent, the proposition was accepted, receiving the royal signature on March 11, 1778. But Congress,

then in session at York, Pennsylvania, to forestall any wavering among the states and the people, issued an address "to the Inhabitants of the United States of America" urging continued resistance. For the Colonies, encouraged by the prospect of affairs, were now more than ever insistent upon independence as the essential condition of peace. And the North proposals, conciliatory as they were in certain respects, did not include or even consider any recognition of independence. Congress recommended to ministers of the gospel, of all denominations, to read or cause to be read, immediately after divine service, its address spurning Lord North's peace offer. The cartoon, which gives a very early representation of "Brother Jonathan," was intended to aid in bringing about a rapprochement between the warring parties.



271 From a British caricature published by M Darley, London, 1778, courtesy of R T H Halsey, New York

AMERICA REJECTS THE BRITISH OVERTURES

THE answer of America to the proposition is here depicted. Three members of Congress (intended to represent Rutledge, Adams, and Franklin), dressed as Tartars, receive with scorn and contumely the offers of General Clinton and his three associates sent from England. "Lord North," well said Governor Clinton of New York, "is two years too late with his political maneuver."



From a caricature The Commissioners' Interview with Congress, published by M Darley

DANGER FROM EUROPE AROUSES GREAT BRITAIN

The entry of France changed the whole character of the struggle. It now became, for England, a war to preserve her empire and her maritime and commercial supremacy. As Spain and Holland later joined France, America and her independence became of secondary importance. In this there were advantages to England. For members of the opposition who had obstructed the government in its conduct toward America, who had inclined to favor the American cause, now rallied to the defense of the realm. Chatham's dying speech (April, 1778) called the country to arms. "My lords! I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy." France was more to be feared than America.



From a British caricature in the collection of R. T. H. Halsey, New York



From the etching The Botching Taylor, Cutting his Cloth to Cover a Button by John Simpson (1782–1847), in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

INEFFICIENT MINISTERS CRIPPLE THE BRITISH

THE bungling of the North ministry, the obstinacy of the King, the discontent of the people — all played their part in retarding any vigorous campaign against the continental confeder-The etching here pictured tells the tale. George III, sitting crosslegged, is about to cut Great Britain to pieces; Bute beside him points to a piece held up by North, marked North America, with the suggestion that that would do; under the table in the "Taylor's Hell" lie discarded pieces, marked Magna Charta, Memorials. In the rear

stand the Pope and the Pretender, joyfully watching England's perplexity, while on the wall are placarded prophecies.



From a British cartoon, 1781, by Robert Sayres, in the collection of R T H. Halsey, New York

GREAT BRITAIN FEELS CONFIDENT OF SUCCESS

FOR a time, however, Great Britain thought the scale would incline in her favor. In December, 1778, Savannah was captured, the seizure of Charleston followed in May, 1780. The preceding January, Admiral Rodney won a sweeping victory over the Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent. In February, 1781, the flourishing Dutch West Indian island of St. Eustatius, headquarters of a lively smuggling trade with America, was taken.



From a British caricature, 1782, in the collection of R. T H Halsey, New York

THE NORTH MINISTRY COMES TO AN END

But with the surrender of Cornwallis in October, 1781, affairs turned definitely against Great Britain. The people were tired of war and of the taxes it brought. Moreover, the corruption that marked the day in Eng-



277 Lord Rockingham, 1730-82, from a portrait painted in the school of Sir Joshua Reynolds, in the National Portrait Gallery, London

POWERS ARE
FRIENDLY
LORD ROCKINGHAM,
the man who had
proposed the repeal
of the Stamp Act,
became Prime Minister. With him
were associated

other American

NEW BRITISH

sympathizers, including the Duke of Richmond, Admiral Keppel and Fox. Lord Shelburne, ablest of Pitt's followers and old friend of Franklin, became Secretary of State in charge of American affairs, and, after Rockingham's death, chief minister. Before accepting office, Rockingham had secured from the King a promise that there should be "no veto to the independence of America."



278 Lord Shelburne, 1737-1805, from a portrait after Sir Joshua Reynolds, in the National Portrait Gallery, London

North as a colossus standing, with ill-gotten prizes in one hand and flaming America in the other, above a stream polluted by political monsters. Commerce was unsettled. The French had captured St. Eustatius from the British; Minorca had fallen into enemy hands. So on the 22nd of February, 1782, a motion against continuing the American war, supported by Barré, Fox and Burke, failed of passage by but a single vote. For months the ministry had been losing ground as new instances of corruption and inefficiency came to light. On the 4th of March, Fox denounced them as "men void of honour and honesty." On the 20th North resigned.



279 From a British caricature published by W. Humphrey, London, in the collection of R. T. H. Halsey, New York

ENGLAND AND AMERICA MAKE A TREATY OF PEACE

NEGOTIATIONS to this end were at once opened between Shelburne, through his agent Richard Oswald and the American peace commissioners. France interposed objections. The treaty of alliance had stipulated that neither France nor America would conclude a peace without the consent of the other party. France now insisted that the war was, after all, not solely an Anglo-American affair. The matter was further complicated by the fact that Spain had joined France in the war against Great Britain, after Vergennes had made the Spanish Government certain promises regarding the spoils. So pressure was now brought to bear by France and Spain to prevent a separate peace between England and America. The Dutch, little regarded by any of the parties, hoped for the best. Faced with such a situation, the American commissioners disregarded their instructions and entered into a separate treaty of peace, which secured the independence of the United States and marked the Mississippi River as the western boundary of the new nation.



280 From a British caricature on the Treaty published by W. Richardson, London, in the collection of R. T. H. Halsey, New York

ENGLAND WANTS FRIENDLY RELATIONS

ENGLAND, having conceded American independence, was in haste to establish friendly relations with the new country. That America and France might thereby become estranged was no drawback to her. So on November 30, 1782, an agreement between Great Britain and America was reached, and the document signed by the American commissioners - Franklin, Jay, and John Adams - and Oswald. Strictly speaking, this was not a treaty, but simply a protocol, the articles of which were to be subsequently incorporated in a formal treaty



281 From H. C. Lodge, History of the Nations, after the painting Signing the Preliminary Treaty

after Great Britain had come to terms with France. So the alliance was lived up to according to the letter, though hardly according to the spirit.

AMERICA GAINS LAND WITH INDEPENDENCE

Or all the parties, America fared best by the negotiations. Her political independence was recognized, her boundaries were established liberally, with scant regard to the claims of Spain for the trans-Allegheny country. John Adams' stubbornness won for America privileges in the Newfoundland fisheries. In January, 1783, France, Spain and Great Britain came to an understanding, with some gains for each of the former. The preliminary agreement with the Dutch was not reached until the fall of the year. The crude cartoon presents the point of view of a certain body of English opinion upon the outcome.



From a British caricature published Apr 14, 1783, by W. Humphrey, London, in the collection of R. T. H. Halsey, New York



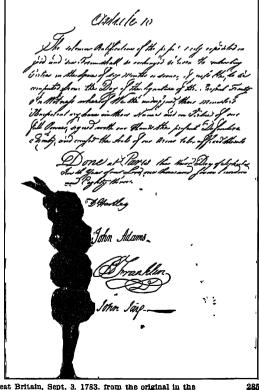
283 From the unfinished painting The Commissioners to Sign the Treaty of Peace Benjamin West, in the possession of J. Pierpont Morgan, New York

THE DEFINITIVE TREATY IS SIGNED IN PARIS

Though hostilities were suspended early in 1783, the definitive treaty of peace was not signed until September 3. The preliminary treaty had roused such opposition in Great Britain that the Shelburne ministry had fallen, to be succeeded by a peculiar coalition between the followers of Fox and North. The British agent was now David Hartley, a friend of Franklin who had throughout the American war sought means of conciliation between the two English-speaking nations. His attempts, countenanced by Fox. to bring about a commercial understanding at this time failed

because of the opposition of British shipping and mercantile interests. So in the final treaty were incorporated simply the terms of the agreement of the preceding November. One morning in Paris, to the lodgings of Hartley, came Franklin, Adams, Jay and Laurens, together with the secretary of the commission and grandson of the philosopher-diplomat. Here the final act was taken. After some trouble in securing a quorum, the Congress accepted the treaty, and in May, 1784, ratifications were exchanged. Peace had come.

Duplicate. racue. Vm bhe Name of the moot: Holy and undinded Samely: it to radice, and to establish such and fitalisty Intercourse, Saturean the there for the ground of newpowal advantages and and haven by the Deliable & I alienty laid. at Com on the 30th of November 1922, by the Con so knowed on each last, which will mee. lod on and to conclute the shorty of Da to be souch Ded botween the liver of Gas



THE REVOLUTION AS A SOCIAL FORCE

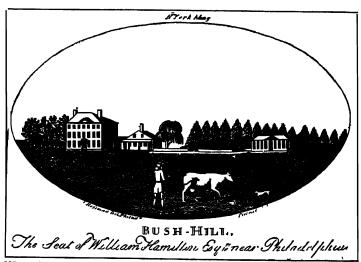
THE Revolution shook American life to its foundations. The period of the "emergency" was from 1775 until the signing of the Treaty of Peace in 1783. For a community to be subjected for nearly eight years to the uncertainties of war and the hardships which resulted from war finance was to endure profound social changes. But when to this situation is added the fact that the Revolution involved the destruction of a deep and traditional loyalty to the British Crown and the elimination of an important part of the more educated and well-to-do part of the population, it can be seen how important the social consequences were bound to be. It was a time when the less fortunate classes, in an economic or social sense, were becoming more assertive and were securing more advantageous positions It was a time when individuals from this group, like Sam Adams and Patrick Henry, were achieving national reputations and were rising to positions of power. The American Revolution brought about no such upheaval as the French Revolution which followed it so closely but, in both cases, when the period of the crisis had passed, the mass of the people emerged with a new point of view and a new attitude of mind.

CHANGES IN LAND POLICY

THE Americans of the Revolutionary epoch, both the humble and so Long Island, in the New York Historical Society

To the low on

and even commerce occupied the full time of but a small fraction of the people. Some of these farmers like the tobacco planters in Virginia or the rice planters in South Carolina were dependent on foreign trade for an adequate market. But a large majority of husbandmen, even in the South, lived on practically selfsufficient farms, going outside of their acres for but the fewest commodities. Life in such rural communities was not subject to the dislocation which war inevitably brings to a highly urbanized people. The extremity of distress, the destroying of crops and buildings by a hostile army, such as at Bush-Hill which suffered almost total demolition, was followed by quick recuperation. When General Sullivan passed through Wyoming the year following its destruction by Indians and Tories, he found the cabins rebuilt and the women with what men were left tilling fields again. In spite of this, however, some of the most important consequences of the Revolution were changes in landownership. Many a great estate like that of the Penn family in Pennsylvania



and of the Philipse family in New York (No. 289) were sold off in parcels to individual buyers by the new state governments which were created during the war. The sufferers were almost universally Loyalists. In this way the landed aristocracy, which was characteristic of the eighteenth-century colonies, received a heavy blow. The ultimate disappearance of this class was practically assured by the widespread abrogation of the old laws regarding entail and primogeniture. After the Revolution the small farmer became the characteristic figure in American agriculture. In the South for both economic and social reasons the planter persisted, but even in this section the small landowner was of great importance.

35	Alstract	Salus	Porfated Lands with	Sa	rui	the		ist	ict In	9	iblic Secu	s uTus
Date of	To whom Ide	Bywhain Forfeeted	Description	am ou per			amount each Es			,	To whom boweyed	Bate of Conveyance
1796 April 11	d bomelius PLoco	Feet Shilyso Big	The Mansen House & Mille with a Form of 320 Acus late the Rensence of Fresh Helpsolog .	1520	1	7		1 3				
	David Hourt	ØDatis	The Prouse o and Barris Henry lives in and His Acres of Sandred joining	1200								
	Adoit Schnson		Lit N 9 bort 7 190 ans of Land	1470	-							
	Schow Schneone.	<i>வேக</i>	dat N 4 Conty 202 Acres	2 750								
	Vahn Laurance	Ф <i>а</i> т	Low No Conty 125 acres	2 300	,							
	Ф	Фать	Lot Ab Contz 60 ans	600		-		l				
	And Bastweek	9 Бать	Lot Ny Conty 24 ans.	375		-						
	Ф\ _{ть}	Ф.ж	Let NO benty 20 ans	340		-						
	Edio Coumhoon		Sot No borry 27 aus	500		-						
	ApahamSent.		Let NH Conty, 40 Acres	840		.						
	bonnelius PLora	Фль	Let N 12 Comiz 83 Anse	700	•	_	24,565 .	-	1708 April	1170		
288	L	Pagord of sale	of confiscated Lovelist lands from 45									

Record of sale of confiscated Loyalist lands, from Abstract of Sales of Forfetted Lands, Southern District, New York and vicinity, 1784

SOME CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLUTION

The new states that confiscated the Tory property also widened the franchise. "The status in which the electoral franchise was left at the end of the Revolutionary period fell far short of complete democracy. Yet during the years we are considering the right of suffrage was much extended. The freeholder, or owner of real estate, was given special privileges in four of the new state constitutions, two others widened the suffrage to include all owners of either land or personal property to a certain limit, and two others conferred it upon all taxpayers. . . . Multitudes of squires had been driven into exile or driven from their high position of dominance over the community. Multitudes of other Loyalists had been disfranchised, or impoverished by confiscations. . . . In fact the sense of social change pervaded the country." — J. F. Jameson, The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement, pp. 26–28, Princeton, 1925. The years immediately

289 Philipse Manor in 1784, after a contemporary sepia drawing signed D. R. fectt, formerly owned by D. N. Stauffer, now in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

following the close of the war were to see the newly enfranchised voters making a use of their power that was disconcerting to the more conservative elements of the population. The political consequences of the war were of such transcendent importance that historians have long failed to recognize the full significance of the social changes. Out of that conflict, however, a new America was born. Unquestionably the war hastened the changes in customs and social structure that the nineteenth century was inevitably to bring.

CHAPTER IV

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

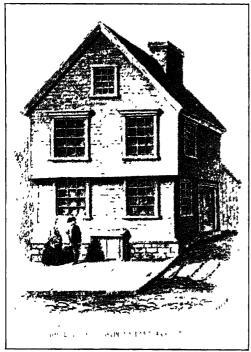
T is not an easy matter to judge the part played in history by the individual man or woman. Yet one may, with perfect consistency, accept the view that "the times made the man," while still asserting that the man so made is great, and an influence upon his times. These statements apply with much force to Franklin. Amid the intellectual unrest of the eighteenth century his figure bulks large. This is so because of the integrity of his mind, and because of the manifold fields in which it sowed fruitful seed.

Franklin's worth was recognized by the people of his own day. Long before he had reached old age he was regarded as the wise man of America, to whom men looked for counsel. Upon no one in the country were more numerous and more varied public obligations imposed; nor did any other respond more fully and with greater ingenuity. Of all his qualities, sagacity was probably the most highly valued by his contemporaries. When matters of state demanded deliberation, he was sought out time and time again. His tact and his humor smoothed out the hindrances which personal irritations and asperities threw in the way of agreement. His fertility in suggestion and "uncommon common sense" made solution appear easy; his persuasiveness made its acceptance inescapable.

To this quality the common folk of his day, and of succeeding generations, added others which found their embodiment in "Poor Richard." Franklin's wisdom was of the homely kind that makes instant appeal to the untutored mind. His maxims of conduct were phrased in the language of the people, and they preached the virtues of the simple life led by the people of his day. The virtues in which he instructed the people were, moreover, virtues the practice of which would prove profitable in material ways. It was thus not too hard to come to believe that one's desires were morally justifiable. To be both virtuous and comfortable was delightful. And so the sales of the Almanac grew apace.

The chief merit of Franklin's teachings, however, is to be found in the fact that the virtues he inculcated were those peculiarly advantageous to such a society as he found around him. Thus he contributed to the stabilization and improvement of America; thus he buttressed the social practices that enabled Americans to gain political independence. This service is imponderable; but it is one which entitles him to a prominent place in the political chronicles of the country.

He deserves that place for one other reason. Franklin's work — and play — at the French Court were properly valued by the discriminating few during his lifetime. With the passage of years Franklin the diplomat has outweighed Franklin the moralist. He went to France with a reputation that brought him the favor of the enlightened classes; upon that he built, with rare dexterity and good humor, until he won for the struggling colonies the active support of the French Government. That support was the more valuable in that it was based upon widespread sympathy with America's aims and aspirations. And such sympathy was aroused in Europeans because they came to feel that the spirit of Franklin was the spirit of America. To the present day, the American holds much the same notion.



O Franklin's Birthplace, Milk Street, Boston, from a litho-graph, 1858, by J. H. Buffords, Boston, in the Huntington Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN COMES OF STURDY STOCK

In an unpretentious house on Milk Street, Boston, Franklin was born in January, 1706. His father was an Englishman whose ancestors for centuries had been sturdy and independent freeholders in Northamptonshire. A desire to practise his nonconformist creed in peace had led Josiah Franklin to migrate, in 1682, to the new country. Here, as his second wife, he had married Abiah Folger, daughter of Peter Folger, one of the first and most distinguished settlers of New England. They had ten children, of whom Benjamin was the eighth.

THE BOY FRANKLIN "As the tithe of his sons," the father early determined

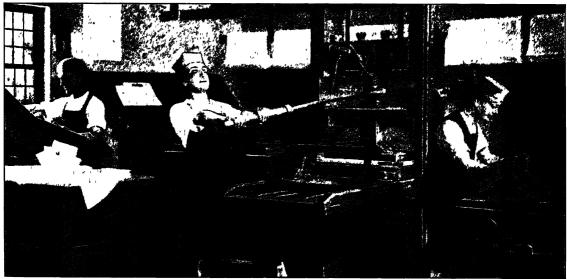
to make of Benjamin a minister of the gospel. But the son had other notions, and it was not long before this project was abandoned. His eagerness for books led to his apprenticeship, in his thirteenth year, to his brother James, printer and publisher of the New England Courant.





BEFORE long, however, troubles fell upon the printing house. Benjamin, moreover, had made himself an object of suspicion to his worthy townsmen by certain "indiscreet disputations about religion." He thus determined to seek more congenial surroundings, and in the autumn of 1723 he embarked for New York. Finding no employment, he continued his journey to Philadelphia, the account of his entrance into the city is known to every American boy.





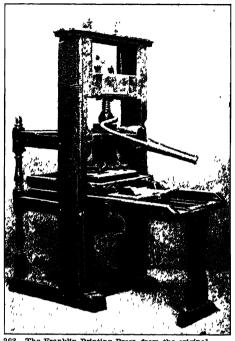
292 From the mural painting Franklin the Printer's 'Prentice by Charles E Mills (1856-) in the Franklin Union, Boston. @ Detroit Publishing Co.

FRANKLIN BECOMES A SUCCESSFUL PRINTER

In Philadelphia Franklin soon found his skill as a printer in demand. He attracted the attention of the Governor, who proposed to establish the young man as an independent tradesman. Franklin was dispatched to England to purchase a printing press and types, with money to be advanced by Sir William Keith. At the last moment the Governor conveniently forgot this promise, and Franklin was left stranded in London. On his return to Philadelphia, he again embarked upon the printing trade, and this time with notable success, for he soon became the leading printer of the Province.



294 From the mural painting Franklin the Editor by Charles E Mills in the Franklin Union, Boston © Detroit Publishing Co



93 The Franklin Printing Press, from the original in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington

THE PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE SHOWS A NEW SPIRIT

HE was soon able to buy one of the two newspaper establishments in Pennsylvania. Under his management, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* "prov'd in a few years extremely profitable." The causes

for this happy outcome are best told in his own words: "Our first papers made a quite different appearance from any before in the Province; a better type, and better printed; but some spirited remarks of my writing, on the dispute then going on between Governor Burnet and the Massachusetts Assembly, struck the principal people, occasioned the paper and the manager of it to be much talked of, and in a few weeks brought them all to be our subscribers." Ever alert to capitalize virtue, Franklin became a model citizen. "In order to secure my credit and character as a tradesman, I took care to be not only in reality industrious and frugal, but to avoid all appearances to the contrary."

BOOKS FOR THE COMMON PEOPLE

Franklin's trade as printer and publisher convinced him there was a public whose desire for reading he could develop and meet. He therefore established, in 1731, a subscription library. "This," he wrote, "was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous. . . . These libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common traders and



295 From the mural painting Franklin the Librarian by Charles E Mills in the Franklin Union, Boston. © Detroit Publishing Co

farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defense of their privileges."



300 From a mezzotint after the portrait by Mason Chamberlin painted in London between 1760 and 1762

FIVE YEARS IN ENGLAND

When, therefore, Franklin was in February, 1757, appointed the emissary of the Provincial Assembly to England, his fame had preceded him, his experiments with electricity were already recognized abroad as among the significant contemporary contributions to knowledge. The years during which his suit before the proprietaries and the Government, in behalf of the Province, dragged on were enlivened for him by that intellectual intercourse and social deference he loved. He became the

friend of David Hume, of Lord Kames, and of other men of letters. Edinburgh extended to him the freedom of the city, while Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. It was with extreme reluctance that he



301 From the portrait, 1759, by Benjamin Wilson, taken by Major André from Franklin's house, restored to the United States by Earl Grey in 1906 and hung in the White House, Washington

finally, in the autumn of 1762, sailed for Philadelphia.

"THE REPRESENTATIVE OF A DISAFFECTED PEOPLE"

WHILE on board ship, Franklin had been reflected to the Provincial Assembly. On his arrival he was at once plunged into the midst of political controversy. To a friend in England he wrote: "Business, public and private, consumes all my time; I must return to England for repose." It so fell out that to

England he did return. The quarrels between the Assembly and the Proprietor came to a head with the passage by the former of a petition to the King-in-Council for a royal government for Pennsylvania. To

302 From the bust of Franklin by Jean Antoine Houdon (1749–1828), in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

present this petition Franklin in December, 1764, arrived in London. He expected to remain but a few months, in fact, he stayed ten years. For in England he found momentous events impending. In March, 1764, Grenville had given notice of his intent to introduce a bill imposing a stamp tax in America; the Pennsylvania Assembly had instructed Franklin to inform the minister of the colony's protest, and this duty, originally incidental, quickly overshadowed all others. "Instead of re-

maining simply an agent charged with urging a petition which brought him in conflict only with private persons, like himself subjects of the King, he saw his position rapidly change and develop until he became really the representative of a disaffected people maintaining a cause against the monarch and the government of the great British Empire"—

J. T. Morse, Franklin, p. 101.



303 The Royal Society's Medal Given to Franklin, from an engraving in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library



304 From the mural painting Franklin at the Bar of the House of Commons, 1786, by Charles E Mills in the Franklin Union, Boston © Detroit Publishing Co

FRANKLIN PROTESTS AGAINST THE STAMP TAX

It was in this capacity, and as a familiar and respected companion of the men of affairs in England, that Franklin was in February, 1766, summoned before the House of Commons to give testimony in regard to the attitude of the colonies toward the stamp tax. His sturdy position in this examination he reasserted, in characteristic phrase, some weeks later. "I have some little property in America," he wrote. "I will freely spend nineteen shillings in the pound to defend my right of giving or refusing the other shilling. And, after all, if I cannot defend that right, I can retire cheerfully with my family into the boundless woods of America, which are sure to afford freedom and subsistence to any man who can bait a hook or pull a trigger." Franklin's strong common sense and wide knowledge contributed powerfully toward the repeal of the Stamp Act.



305 From the engraving by Robert Whitechurch, published 1859, after the painting Franklin Before The Lords in Council by Christian Schuessele (1824-79), courtesy of Kennedy & Co, New York

HIS MISSION TO ENGLAND COMES TO AN END

Franklin now came to be recognized in the colonies, as he was already in England, as the chief spokesman abroad of colonial opinion. New Jersey, Georgia, Maryland and Massachusetts made him their agent. It was in this last capacity that Franklin was, in January, 1774, summoned to appear before the Privy Council. The scene there enacted marked the end of Franklin's usefulness as counsellor to the colonies and to England. This in course of time Franklin understood. He remained in England a year longer Many things were done to make his stay unpleasant, and in March, 1775, he sailed for home, no longer hopeful that the quarrel would end otherwise than in war.

Philad July 5. 40 M. Srahan our ax Homber of Parliament, of that Majorth, when was

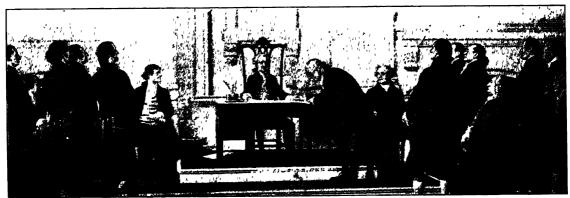
306 Franklin's Letter to Strahan, 1775, from the original in the Franklin Papers in the Library of Congress

POLITICS BREAKS PERSONAL FRIENDSHIPS

In 1773, Franklın had written from England: "The great defect here is, in all sorts of people, a want of attention to what passes in such remote countries as America; an unwillingness to read anything about them, if it appears a little lengthy; and a disposition to postpone a consideration even of the things which they know they must at last consider." Arriving in Philadelphia on May 5, 1775, he learned of the inevitable results of this indifference. To his great friend, Dr. Priestley, he wrote on the 16th, "You will have heard, before this reaches you, of a march stolen by the regulars into the country by night, and of their expedition back again. They retreated twenty miles in six hours. . . ." But Franklin found in that happening more than cause for joking. It meant the severance of many ties between America and the home country, between him and his English friends. Fortunately, some of these friendships, as that with Strahan, an English journalist who had been his intimate during Franklın's first stay in England, were later resumed. It was to Strahan that he wrote the famous letter concluding with the words: "You and I were long Friends:-You are now my Enemy, - and I am, Yours, B. Franklin."

FRANKLIN PARTICIPATES IN THE WORK OF CONGRESS

But sterner matters were in hand. On the day of his return, he had been unanimously elected delegate from Pennsylvania to the Continental Congress. In all of its manifold activities he participated, until in September, 1776, he was selected as one of three commissioners from the new America to England's enemy, France.



From the mural painting Franklin Signing the Declaration of Independence by Charles E. Mills in the Franklin Union, Boston.

© Detroit Publishing Co.

THE ENGLISH FEAR FRANKLIN'S INFLUENCE IN FRANCE

THE prospect of the presence of the "chief of the American rebels" at the Court of Louis XVI was far from pleasing to those English statesmen who had had opportunity to gauge his skill. Lord Rockingham said that this more than offset the British victory on Long Island. All attempts, however, to capture The Reprisal, the sloop of war on which Franklin had sailed,

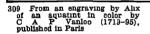
were vain. Late in 1776 he reached Nantes. When the Marquis of Rockingham heard the news, the significance of it appalled him. "The horrid scene at a Privy Council," he wrote, re-



308 The "watch-case" portrait of Franklin, from a print after the original by John Lodge (died 1796)

ferring to the occasion (No. 305) when Franklin met the withering invective of Wedderburn, "is in my memory, though, perhaps,

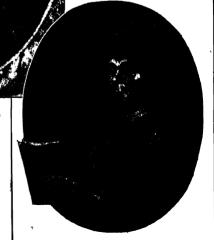
not in his. It may not excite his conduct. It certainly deters him not. . . . He boldly ventures to cross the Atlantic.... The sight of Banquo's ghost could not more offend the eves of Macbeth than the knowledge of this old man being at Versailles should affect the minds of those who were principals in that horrid scene." Even Stormont regarded Franklm's mission as a grave danger, because of "the partiality of the French people."



WELCOME TO FRANKLIN IN FRANCE

"Bur while the English were angry, the French indulged in a furore of welcome. They made feasts and hailed the American as the friend of humankind, as the 'ideal of a patriarchal republic and of idyllic simplicity,' as a sage of antiquity; the exuberant classicism of the nation exhausted

of the nation exhausted 310 From a mezzotint after the portrait, Paris, 1777, itself glorifying him by comparison with those great names of Greece and Rome which have become symbols of all private and public virtues. They admired him because he did not wear a wig; they lauded his spectacles; they were overcome with enthusiasm as they contemplated his great cap of marten fur, his scrupulously white linen, and the quaint simplicity of his brown Quaker raiment of colonial make. They noted with amazement that his 'only defense' was a 'walking-stick in his hand.' The print-shops were soon full of countless representations of his noble face and venerable figure." — J. T. Morse, Benjamin Franklin, 1889, pp. 231–32.



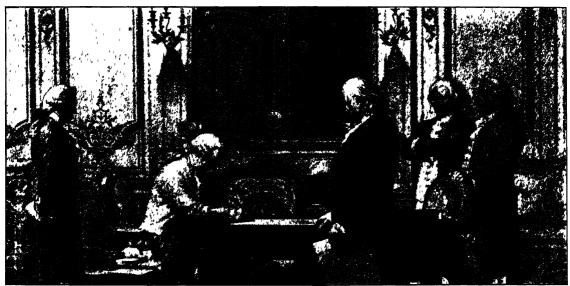
The "fur cap" portrait, from a mezzotint after the drawing, 1777, by Cochin



312 The House where Franklin lived at Passy, from an original sketch by Victor Hugo, 1836, in the New York Public Library

HE LIVES APART FROM THE DISTRACTIONS OF PARIS

Franklin at once established himself at Passy, then a suburb of Paris. Here he was able at once to participate in the social festivities that furthered his mission among the people and to escape the dangers of too great proximity to the ministers who might at times be embarrassed by his presence. Thus, at the very outset of his mission, Franklin gave evidence of the discretion and tact for which he was already known, and through the use of which he was able to serve his country with conspicuous success.



From the mural painting Franklin Signing The Treaty of Alliance, by Charles E. Mills in the Franklin Union, Boston

O Detroit Publishing Co

THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

FRANKLIN'S position was a difficult one. It was his duty to get from France as much assistance, of all kinds, as possible. France was willing to aid so long as she did not become embroiled in war with England. Thus for a year or more, Franklin busied himself chiefly with gaining such covert and indirect assistance as he could win for the American cause. Then came, in December, 1777, the news of Burgoyne's surrender the preceding October. (Vol. VI.) France became convinced that she could venture upon open recognition of the new nation, and in February, 1778, the treaties of alliance and of commerce were signed.



314 From the painting Franklin at the Court of France by Baron Jolly in the collection of Cyrus Curtis, Philadelphia

THE COURT HONORS THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHER

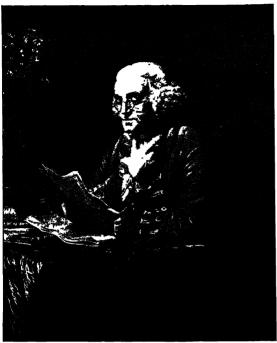
This achievement was in part due to the character of Franklin. Lacretelle, a French publicist, has well written: "His virtues and renown negotiated for him; and before the second year of his mission had expired, no one conceived it possible to refuse fleets and armies to the countrymen of Franklin." At the Court of Louis XVI, homage was paid him as a philosopher and as the representative of the new country whose watchword was liberty. He symbolized the liberty for which the French people were yearning. Tradesmen ran to the doors of their shops as he passed and the most distinguished ladies of Paris outdid one another in making their obeisance to him.



315 From a contemporary French engraving The Tomb of Voltairs in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Livrary

A TRIBUTE TO VOLTAIRE

HE became, indeed, representative, not solely of America, but of liberating truth. Even his somewhat lukewarm admirer, John Adams, later conceded that "If a collection could be made of all the gazettes of Europe of the latter half of the eighteenth century, a greater number of panegyrical paragraphs upon *le grand* Franklin would appear, it is believed, than upon any other man that ever lived."



316 From an engraving by Edward Savage after the portrait by David Martin (1736-98), published in London, 1793

Congress. That body, however, not only ignored it, but appointed him one of the commissioners to negotiate peace. So he took up the new task. After the signing of the preliminary treaty in 1782, and again after the definitive treaty of 1783, he renewed his plea for recall. But not until March, 1785, did Congress grant him permission to "return to America as soon as convenient." On September 13 he sighted "dear Philadelphia," where a cheering throng greeted his arrival. But Franklin's labors were not

HOME AGAIN AFTER NINE YEARS
IN FRANCE
By the spring of 1781, Franklin had tired of the worries of his post. He sent his resignation to

member of the State Council, of which he soon became President. To this office he was reelected in 1786 and in 1787. Of this distinction he characteristically wrote: "I had not firmness enough to resist the unanimous desire of my country-folks; and I find myself harnessed again in their service. They engrossed the prime of my life. They have eaten my flesh,

and seem resolved now to pick my bones." To the

Constitutional Convention of 1787 he was sent, one

done. Immediately the people selected him as a

of four members who had signed the Declaration of Independence. While he took no active share in the proceedings, his presence and occasional homely advice were invaluable in smoothing out difficulties. "When

the work was done, probably no signature except that of Washington did so much as Franklin's to win popular confidence" in the new instrument of government. —

GREENE, Foundations of American Nationality, p. 586.

PHILADELPHIA, 22 April.

A PROTEST AGAINST SLAVERY

FRANKLIN'S body now refused longer to support his still active mind. As he himself said. "I seem to have intruded myself into the company of posterity, when I ought to have been abed and asleep." Throughout a lingering and painful illness he kept his humor playing upon the foibles of mankind and



317 From a stipple portrait engraved by Stottrup

kept alive his interest in the welfare of men. One of his last acts was to sign, as president of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, a memorial to Congress praying that it "devise means for removing this inconsistency from the character of the American people." On April 17, 1790 he died, full of years, of manifold experiences, of homely wisdom; honored throughout the western world for his many services to his fellow men.

PHILADELPHIA, 22 April. The following was the order of Procession yesterday at the funeral of our late learned and illuftrious citizen, Dr FRANKLIN All the Clergy of the city, before the corpfe.
THE CORPSE, Carried by Citizens.
The Pall Supported by The President of the State, one Chief Juftice-the Prefident of the Bank, Samuel Powell, William Bingham, and David Rittenhouse, Esquires. Mourners,
Confishing of the family of the deceased—with a number of particular friends,
The Secretary and Members of the Supreme
Executive Council. TheSpeaker and Members of the General Affembly. Judges of the Supreme Court, And other Officers of Government. The Gentlemen of the Bar The Mayor and Corporation of the city of Philadelphia. The Printers of the city, with their Journeymen and Apprentices.
The Philotophical Society The College of Physicians.
The Cincinnati. The College of Philadelphia. Sund y other Societies together with a numer-

clades of cirizens, of the unparralleled virtues, talents, and fervices of the dereafed.

318 The Procession at Franklin's Funeral, from The Gazetts of the United States. Philadelphia, Apr. 22, 1790

The concourse of spectators was greater than ever was known on a like occasion. It is compu-

ted that not less than 20,000 persons attended and witnessed the funeral. The order and filence

which prevailed, during the Procession, deeply evinced the heartfelt fense, entertained by all

FRANKLIN'S ACHIEVEMENTS

JOHN T. Morse thus concludes his very readable biography of Benjamin Franklin. "It is hard indeed to give full expression to a man of such scope in morals, in mind and in affairs. He illustrates humanity in an astonishing multiplicity of ways at an infinite number of points. He, more than any other, seems to show us how manysided our human nature is. No individual, of course, fills the entire circle; but if we can imagine a circumference which shall express humanity, we can place within it no one man who will reach out to approach it and to touch it at so many points as will Franklin. A man of active as well as universal good-will, of perfect truthfulness towards all dwellers on the earth, of supreme wisdom expanding over all the interests of the race, none has earned a more kindly loyalty. By the instruction which he gave, by his discoveries, by his inventions and by his achievements in public life he earns the distinction of having rendered to men varied and useful services excelled by no other one man; and thus he has established a claim upon the gratitude of mankind so broad that history holds few who can be his rivals."



319 From the portrait, 1787, by Charles Willson Peale in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania



320 Graves of Benjamin and Deborah Franklin, Christ Church burying ground, Philadelphia, from Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, 1884

CHAPTER V

FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION

HILE Franklin was laboring in France to promote the American cause, other patriots at home faced a different political problem. With the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, in July, 1776, the Continental Congress presented the American people with a twofold task. On the one hand, they were obliged to achieve independence on the field of battle. Simultaneously, they were obliged to establish a government more regular in origin and full-bodied in form than their hastily constructed machinery, in order that the military arm might be properly equipped and the union maintained. The event proved this latter task no easier than the former. Blunders by Britain, coupled with twists of European politics, might facilitate military victory; but to set up a government and to keep it operating, America had to rely upon herself alone.

At the outset there had to be fostered that spirit of community of interest without which political union — and only through union could independence be won — would prove impossible. Provincial exclusiveness and intercolonial jealousies made the task of education difficult. The leaders possessed of vision to see what must come were forced to proceed with care and circumspection. In 1776 it was recognized that the several states were willing to be united only to the extent needed to win a common victory against Great Britain. So the Articles of Confederation left to the member-states all of the form of sovereignty and most of the substance. The central Congress, with its committees, was simply an agent of the states in the execution of a set and specific piece of work, that of winning the war. Even such a slight union offended certain of the states; not until 1781 did the Confederation come into operation, and only because through no other agency could the war be won was it treated with indulgence by the touchy commonwealths. Indeed, within the sphere of its legitimate and recognized function, the Congress was often buffeted by the suspicious and ignored by the thoughtless.

The Congress of the Confederation did, however, manage to fulfill its duty. The Continentals were, in one way or another, kept in the field; foreign aid was solicited and obtained; the treaty of peace was signed. To some of the leaders of the states, this last act bespoke the end of the Confederation; now that independence had been gained, the several states should go their ways, friends but not members of the same family. To others, however, the Confederation was not the end of union, but the forerunner of a greater and better union. They felt that there were too many bonds of sympathy, of like interest, of tradition, between the states to admit of separation.

The position of these Federalists, as they came to be called, was destined to be adopted by America. The central Congress of the Confederation had, indeed, by its very existence and by its conduct, strengthened the national spirit, the feeling of community among the peoples of the several commonwealths. The economic distress of the postwar years soon gave additional impetus to the urgings of such men as Washington, Madison and Hamilton, until at last the need for a stronger central government, which could restrain the vagaries and the excesses of the states, forced upon the reluctant a new constitution with a new government standing for the new nation that was to be.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT FALLS TO THE

In 1776 it was necessary to provide a civil government to direct the conduct of the war. What more natural than that the existing Continental Congress should assume that office? It had come into being because of a recognized need for united action to oppose the unconstitutional aggressions of Great Britam; with independence declared, there was need for united action to attain the new goal. So the Congress, called in one capacity, proceeded to act in another. It recommended to the Provincial Assemblies military preparation; it adopted as its own the troops around Boston and sent them a commander; it provided for a navy; and it established agents to supervise all military and naval activities. Thus the Congress assumed under pressure of circumstance the exercise of numerous functions that could be handled most effectively from one central agency, acting for all the states.

4 PROCLAMATION

HEREAS Congress have received information and complaints, " That indence save a been done by American armed veillels to neutral nations in leaving Paps belonging to their fubjects and under their colours, and in making captures of those of the enemy while under the protection of neutral coalts, contrary to the usage and cultom of Nations. To the and that fuch unjuftifiable and paratical acts, which reflect difficulty upon the national character of thefe States, may be in future effectually prevented, the faid Congress bath thought proper to direct, eagus and command, and they do hereby dured, enjoin and command, all Captains. Commanders and other Officers and Seamen belonging to any American armed veifels to govern them fairers fin City sall things, agreeably to the tenor of their Commillians, and the fullruchons and Refolutions of Congress, particularly that they pay a facred regard to the rights of neutral powers, and the usage and cufhas of civilized nations, and on no pretence whatever prefume to take or feize any thips or veffels be longing to the subjects of princes or powers in alliance with these United States, except they are employed in carrying contraband goods, or foldiers to our enemies and in fuch cafe that they conform to the Supulations contrained in Treaties fublishing between such princes or powers and chefe States; and that they do not capture, feize or plander any thips or welfels of our encances being under the protection of settral coalts, nations or princes, under the penalty of being condignly punished therefor, and also of being bound to make fatisfaction for all matters of damage, and the interest thereof by reputation, make the pain and obligation of their persons and goods. And further. The faid Congress doth hereby Refere and Declare. That perfore wilfully offending to any of the foregoing inflances, if taken by any farega powers in confequence thereof, thall not be confidered as having a right to claim protection from these States, but thail Suffer such punulhment as by the usage and custom of nations may be unfished mon fork afficial

GIFEN to CONGRESS at Torr, in the State of PENNITUANTS, the Nigth Dry of May, Anne Domini Oce Thougland Seven Handred and Seventy-Eight.

HENRY LAURENS, President.

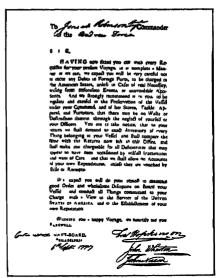
ATTEST. CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

TORE-TOWN, PRINTED BY JOHN DUNLAP.

322 Proclamation of Congress respecting Neutral Vessels, 1778, in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

FRANKLIN SENT TO FRANCE TO REPRESENT AMERICA

THE results of such contact have been told. The French alliance, the negotiations with Spain and Holland, led to the dispatch to European courts of duly accredited representatives. Quite fittingly, Franklin was selected as America's first envoy to France. (See page 139.)



321 Instructions to the man-of-war Andria Doria, Sept 1777, from a facsimile in the catalogue of the Bancker Collection, 1898

CONGRESS CONTROLS WARSHIPS

From authorizing such activities to regulating them proved a short and necessary step. Having permitted the outfitting of privateers, the Congress soon found that, unguided, they would harm the cause. Hence, the Provisional Assembly assumed still another function of government, and one which was bound to bring it into contact with foreign nations.

Speed facthful and beloved French and Ally

The Sunceptes of Equality and visa persons on what you have varied out French with a give you an actionand sample for that good Fact with other we had strong through for that you have bother as Jone shelps of the delay and before the week what with a form what the most water with for the states amount to approximate the work weaks with good the states amount to approximate with the work was what for the states amount of Expert large of Transac.

The have nonwooded to Transac the flory of Transac the work was and with for the hard many good you was the state after a samp they are found to samp you are the person of the person of the same and we sadd of the thought the har the attended of any though what to that above or an third sphere.

All the stated above your of the Promoved of the Survey of the

123 Letter of the Congress to Louis XVI, Oct. 21, 1778, appointing Franklin as envoy, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

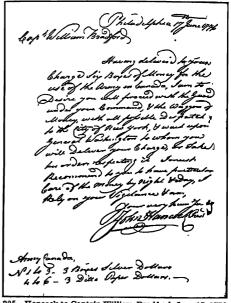


324 Chevaller Gérard, from the portrait h C W Peale in Independence Hall, Phili delphia

FRANCE'S MINISTER APPEARS BEFORE CONGRESS

On the 6th of August, 1778, Conrad Alexandre, Chevalier Gérard, was received as Minister from France. The occasion is thus described in the Continental Journal of the 17th of that month: "Thus had a new and noble sight been exhibited in this New World, the representatives of the United States of America solemnly giving public audience to a minister plenipotentiary from the most powerful Prince in Europe. Four years ago, such an event, at so near a day, was not in view

even of imagination. But it is the Almighty who raiseth up. He hath stationed America among the powers of the earth, and clothed her in robes of sovereignty." With the reception of a foreign envoy, the Continental Congress received additional prestige and strength. It seemed in a fair way to become the central government of the new nation.



Hancock to Captain William Bradford, June 17, 1776, from a facsimile in possession of the publishers

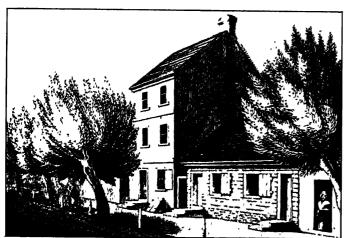
SOLDIERS MUST BE PAID

Nor all the problems facing the Provisional Assembly had such a happy conclusion. Too soon the Congress discovered that the establishment of a fighting army involved the furnishing of munitions, equipment, food and fodder. All of this required money and management; so new functions were undertaken. Money was borrowed abroad and at home; paper currency

was issued. All in all, more and more power was rapidly passing into the hands of Congress.

GOVERNMENTAL MACHINERY DEVELOPS SLOWLY

As the war continued, weaknesses in this arrangement became more and more evident. The Congress was composed of delegates, chosen and paid by the member states, whose instructions usually determined the action of their "ambassadors." Each state had one vote, each was watchful of its own interests, and the adherence of all was essential to the preservation of each; hence debatable matters suffered from either

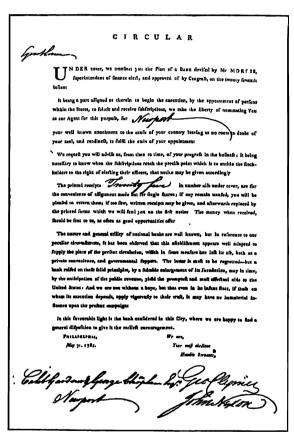


326 Office of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, South Sixth Street, Philadelphia, from J. F. Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, edition of 1850, after an engraving by Mumford.

compromise or inaction. In short, the Congress was in the unenviable position of attempting to run a government when the operating machinery was not yet designed or installed. Not until near the close of the war did it learn and apply the principle of concentrated responsibility. At first it tried to handle everything in general session. After a time numerous committees, with overlapping personnel - such as a war office and a navy board were set up to do the administrative Meanwhile the ineptitude of Congress, and more attractive public service elsewhere, resulted in a deteriorated membership of the body.

MORRIS IS FINANCIAL ADVISER

PERHAPS the outstanding exception to this wholesale withdrawal of the capable was Robert Morris of Pennsylvania. A wealthy banker who had from the beginning espoused the American cause, he had, though opposed to the step, signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and had ever since given his fiscal wisdom and wealth to achieving its objectives. His presence in Congress proved of extreme value. For the Congress, unable to levy taxes, found foreign loans and paper money uncertain support for the armies in the field. Then it was that Morris earned his title of "Financier of the Revolution."



328 Circular on Morris' Plan of a Bank, 1781, in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, 1777

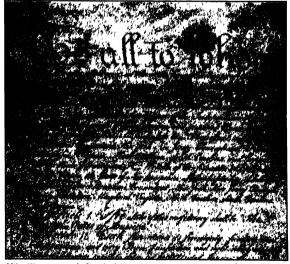
THE Congress itself realized its failings. In accord with Lee's resolution of June 7, 1776, it appointed a committee, headed by Dickinson of Pennsylvania, to "prepare a plan of confederation." Shortly after the adoption of the Declaration, the committee reported and desultory debate followed. No agreement was reached until November 15, 1777, when the plan was presented by Henry Laurens, President of Congress, to the several states for ratification.



327 Robert Morris, 1734-1806, from the portrait by C W. Peale in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

CONGRESS PROVIDES FOR A BANK

When in 1781 he persuaded Congress to establish the office of Superintendent of Finance and to provide for a central bank, Morris was chosen for the post. And in it he served with distinction for three years, when he withdrew in disgust at the pettiness of his colleagues and the states. Everyone was jealous of the others. They were unwilling to surrender to some one else, no matter how efficient and able he might be, powers of action which were needed to tide over the crisis facing the country



329 First page of the Articles of Confederation, from the engrossed copy in the Library of Congress, Washington

In Gongress Murch 1 1781

According to the order of the Lay, the Generalis Sohn Hanson and Janiel (word, has of the Selegalis for the Stale of Margland, in Juniuance of the Nel of the degulature of that stale calcilled "In Stale to improver, the Delegales of that stale in 6 engrife to Subscribe and ratify the Articles of Confederalm", which was read in Congress. The Joseph of Fromary last, and a Copy thereof, enlared on the minutes, did in Ischalf of the said Stale of Maryland Sign and ratify the said Articles of Confederation, by which that the Confederation of the United Stale of America was compleated, each and coor, of the theolem United Stale of Smorial from Now Hampshire to Georgea, both included having adopted and comprehend, and by their Gelegales, in 6 ongress ratified the Same

Edward from the Nineulas

Cha Thomason Sery

a low 6 org, aster Sohn Adams Minister Clonipolombay

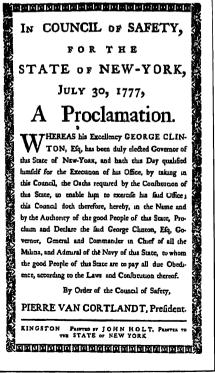
330 Ratification of Articles of Confederation by Maryland, 1781, from the original in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

THE STATES WANT SELF-GOVERNMENT

GOVERNMENT in the United States, then, between 1775 and 1781, rested upon the several states. Though the powers of the Continental Congress were undefined, and on occasion vigorously exercised, its authority was constantly dependent upon the consent and cooperation of the states. And to the states the people rendered an allegiance much more willingly and more fully than to the body of inept and hampered diplomats composing the Congress. These "Sovereign, Free and Independent States" — so they were habitually called by Congress - had, indeed, initiated the Revolution and created the central committee. Even before the Declaration of Independence, several had established new governments. In the following busy years effort was turned to the drafting of new forms of government expressive of the current political ideals. State after state adopted its written constitution, often by a process irregular but always acceptable to the Patriots. But the time was soon coming when the states would anxiously turn to national authority for relief from conflicting theories.

JEALOUSY DELAYS RATIFICATION

PREOCCUPATION with the business of warring was one cause of the delay in ratifying the Articles. There were, however, differences of opinion among the delegates. John Adams, in a letter of July 29, 1776, stated the major problems: "One great question is how we shall vote - whether each colony shall have one, or whether each shall have weight in proportion to its number or wealth, or imports or exports, or a compound ratio of all? Another is whether Congress shall have authority to limit the dimensions of each colony, to prevent those which claim to the South Sea, so as to be dangerous to the rest." The first matter was settled in favor of the smaller states, the second in the favor of those states claiming western lands. Largely because of this latter decision, ratification of the Articles by all thirteen members was delayed until 1781. Maryland, in particular, held out until New York, Virginia and Massachusetts — the leading states with such claims - agreed to surrender them to the common government.



331 Proclamation on the Election of the First Governor of New York, from the copy in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

State of Massachusetts-Bay,

In the House of REPRESENTATIVES, February 19, 1779.

PIPEREAS the Confusion or Perm of Cool Generation, which was proposed by the state Convertion of this Same to the People therey, hash been distinguenced by a delayerity of the Industriant of find state; And others are the Sentencial, and others at it is married, from the Representations made to this Court what are the Sentencial, of the major Part of the good People of the State at 10 the Experience of more proceeding to form on the Confidencial of the Sentencial Office of the Sentencial

Therefore, Refeled That the Sciences of the fereral Towns within this State coafe the Frectionlers, and other labourages in our respective Towns duly qualitated to vote for Representatives, to be invalid, waters in some convenient Place therein, on or better the life Worderday of May now, in confider of and determine upon the following Quellicon. First, Whether they chuse at this Time to have a new Continuous or Form of Govern-

ment users.

seeady. Whether they will impower than Reprefectives for the next Year to rote for the cating a State Convention, for the fole Puppole of forming a new Constitution, provided it fails appear to them, the Examination, that a major Fart of the People prefers and voting at the Meximig saids to the Mainer and for the Puppole aforefast, that have answered the first Quilbon in the Advancers.

mave souvered the arts Appliane to the Altermeter.

That the Seedlane of each Town se and hereby are directed to return into the Secretary Office, on or before the first Wednesday in Jesu next, the Doings of their religence Country of the first Wednesday in Jesu next, the Doings of their religence Towns on the first Quelition observe measured, certaining the Numbers young in the Affarmative, and the Numbers young in the Negaure, on find Queliton.

Sent up for Courts

JOHN PICKERING, Speaker.

In COUNCIL, February 20, 1779. Read and concurred, JOHN AVERY, Drp. Sery.

Conferred to by the Major Part of the Council. Amil.

JOHN AVERY, Dry. Secon

Resolution of Massachusetts Bay, Feb 19, 1779, from the broadside in the New York Public Library

State of Maffachufetts-Bay,

In the House of REPRESENTATIVES, June 15, 1779.

ID HERE 43 by the Returns made into the Secretary? Office from more than two thirth of the from belonging to the visit, agreeably to a Rejebre of the General Court of the visits of Pebruary Loss, at appears that a large conjurely of the tebulishment of just's French as those made return as afaint fail, thank it proper to have a new Confination or Form of Government, and are a dynamic that the fairest angle to be formal by a Convention of Desgrice who failed to facility authorized to made for this Perspite. Therefore,

se concept of Musingst, on the first day of September next.

And the Selections of the feweral towns and places in this Seate, improvered by the seried to first Memoran to the General Alf-mbly, are hereby authorized and directed in Messing of their replacture towns at leaft fourteen days before the messing of the Alf-con, to releft one or more Delegines to reprefer them in faul Convention, at which Mr reb ecknow of find Delegines, retery Processes, inhabitant of facts nown, wenty one years of age, fluid have a right to won.

For the excesse to see the excesses of the excess of the e

JOHN HANCOCK, Speaker.

In COUNCIL, June 21, 1775. Read and concurred.

JOHN AVERY, Dep. Secry.

Resolution of Massachusetts Bay, June 15, 1779, from the broadside in the New York Public Library

MASSACHUSETTS ADOPTS A CONSTITUTION

SINGULARLY enough, Massachusetts was the last to form its fundamental charter. A constitution framed by the legislature was rejected early in 1778. Then, thanks to pressure from the farmers of Berkshire County in the west, the legislature took the sense of the town meetings on the advisability of calling a special

constitutional convention whose work would be submitted to popular determination. Though many of the towns failed to answer this request, the vote stood 6,612 to 2,639 in favor of the method. In September the convention began its deliberations. Under the lead of John Adams, a body containing such strong members as Hancock, James Bowdoin, Samuel Adams, Robert Treat Paine and Theophilus Parsons, submitted to the people a document which they adopted. Thus Massachusetts inaugurated the method now customary in the preparation and adoption of an American constitution.

BILLS OF RIGHTS BECOME LAWS

NEW HAMPSHIRE, perhaps influenced by developments in Maryland, convened a special convention (June, 1778) to draft a fundamental law. But the convention's work was too conservative to meet the desires of the people of the hill towns. As in six of the other states, the constitution finally adopted contained a bill of rights in which was stated the philosophy of the people. Perhaps it was the distinguishing mark of the early American constitution that the bill of rights summarized those provisions of English common law and those governmental processes which the struggle with England had led the colonists to believe fundamental to ordered and free political society.

DECLAR ARATIO New-Hampsbire.

WHEREAS by the typestocal Administration of the Occurrence of the King and Parliament of Green-Britain, this theory to New Heinsphere, such the neither United States of A. M. E. H. C. A. how here recognized as cycle the British Green process, and the transfer the object to the British Green process. GREEN, as their Replaces or Deleterates of the fourth of July A. D. 1773.

AND WHEREAS, it is recommended by the field CONTINENTAL CONSERS on only not every of the fourth United States to off, adults of Sexus or Government and conductors to the Wolfest bearing. We the District of the field States of New Handwise and Continents of the States of the field States of New Handwise and the Continents of the States of Continents of Continents of the States of the Continents, there can good the Jistonic Discourse of Richts, done so are Course very trying the line Recipied on Continents of the States of the land States of the States of the land States of the land

A DECLARATION of the RIGHTS of the PEOPLE of the STATE of NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

STATE OR INEW-TJAMPSHIRE.

Pipl, W E declare, that we the People of the fasse of New-Hamphire, ere Free and Independent of the Coron of Greatmondy. We her People of the Sans, we leabled to Life, Liberry, and Frepriny and all other Immanifes and Privileger
which we be remote supposed. Sames I two of England, stoped and of other, and the Laws of this fine (not inconfilted world Declaration of the Pine Pine Pine). Some are not that his is free there for the Walten and good Government of the Sans,
Forthly The whole and fund Frower of Government of this Rive, which is and much be derived from the People street.

Piplish, The fune designature of this Rive, shall make the Laws to Indings the Rights of Confinence or any other of the nacentil scaledards. Rights of Man, or constary to the Laws of GOOD, or signation the Proceedings of the Confinence of the Base,

South, The Sanses of Particery of this Rive, that and fall is the fine which was under the Confinence of the Base Consenmitted, Sanses to the West of Confinence of the Base Consenmitted, Sanses to West of Confinence of the Base Consenmitted, Sanses to West of Confinence of the Sans, that he procedure is not the West Indingstor Consent, to

West Indian Sanses of Trial by Jury in all Cufe as herecofor wind in this Sans, that he preferred inviolant forcers.

A PLAN of Government for the State of New-Hampshire.

First, —HR litter of Now Hampfeire shall be governed by a COUNCIA, and Houte of Revisious Approach to the chafts as here.

In after mentioned, and so be shall the Great and Court of the State of Now-Hampfeire

Beauth — The COUNCIA shall count for the perfect of twelver Monthers to also elected out that strength in the Proportion to their respective Number of Inhabitants.

First —The Thomber belonging to each Councy for the prefers, according to high Proportion being as followed, who —The County of Cockingston, Streets the Councy of Stratificia, one on the Councy of Milliberrough, two—to the Councy of English of the Councy of Cockingston, Streets the Councy of Stratificia (the Councy of Cockingston, Streets) and the Numbers for the Councy of Rockingston, thill got be inserted to reduce the Proportion to the Councy of Rockingston, the Councy of Rockingston, the Councy of Rockingston, the Councy of Rockingston and the Numbers for the other Councy of Rockings and the Numbers for the other Councy of Rockings and the Numbers for the other Councy of Rockings and many chains on the Street and the Councy of Rockings.

and the Numbers of the the the Construct of Robbinghom, find her be intereded as fallentified herbalter, but remain the front and the Numbers of the the the Construct field by intereded as their afteriold Properties to the Country of Robbinghom any chains to vary.

Figh. The House of Rankstrary arrives shall be thefus as follows: Every Town as Farlis, cheeding Town Colleges, secondary of the Properties of the Colleges of the Robbinghom and the Colleges of the Robbinghom and the Robbi

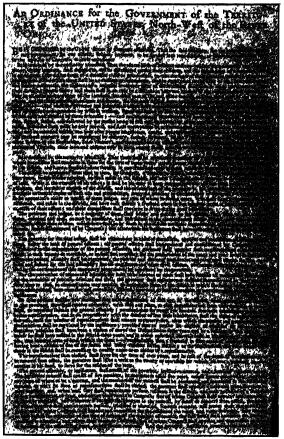


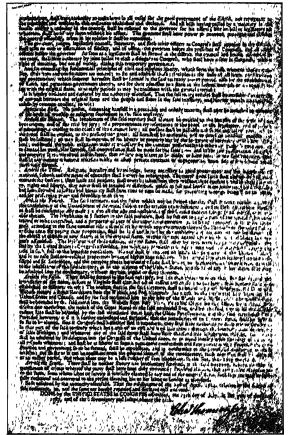
335 Nathan Dane, 1752–1835, from the portrait, artist unknown, in the possession of Harvard University

THE CONGRESS PROVIDES FOR NEW STATES

Under the Articles of Confederation there was little improvement in the general government. Its powers were only such as the states, jealous of their prerogatives, deemed necessary to carry on national affairs. Though its membership included such able men as Jefferson, Madison, Sherman and Hamilton, state posts were still more attractive Attendance was irregular, support by the states negligible. While the Congress in 1782-83 asked the states for \$10,000,000, only some \$1,500,000 was forthcoming by the end of 1783. The defects of the Confederation are too well-known to require restatement. Yet some achievements must be placed to its credit. Under it peace was obtained, commercial relations with several European states were established, and the union was preserved. Above all, it instituted our national territorial policy. The land cessions of Virginia. Massachusetts and Connecticut enabled the Confederation to organize and legislate for the national domain. The Continental Congress had in 1780 declared that such land was ultimately to be formed into member states of the union; the proposed state of Franklin

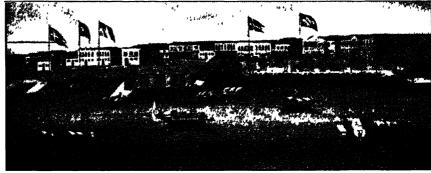
in the old Southwest and the colonization of the western lands called attention to their importance. The discussion bore fruit in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, largely framed by Nathan Dane of Massachusetts. This provided for temporary governments in the area, and for their ultimate admission to the Union. In the framing of the Ordinance of 1787 the influence of the versatile Thomas Jefferson was important. Three years before he had blocked out a policy for the Northwest Territory which, though it failed of enactment, was the foundation of the measure of 1787.





TRADE IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

THE achievement of independence left the Americans free to trade in the world where they could. The merchants soon found, however, that the war had profoundly changed commercial conditions. The Navigation Acts against which the Americans had



Canton factories in 1804, from a fireboard painted by Corné after an engraving, courtesy of the Peubody Museum, Salem, Mass

protested before 1775 now put them on the same footing with other foreign nations in so far as trade within the British empire was concerned. Particularly disastrous was the exclusion of vessels flying the Stars and Stripes from the commerce of British West Indies. The French and Spanish made only such concessions as accrued to their advantage. John Adams, sent to England as the first Minister, made no headway in



339 From the original paper money issued by Rhode Island, 1788, in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

securing a commercial treaty. Jefferson, in 1784, drafted a general plan for such treaties which has served as a model for subsequent commercial arrangements entered into by the United States. The attempts of the American merchants to find relief from this boycott caused a venture-some expansion along new channels. From the crippled harbors of the eastern coast American vessels sailed westward to China in search of the profitable cargo of the foreign factories, which, at Canton, were increasing each year in number. Yet the new Oriental activities could not provide immediate remedy for a depression as fundamental as that which resulted from the almost complete dislocation of former commerce. (See Volume IV, Chapter I.) The "hard times" of seventeen eighty-four and five served to bring home to the commercial classes the need for a strong government which could, if necessary, legislate to further American

commerce, and institute a uniform commercial policy for all the states. When an effort was made to amend the Articles of Confederation so as to give the central government such power but two states supported it.

PAPER MONEY

COMMERCIAL depression was not the only cause for worry in the years immediately following the close of the Revolution. During the war the British and French armies had brought considerable specie into the country. When the troops departed, the business interests began to press for a stable currency to take the place of the vastly depreciated paper bills which Congress had issued during the war. Efforts tending to put the currency on a sound basis met with opposition from a large group of farmers who had mortgages on their property and also from other debtors. The debtor-farmers, already adversely affected by a slump in prices, sought to lighten their burden of debt by bringing about the issue of more irredeemable paper money which, in its turn, was certain to depreciate. The extension of suffrage during the Revolution now gave political power to the debtor group. They obtained

THE

CASE,

TREVETT against WEEDEN:

On Information and Complaint, for refusing Paper Bills in Payment for Buscher's Meas, in Market, at Par with Specie.

Tried before the Honourble SUPERIOR COURT, in the County of Newpart, September Term, 1786.

ALSO,

The Case of the Judges of said Court,

Before the Honourble GENERAL ASSEMBLY, at Problems, Oldster Sellion, 1786, on Citatron, for distinsting said Complaint.

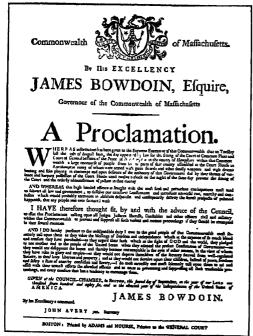
Wherein the Right of the People to Strial by Jun, Ge. are stated and maintained, and the Legislative, Judiciary and Executive Power of Government examined and defined.

By JAMES M. VARNUM, Essay Major-General of the State of Roads-Band, Gr. Counsellor at Law, and Member of Congress for field State.

PROVIDENCE. Printed by John Carter, 1797

From the title-page of the copy in the New York, Public Library

control of Rhode Island and promptly issued paper money. In other states there were fierce battles at the polls between radicals and conservatives. When the latter won in Massachusetts, Shays' rebellion resulted.



Proclamation of Sept 2, 1785, on the Shays Rebellion, from the copy in the New York Historical Society

vision of the Articles of Confederation, with a view to safeguarding, not only their own interests, but the public interests, which depended upon a continuance of peace and good order." - RALPH V. HARLOW, Growth of the United States, pp. 231-32.

A NATIONAL CONVENTION PLANNED BY THE CONSERVATIVES

THE movement to revise the Articles had, indeed, begun when Alexander Hamilton wrote in September, 1780, to Madison, suggesting that a convention be called "with full authority to conclude finally on a form of general Confederation . . . [and] to provide certain perpetual revenues . . . which . . . would give Congress a substantial existence and a stable foundation." As war receded, leaving in its wake the problems of reconstruction, such views came from many of the leaders. The failures to secure unanimous agreement to proposed strengthening amendments to the Articles pointed to the need for more drastic action. Opportunity was furnished in a meeting at Annapolis, called by Virginia "to take into consideration the trade of the United States . . . and to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations may be necessary to their common interests and their permanent harmony." Only five states were represented, but Madison and Hamilton obtained the adoption of a report calling for a new convention to meet at Philadelphia in May following, "to consider the situation of the United States and devise such further provisions as should appear necessary to render the constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." The Annapolis Convention instituted what proved to be a veritable bloodless revolution.

SHAYS' REBELLION

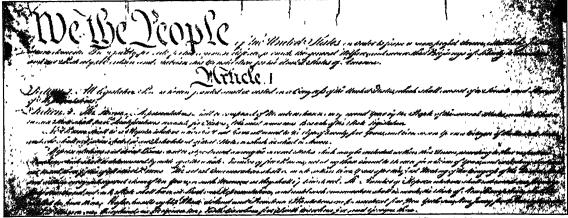
"THE conservative elements in Massachusetts, and conservative commentators from other states described the rebellion as an attack upon property and government by reckless radicals, whose aim was to establish mob rule. But Shays and his band were not trying to overthrow government, as such, although they did want changes. ... The movement was a protest against hard times, and it drifted into violence perhaps because of the survival of the state of mind of the Revolution. The common farmers had been taught that the proper way to end a grievance was to attack the government. Samuel Adams, the old specialist in revolutionary methods, denounced the 'Shaysites' with considerable more show of horror than had been used when British authorities had denounced him in earlier years. . . . Clearly then, in view of the obvious weakness of the Confederation and this threatened overthrow of state government, along with the hopeless failures to solve the problems of commerce and the frontier, something would have to be done to save the United States from chaos. So it happened that those who were most seriously affected by the dangers of the critical period the merchants and the larger property owners, men with money to lose - began seriously to contemplate the re-

September 14th 1786



THE CONVENTION DRAWS MEN OF PRESTIGE

To the gathering at Philadelphia came many able men. Most of them had had long and varied experience in public and private affairs. Robert and Gouverneur Morris — the latter the stylist of the Constitution — represented the financial interests; George Clymer and Roger Sherman the hard-headed business man; James Wilson, Luther Martin and Charles Pinckney were eminent lawyers; Hamilton and Madison were earnest students of politics and government. Revolutionary leaders such as Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams were conspicuous by their absence. In brief, the members came from the prosperous classes, from the groups wishing a stable central government sufficiently strong to protect property rights. There was thus general agreement on one important point: The central government must be strengthened, particularly in its fiscal and commercial controls. Differences arose chiefly with regard to the structure of the government that was to exercise this enhanced power. The delegates had come with a variety of instructions as to the character and extent of the change to be worked in the Articles of Confederation; but it was soon apparent that a new government and a new constitution would be necessary. The debates were carried on behind closed doors; the greatest strain came over the question of representation in the new national Congress.



Preamble of the Constitution of the United States, from the original in the Department of State, Washington

A NEW NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IS FOUNDED

The delegates went far beyond their instructions to patch up the Confederation. In its place they created the structure of a truly national government, resting upon the people of America, and not solely upon the states. Even among the delegates, there had been dissension as to this point; and with the plan perfected, many felt dubious over the outcome. In November Washington wrote: "The warmest friends and the best supporters the Constitution has, do not contend that it is free from imperfections, but they found them unavoidable, and are sensible, if evil is likely to arise therefrom, the remedy must come hereafter; for in the present moment it is not to be obtained; and, as there is a constitutional door open for it, the people (for it is with them to judge), can, as they will have the advantage of experience on their side, decide with as much propriety on the alterations and amendments which are necessary as ourselves. I do not think we are more inspired, have more wisdom, or possess more virtue, than those who will come after us."



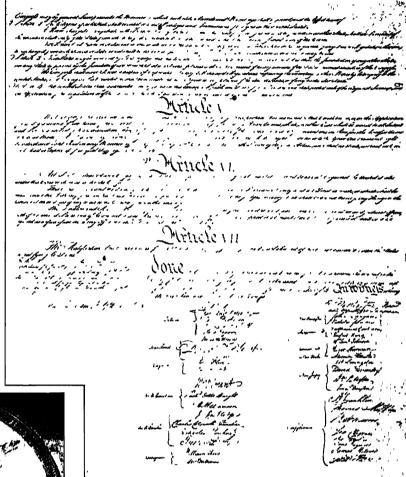
From the mural painting by Albert Herter (1871-) in the Supreme Court, Wisconsin State Capitol, Madison, Wis.

THE SIGNING OF THE CONSTITUTION

On September 8, a committee of five, dominated by men who in the preceding weeks of discussion had been pronouncedly nationalistic, was appointed "to revise the style of and arrange the articles agreed to by the House." On the 12th they reported. Three days of revision followed, and on the 15th the Constitution was accepted by delegates of all the states represented. Two days later the engrossed copy was signed. Thirteen members were absent, and three present refused to sign.

THE CONVENTION RECOMMENDS RATIFICATION

FURTHER to insure its adoption the convention, in submitting the document to the Congress, made two important recommendations. First, the Constitution was to be presented for ratification in each state to conventions specially chosen therefor by the people. Thus its acceptance would rest upon a broad and en-Secondly, it during basis. was to be put into operation when as many as nine states had ratified. Thus the impasse of unanimous consent, which the Confederation had found insuperable, was to be avoided. These recommendations the Congress readily adopted; and on September 28 the Constitution was sent to the states for action.



351 Last page of the Constitution with signatures of the signers, from the original in the Department of State, Washington

352 From the mural painting Washington before the Constitutional Convention by Violet Oakley (1874-) in the Pennsylvania State Capitol, Harrisburg. ② Curtis & Cameron

DISSENTING VIEWS SHAKE THE CONVENTION

Over the proceedings of the convention, a convention at times (wrote Luther Martin) "scarce held together by the strength of a hair," Washington had presided. Direct participation by him in its work had been slight; but his opinions on the matters discussed were well known. Nor had he refrained from expressing them to members. On the 10th of July he had written to Hamilton, then absent from Philadelphia: "I almost despair of seeing a favorable issue to the proceedings of our convention, and do therefore repent having had any agency in the business. The men, who oppose a strong and energetic government, are in my opinion narrowminded politicians, or are under the influence of local views. The apprehension expressed by them, that the people will not accede to the form proposed, is the ostensible not the real cause of opposition. But, admitting that the present sentiment is as they prognosticate, the proper question ought nevertheless to be, Is it, or is it not, the best form that such a country as this can adopt? If it be the best, recommend it, and it will assuredly obtain, maugre opposition."

An address of the subscribers, members of the late bouse of representatives of the communication of Pennsylvania, to their consistants.

Gentlemen,

HEN, is confequence of
your feffrages, at the last
election, we were chosen to

for the fame." You will therefore perceive, that they had no authority whatever from the legislature, to annihilate the prefent confederation, and form a confiretion entirely new, and in doing which they have afted as more indi-lusts, not as the official deputies of this commonwealth If, however, after mature deliberation, you are of opinion, that the plan of ternment, which they have offered for your confideration, is best calculated to promote your political hap-pinels, and prefer those invaluable privileges you at prefentenjoy, you will, no doubt, chook men to reprefint you in convention who will adopt it, if you think otherwise, you will, with your ulust firmness, deterinine accordingly.

You have a right, and we have no doubt you will confider whether or

not you are in a lituation to support, the expense of fuch a government as is no coffered to you, as well as the expense of your frite government? or whisher a legal trure, confifting of three branches, neither of them cholen annually, and that the fenate, the most powerful, the members of which are for fix years, are likely to leffen voir burdens, or increase your taxes? or whether, in cafe your flate government should be annihilated, which will probably be the cafe, or dwindle into a mire corporation, the continental go erament vill be com-petent to attend to vour local concerns? You can also bed determine whether the power of levying and imposing internal taxes, at pleasure, will be of real use to you or not? or whether a continental collector, assisted by a few faithful foldiers, will be more eligible than your present collectors of taxes? You will also, in your deliberations on this important business, judge, whether the liberty of the preis may be confidered as a bleffing or a curle, in a free government, and whether a declaration for the pre-fervation of it is necessary? dr whether, in a plan of government, any declaration of rights should be prefix dor inferted. You will be

able, likewile, to determine, whether, in a free government, there ought or ought not to be any provifion against a standing army in time of peace? or whether the trial by jury, in civil causes, is become dan gerous, and ought to be abolifhed? united ftates is not fo conftructed as to ablorb and defroy the judiciaries of the feveral hates? you will also be able to judge whether such inconventencies have been experienced by the prefent mode of trial between citizen.and citizen, of different itates, as to render a continental court neceffary for that purpole? or whether there can be any real ufe in the appellate jurisdiction with respect to fact as well as law? We shall not dwell longer on this subject, one thing, however, it is proper you should be informed-of, the convention were not ununimous with respect to men, though they were as itates; feveral of those who have signed, did not fully appro cof the plan of gowinne t and ir re of the membeis, Tiz governor Randolph, and colonel Geo Mason, of Virginia, and Floridge Gerry, e.q. of Masachufens, whole charitues are very r ipecis 1 It harring chier on

to refule figning. The confederation, no doubt, is defective, and requires amendment and revision; and had the convention extended their plan to the enabling the united flates to regulate commerce—equalize the impolt—collect it throughout the united flates—and have the entire jurification over maritime affairs leaving the exercise of internal taylor to the flates, we apprehend there would have been no objection to the plan of government. The matter will be before you.

The matter will be before your and you will be able to judge for yourfelves. "Shew that you feek not your country." and may HE, who alone has dominion over the passions and understandings of men, enlighten and direct you aright, that posterity may bless God for the wildom of their arcestors."

James M'Calmont, John Gilchriff,
Robert Clark, Abrabam Smith,
Jacob Miley, Robert Wintehall,
Alexander Wright, Davis Mutchell,
John M Dowell, John Piper,
John Flenniker, Samuel Dule,
James Allyon, William Fridley,
Tleophila Philips, James Barr.
Saiurdig, September 29, 1787.

Report of the Minority Dissenters in the Pennsylvania Convention, from The Independent Gazetteer, or, The Chronicle of Freedom, Philadelphia, Oct 3, 1787, in the New York Public Library

PENNSYLVANIA OPPOSES RATIFICATION

On its first publication, the document seemed to meet with general favor. The desire for a stronger government was widespread; the proposal was the work of the leading men in the country. These men, moreover, had gone back to their communities ready to battle for the Constitution. They had heard the vigorous debates in the convention and therefore knew what issues were likely to be raised. Thus equipped, the Federalists for a time carried the day. Within four months the new Constitution was ratified by five states. In Delaware, New Jersey and Georgia, the action was unanimous; the vote in Connecticut was three to one. Opposition first raised its head in Pennsylvania. The farmers of the back-country had long opposed the "moneyed interests" of Philadelphia; they had carried Pennsylvania for independence in 1776; and now they resisted the effort of the city to foist upon them a government which would lessen their liberties. From Philadelphia, Gouverneur Morris wrote to Washington (October 30): "With respect to this State I am far from being decided in my opinion that they will consent. True it is that the city and its neighborhood



354 Elbridge Gerry 1744-1814, from a crayon drawing, 1798, by John Vanderlyn (1776-1852) in W Bowen, The History of the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washmaon, New York, 1852

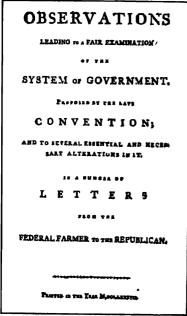
are enthusiastic in the cause; but I dread the cold and sour temper of the back counties" The advantages of the Federalists now appeared. Working with vigor and haste, they pushed through an adjourning legislature a call for the state convention. With scant time for campaigning, the opposition found themselves outmaneuvered. On the 12th of December, by a vote of forty-six to twenty-three, ratification was obtained. Later, the Antis drew up an address to the public embodying their amendments. These amendments, ten, in time, introduced by Madison, became a part of the Constitution.

MASSACHUSETTS IS NOW FOR THE CONSTITUTION

The sharp tactics in Pennsylvania served to rouse the anti-Federalists. In the press began to appear the views of men eminent for patriotism and ability, denouncing the Constitution. In Massachusetts came the next great struggle. For a time the cause of the Federalists seemed desperate. Elbridge Gerry had come back from Philadelphia without signing the Constitution; Samuel Adams and John Hancock hesitated; the farmers who had followed Shays were still opinionated and powerful. But shrewd political tactics won; and on February 6, by a close vote, Massachusetts took her place under the "New Roof," as the Constitution was popularly labeled.

NEW HAMPSHIRE IS THE NINTH PILLAR

In the spring of 1788 two more states, Maryland and South Carolina, joined; and on June 21 New Hampshire gained the honor of being the ninth state to ratify. The quota had been reached. But of the large states only two - Pennsylvania and Massachusetts - had come under the New Without Virginia and New York, the structure would indeed be weak.



356 Title-page of Richard Henry Lee's Ob-screations, from the original issue, 1787, in the New York Public Library

The Ninth PILLAR creffed ! "The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, thall be fufficient for the efficient ment of this Confliction, between the States in ratifying the fame." Act vis INCIPIENT MAGNI PROCEDERE MENSES.



The arrival of Mr. Read, on Sunday IaB, from Concord. New Hampfhire, with the NEWS of the adoption of the New Federal System by the Convention of that State, at two or lock, P. Mr. on Saturday IaB, difficult and the state of the State in the metropolis,—as by the great event, the Federal Edificulty exacted, and the future good government of the State in general fetured to the people. On the question for adoption, the devision appeared as follows:
For the Conditionion, 57
Against 12,

CONCORD, June 21, 1788,

CONCORD, June 21, 1788.

SIR,
I HAVE the honor to inform your Extellency by favour of Mr. Read, who is obligated for the contention of this state have the throught to forward the Letter, that the Convention of this State have this Mount and the Contention of this State have this Mount and the Contention of this State have the Contention of this State have the Contention of the Contention

The bells in the teveral churches, on Mon-day morning, teffified to the pleasure which filled the breast of every citizen, on this pleas

the unit of Robbery also tellified the cattering event.

The inhabitants of Robbery also tellified their exterine pleasure put the animal of this important intelligence, by the some demonstrations of joy

Eneral of a little from a gentleman of the field information duted Peterburgh, June 9, 1788, received per a reffel in 3 days from Norfold 11 have been attending the debates of

The Attraction must be arrelable.

McB're. Adams is Noures,

THE nasid day of our furrecignty and independence appreaches might in-d. ddy, which will over be hald in gratful remembrance by every true born Amperican. A day, in which our illuftrous herees and parrose solby floots of the golling fluckles of veifsings, and fettered lyramy as the firmes of ideary. To the knoury of Bofton, he is specified to the state of the s

From The Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser, June 26, 1778

VIRGINIA AFTER A STRUGGLE FALLS INTO LINE

In Virginia the struggle was spectacular. On either side were ranged men of national fame. Opposing the Consti-

tution were Patrick Henry, the orator of the Revolution, George Mason, author of the Virginia Declaration of Rights, Richard Henry Lee, sponsor of the independence resolution of 1776, now author of one of the most popular pamphlets against ratification, and Edmund Randolph, popular Governor. Both Mason and Randolph had been members of the Philadelphia Convention; and both had refused to sign the Con-



357 John Marshall, 1755-1835 from the portrait by St Memin, about 1800, in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington

stitution. Jefferson, moreover, absent in France, at first urged rejection. Against this powerful group, supported by the people of the Piedmont region, were brought the influence of Washington and the skill of Madison. In the brilliant young lawyer, John Marshall, they found an invaluable ally. Randolph was won by Madison's tact; Jefferson wrote that, amended, the Constitution would suit him well enough. Mason had opposed it because it lacked a bill of rights. Virginia's ratification on June 25 was accompanied by a demand that this deficiency be rectified.



358 Richard Henry Lee, 1732-94, from the portrait by C W Peale in Independence portrait by C W

DDRESS STATE OF NEW-YORK. On the Sunner of the CONSTITUTION. Agreed upon at PHILADELPHIA. The 17th of September, 1787.

PROFESS BY SAMUEL AND JOHN LOUDON. PRINTERS TO THE STATE

r 0 & £

Title-page of the copy in the New York Public Library

NEW

JOHN JAY'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW-YORK, 1787

NEW YORK remained outside. The fifth in population, from commercial and military standpoints she was a state vital to the

success of the new Union. Nor was it a certainty that she would enter. Her critical position had early been recognized. John Jay, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, took a hand in the process of conversion by publishing an influential pamphlet in favor of the Constitution.



George Clinton, 1739–1812, from the portrait, 1812, by Ezra Ames in the New York Historical Society

To the Inhabitants of KING'S COUNTY.

Friends m.d Fellow-Citizens I

I Must beg leave to treipas once more on your patience, by a float reply to the \$\lambda{m}_{2}^{(r)} County Farmer's Address of the 26th mstamt. He has trod equa in the iame durty path in which he first fit out, as if he expected to starty his point by mere abit. I well know your intiminents and feelings, with respect to a language of that kind, and I am convinced you will undertailly condemn the mean fubterfoge of this man.—It matters not whether I am a madman or fool, whether I am in office, or up purfult of an office the point is, whether or not no arguments in favour of the New Constitution are founded on truth.—If they are not, this king's County Farmer ought to have endeavoured, by reasoning, to convince you of it, Has he attempted this? Or has he not comented thindfil with dealing out low, mean in active, against my character. He may reft affured, that fuch kind of attarks are, and o'ur fault be, treated with due contempt by me—a mod confrions of its own restitude, defined severy actualer. What I have afferred, and reasoned on, in favor of the New Constitution, he cannot confirm. He is the mere tool of a party; and is determined, not-withstanding he knows he is wrong, shill to perfift in the error. That it is your merec's to adopt it most regimeently between. He tell you that I have intulted you; if I have, it has been done without an intention, or with for too. Had I, in any of up and deffets to you, have made use of the same low mean declamation that he has done, I should them shand convaked of having gradity msulted you.—You will find him his best address he has not even attempted to oppose the Constitution, and wishes you to oppose the adoption of it, because men in assice have directed him to do so, I am sire has objections to the Constitution will have no weight with you, for they ment more. The tells his tanks put to propose the adoption of its, because men in assice have directed him to be 5 the Treasory, bey until you for these and one will be made? I matters not, whether you pay your taces imm

Hatel, 2011 April, 1788.

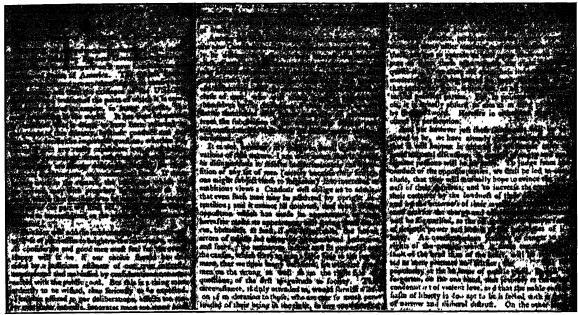
NEW-YORK : MAINTED AT FRANCIS CHILD'S.

THE CONSTITUTION MEETS FOES

THE opposition was led by George Clinton, Governor of New York since 1777. Popular because of his successful war administration, he had not neglected to build up a powerful political machine. Gouverneur Morris in 1787 predicted that should the question of ratification be left to the "government" of New York, the vote would be decidedly in the negative. For Clinton was bitter in his attacks on a government that would lessen the importance of his state. With him sided the debtors, the politicians, and the landowners of up-state New York, traditionally at outs with the city, now the stronghold of the Federalists.

A BATTLE OF BROADSIDES IN NEW YORK

LATE in 1787 the campaign against the Constitution had begun. Pamphlets and broadsides pro and con were rushed from the presses. Verse, oratory, personal backbiting and abuse, all the arts of the demagogue, were employed, with much skill and an equal bitterness of feeling, on both sides.



From the first number of *The Federalist*. Oct 27, 1787, from the copy in the New York Historical Societ

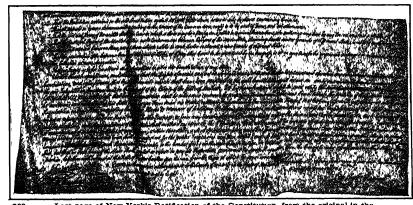
THE FEDERALIST

Our of all this but one piece of writing of permanent value has survived. The strength and number of the opposition had convinced Alexander Hamilton that what was needed was a thorough explanation of the new form of Government in a fashion to reach the general mass of the people. So began that famous series of incisive essays, the work of Hamilton, Madison and Jay, now called *The Federalist*. Appearing at frequent intervals through the winter of 1787–88, these articles must have done much to win over the uncertain. To-day they stand as the best contemporaneous analysis of the new Constitution and one of the most striking contributions to the history of political literature.

NEW YORK RATIFIES AMID REJOICING

NEVERTHELESS, when the state convention met at Poughkeepsie in June, four fifths of the delegates were anti-Federalist. For five weeks Hamilton hammered at them. Skillful management, brilliant debating power and a growing fear of isolation from the states that were already members of the Union had their effect. Melancthon Smith, Clinton's right-hand supporter, deserted to Hamilton, and on July 26, 1788, by a vote of thirty to twenty-seven, New York ratified. Everywhere there was great rejoicing. Through the streets of the coming metropolis moved a huge parade, with the ship of state, "Hamilton," occupying the place of honor. The Union was assured. Though New York had voted for the Constitution, she accompanied her ratification

with a proposal that a new constitutional convention should be called, to consider amendments to the document of 1787. In this move she received some support; but Massachusetts and Virginia, though they had asked for amendments to the Constitution, objected that this method of obtaining them would reopen the whole question and imperil all the good in the New Roof.



Last page of New York's Ratification of the Constitution, from the original in the State Education Department, Albany

Ratification of the Confluction of the United States by the Convention of the State of . Rhous-Itland and Providence-the nation. WIT the DILLGATES of the HICOMETAL AND PROVIDENCE PLANTARHODE-ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATAINS, day effected and material CONVENTION along metals AMERICA, speed to on the 'vocate' in Direct Steps' day, by Taylo, by the Convent and the chartest of Planta in the Convention of the Steps' day, by Taylo, by the Convention of the Conve BY UNULA, LIANILL UWEN, PRICIDENT DANII L UPDIKE, SICRETARE That a government may be at a read them the proper whethere we are the proper measurement of the proper measurement may be at the proper whethere we are the proper measurement may be at the proper whethere we are the proper measurement may be at the proper whethere we are the proper measurement may be at the proper whethere we are the proper measurement and the proper whethere we are the proper measurement whether the proper measurement proper and proper measurement proper and proper measurement proper and proper measurement proper and proper measurement mea AND the CONVENTION, (J) In the Name, and the Pf. Fire PLOP to a STALE OF AND PLAND P selection of the Police of the Selection of Selection of Selection of Selection of the Selection of Selection DANIEL UPDIKE, Securtase,

Rhode Island's Ratification of the Constitution, from a printed copy, dated May 29, 1790, in the Rhode Island Historical Society

RHODE ISLAND ADDS THE LAST RATIFICATION

In several of the states acquiescence in the proposed Constitution had been secured only by a promise that certain changes would be made at once. This promise played its part in drawing into the Union the laggards, North Carolina and Rhode Island. In both the paper-money party was dominant. North Carolina had called a convention in July which soon adjourned without action. Rhode Island disdained even to call a convention. But after the new Government had got under way, after a Bill of Rights seemed assured, and when the revenue laws of the United States were about to be applied against them, the reluctant states changed their attitude. North Carolina came in late in 1789 and Rhode Island in the following May.

CHAPTER VI

GEORGE WASHINGTON

HE success of the new venture in government, hailed with such delight by its advocates, depended in large degree upon the men who were first to hold the reins of power. Those who had brought about the change from the Confederacy firmly believed the new union a vast improvement upon the weak and vacillating machinery it succeeded; and, fortunately, they differed little in the selection of a man to head the new government. On all hands Washington was proposed for the presidency; indeed, in many parts of the country the assumption that he would so serve had been a compelling argument in favor of ratifying the Constitution. Washington himself was loath to accept the post. Having given much to the country, he was desirous of seeking the pleasant quiet of his estate at Mt. Vernon. Once he acceded to the popular demand, however, the qualities which had made him a successful general were at the country's service. He was of the governing class, and accustomed to govern. It is true that he was inexperienced in civil administration; and of this no one was more conscious than himself. He was, however, an executive, and a good judge of men; he surrounded himself with advisers remarkable not only for their ability, but for their differences in point of view. Washington selected men who were supporters of the "new model" government. Moreover, they were men of experience in public affairs, men of integrity, who commanded the respect and loyalty of influential sections of the country. Upon them Washington was wise enough to rely for advice and for the immediate execution of national business. This had an important effect upon subsequent procedure. Instead of centering in the President the direct administration of government, Washington made his office that of an executive whose function it was to direct the administering of others. Thus he was free from the duties of routine, free to view the activities of the government as a whole, and was consequently able to correlate the work of each part with that of other parts. In his habit of consulting Hamilton and Jefferson, Washington established the basis for the American cabinet system as we know it to-day. So removing himself from concern with petty details, Washington drew about his office an independence and a dignity that have rarely been absent from it. In accord with the political philosophy of the day, he regarded the function of the executive and the legislature as distinct. He was willing to receive the advice of the Congress, but not to submit to its dictation. So he established firmly another convention of our Constitution, a precedent that has, in recent years, aided the growth of the presidency to its present exalted position.

Keenly aware of his responsibilities as the first president, Washington devoted much thought to matters that many considered trivial. To his contemporaries, however, this caution for the future meant less than his actions for the immediate day. Throughout the country he was respected by all sorts and conditions of people. Only two cartoons of him are known. This widespread reverence for the man enhanced allegiance to the government of which he was the head; abroad, sympathy for the new nation was the more fully forthcoming because of the character of its chief executive. His efforts to conciliate those who in ignorance were disaffected, combined with his firmness when he thought disaffection became treasonable, are well known. In like fashion, his efforts to

give moral and political guidance to his fellow-citizens need no emphasis.



365 George Washington, 1731–1799, from an unfinished portrait, 1796, by Gilbert Stuart, known as the Athenæum portrait, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



365 Mary Ball Washington, dled 1788 mother of the General, from a portrait attributed to Robert Edge Pine, owned by W. Lanier Washington, New York

WASHINGTON'S PLANTER FORBEARS

THE man who is known as "The Father of His Country" was the son of Augustine Washington, a Virginia gentleman in no way distinguished from the class of substantial planters to which he belonged. In 1658 there had appeared in Virginia two brothers, John and Lawrence Washington, who purchased land in Westmoreland County. The former soon became a landed proprietor and prominent in local politics. His grandson was Augustine Washington, who thus inherited, and passed on to his sons, a considerable estate.



367 Martha Custis Washington, 1732– 1802, from the portrait by Gilbert Stuart in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

THE MOUNT VERNON FARMER IS A LEADING CITIZEN

Washington first became known outside of Virginia as a result of his participation as a Colonel of militia in the French and Indian Wars. (See Vol VI.) When he resigned his commission in December, 1758, he had already learned the arts of war and of command. Now for some years he withdrew to more peaceful pursuits. In 1759, he was happily married to Martha, widow of Daniel Custis, a charming and capable woman. He soon became a diligent and successful farmer of wide lands, and one of the wealthiest men in the country. His preoccupation with the pleasures of his estates did not, however, prevent him from participating in the affairs of the community. Early elected to the House of Burgesses, he soon became, by force of character and prestige, a leading figure in Virginia politics. As trouble with the home country loomed large, Washington took counsel with his friends. In April, 1769, he wrote to his neighbor, George Mason, that "at a time when our lordly masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom, something should be done to avert the stroke and maintain the liberty which we have derived from our ancestors. But the manner of doing it, to answer the purpose effectually, is the point in question." Regarding force as "the last resource," he then urged the policy of non-importation as a possible solution. The



368 From the painting Departure of Washington, Henry and Pendicton for the First Congress by Howard Pyle for Woodrow Wilson, History of the American People, 1901.

Harper & Bros

following month he presented to his colleagues at the Raleigh Tavern a set of resolutions to effectuate this policy. Thus, when more drastic measures seemed necessary, it was but natural that he should be chosen, with Patrick Henry and Edmund Pendleton, to represent Virginia at the first Continental Congress.

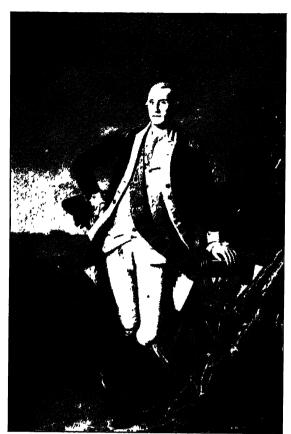


369 From a portrait by U. W. Peale painted at Valley Forge on a piece of bedticking, in the State Normal School, West Chester, Pa. @ C. S. Bradford

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

In this first Congress Washington took no conspicuous part. His time was spent in discovering from the delegates the sentiments of the other colonies. His own position at this time was forcibly stated in a letter to a British officer stationed in Boston. "Permit me, with the freedom of a friend, to express my sorrow that fortune should place you in a service that must fix curses to the latest posterity upon the contrivers, and, if success (which, by the by, is impossible) accompanies it, execrations upon all those who have been instrumental in the execution. Give me leave to add, . . . that it is not the wish or intent of that government (Massachusetts), or any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence; but this you may at the same time rely on, that none of them will ever submit to the loss of those valuable rights and privileges which are essential to the happiness of every free state, and without which life, liberty, and property are rendered totally insecure." By the time of the assembling of the second Congress, matters were coming to a head, and Washington appeared at that meeting in the uniform of a Virginia colonel. He was thus ready when

Congress gave him his general's commission and placed him at the head of the continental army.



370 From the portrait painted at Valley Forge by C W Peale, in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia



372 From the copyright painting Washington and Members of Congrestleaving Christ Church, Philadelphia, 1781, by John Ward Dunsmor (1856-), in his possession

HOLDING ON AT VALLEY FORGE

PERHAPS it is not too much to say that Washington became, after the cause of the colonies had been put to the hazard of war, the focal point of the rebellion. With liberty to be won by force of arms, the former Virginia colonel not only led his own independent command in the field but, as commander-in-chief of the American forces, supervised campaigns against Boston, Montreal and Quebec, around New York and New Jersey, against the Six Nations in the interior of New York, around Philadelphia, and against the invading British armies in Georgia and the Carolinas. And, when the cause of the Americans more than once seemed desperate almost beyond hope, he remained steadfast, holding about him a group of patriotic men. willing, like himself, to see the fight through to the bitter end. Had Washington been lost in battle. there was no one who could have taken his place.



371 From a mezzotint in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library, after an original "Drawn from the Life by Alexander Campbell of Williamsburgh in Virginia," published in London in 1775, one of many spurious portraits

AFTER THE YORKTOWN VICTORY

Ar last more promising days came. Yorktown he rightly thought decisive of the issue. Heartily he participated with the members of Congress in the memorial service, on December 13, 1781, of "thanksgiving and prayer," decreed by Congress in memory of the victory.



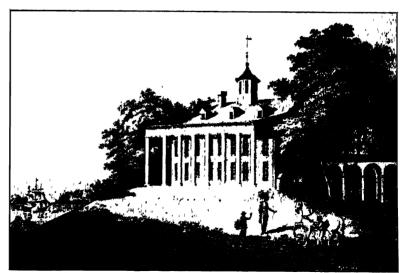
From the painting Washington Resigning His Commission by Edwin White (1817-77) in the State House, Annapolis, Md.

WASHINGTON RESIGNS HIS COMMISSION

HE, however, realized that much was yet to be done. "For my own part," he wrote, "I view our situation as such that, instead of relaxing, we ought to improve the present moment as the most favorable to our wishes. The British nation appears to me to be staggered, and almost ready to sink beneath the accumulating weight of debt and misfortune. If we follow the blow with vigor and energy, I think the game is our own." He therefore redoubled his efforts to increase the effectiveness of his army. While peace negotiations were in progress in Paris, he wrote: "There is nothing which will so soon produce a speedy and honorable peace as a state of preparation for war; and we must either do this, or lay our account to patch up an inglorious peace, after all the toil, blood and treasure we have spent." But, as he wrote in October, 1782: "It was high time for a peace"; and on December 23 he felt able to resign his commission and to beg to be allowed to retire from public life.

THE GENERAL BECOMES A FARMER AGAIN

With the war over, Washington returned to Mt. Vernon. Governor Clinton he wrote: "The scene is at last closed. I feel myself eased of a load of public care. I hope to spend the remainder of my days in cultivating the affections of good men and in the practice of the domestic virtues." Into the old life of the proprietor of a large estate he threw himself with zest and thankfulness, more than happy to be free at last from all public cares.



374 Mount Vernon, from Charles William Janson, The Stranger in America, London, 1807 after an engraving by M. Marigot from a sketch made under the direction of the author



Statue of Washington, 1788, by Jean Antoine Houdon in the state capitol. Richmond. Va.

WASHINGTON IS BESIEGED BY ARTISTS AND FRIENDS

But a man of Washington's fame could not thus withdraw from an admiring public. He was besieged by

visitors and correspondents, with calls upon his time and energy. One of the more exacting duties he was called upon to perform was that of sitting for his portrait. In 1785 he wrote. "I am so hackneyed to the touches of painters' pencils that I am now altogether at their beck, and sit 'like patience on a monument,' whilst they are delineating the lines of my face." Jean Antoine Houdon, the recognized master portrait-



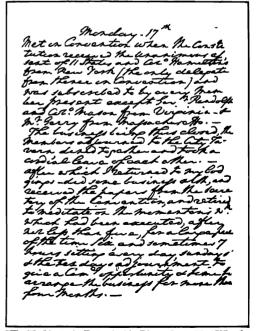
376 Bust of Washington from the Houdon statue

sculptor of the time, came from France expressly to model Washington, arriving, as the latter notes in his diary,

"after we were in bed, at eleven o'clock in the evening." The resulting statue was pronounced by Lafayette to be "a facsimile of Washington's person."

WASHINGTON ADVOCATES A CONSTITUTION

As commander-in-chief Washington had become familiar with the many deficiencies of the Confederation as a form of union government. In his circular letter to the Governors of the states, issued at the close of the war, and again in his farewell address to the army, he had stressed the need for a stronger central government. He was now free to continue his campaign. To Hamilton, a strong sympathizer, he wrote, in 1783: "My wish to see the union of these states established upon liberal and permanent principles, and inclination to contribute my mite in pointing out the defects of the present constitution, are equally great. All my private letters have teemed with these sentiments, and whenever this topic has been the subject of conversation, I have endeavored to diffuse and enforce them." And again he wrote: "It is clearly my opinion, unless Congress have powers competent to all general purposes, that the distresses we have encountered, the expense we have incurred, and the blood we have spilt, will avail us nothing." Thus he was drawn back into the current of public affairs to preside over the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, whose work produced a frame of government more satisfying to him than was the Confederation.



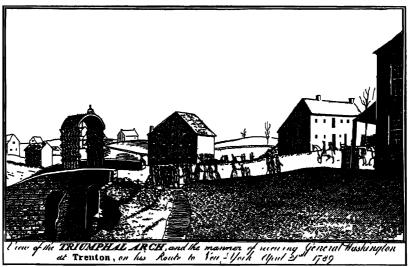
7 Washington's Entry in his Diary, Sept 17, 1787, day the Constitutional Convention adjourned, from Washington Papers in the Library of Congress



378 From the copyright painting Washington Receiving Notice of his Election as President by John Ward Dunsmore, courtesy of the artist

WASHINGTON BECOMES PRESIDENT

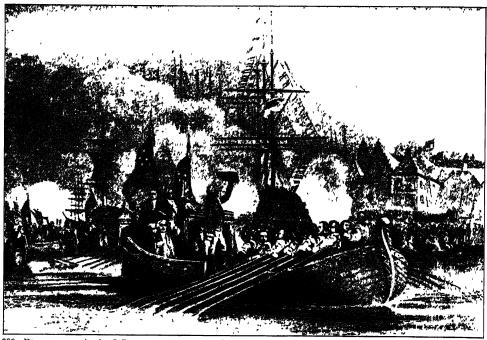
WITH the adoption of the new Constitution, Washington's interest did not cease. He strove to secure as members of the new government those who were friendly to it, that it might get under way with a favorable breeze. Yet it was with diffidence that he accepted the presidency offered him by the unanimous vote of the Electoral College.



379 Washington's Welcome at Trenton, from the Columbian Magazine, Philadelphia, May, 1789

THE PRESIDENT-ELECT HAS A TRIUMPHAL JOURNEY

LEAVING Mount Vernon on the sixteenth of April, 1789, Washington began his journey to New York, the seat of Congress. All along his route people turned out to do him honor. Troops of cavalry and citizens' committees everywhere met him; towns were decorated in his honor, and young girls strewed flowers in the road over which he passed.



380 From an engraving by J Rogers after a painting, 1857, Reception of President Washington at New York, by J McNevin



From Harper's Bazadr, May 11, 1889, after the drawing by Harry A Ogden

NEW YORK HONORS THE FIRST CHIEF MAGISTRATE

AT Elizabethtown Point, Washington embarked on a special barge, manned by thirteen masters of vessels, which took him to New York. Other barges, crowded with public officials and distinguished citizens, followed. Ringing bells, waving flags, and roaring cannon greeted him on all sides. At Murray's Wharf a throng awaited him. Here he was welcomed by Governor Clinton, who accompanied him to his house on Cherry Street.

WASHINGTON TAKES THE OATH OF OFFICE

On the thirtieth of April, 1789, the inauguration took place. After being received in the Senate Chamber, Washington was escorted to the balcony, where the oath of office was administered by the Chancellor of the State, Robert Livingston, in full view of thousands of eager spectators. Grouped around Washington were the Vice-President and many of the Revolutionary generals. At the conclusion of the ceremony, Livingston stepped forward and cried: "Long live George Washington, President of the United States." The crowd broke into cheers as the Stars and Stripes were raised on the staff above the balcony. From the harbor the cannon announced the new republic.

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

WASHINGTON then withdrew to the Senate Chamber where he delivered his inaugural address. Senator Maclay, who was present, has written. "This great man was agitated and embarrassed more than ever he was by the leveled cannon or pointed musket. He trembled, and several times could scarce make out to read, though it must be supposed he had often read it before." He made no legislative recommendations to the Congress (though he reminded them that consti-



From the engraving by H S Sadd after the painting by Tompkins H. Matteson (1813-84)

tutional amendments were to be proposed to the states), for as yet he had formed no detailed policy. He also recognized the delicacy of his position. As he wrote some months later: "Few who are not philosophical spectators can realize the difficult and delicate part which a man in my situation had to act. . . . In our progress toward political happiness my station is new, and, if I may use the expression, I walk on untrodden ground. There is scarcely an action the motive of which may not be subject to a double interpretation. There is scarcely any part of my conduct which may not hereafter be drawn into precedent."

PRECEDENTS OF OFFICIAL DIGNITY

To this last matter Washington gave great importance. A new government had come into being, for which forms of procedure had to be established. What should be the method of intercourse between the President and the Senate, between the President and the representatives of foreign countries, between the President and the people? Such questions were handled by him with customary deliberateness. To Madison, Hamilton, Adams and Jay he set forth his views: "The true medium, I conceive, must lie in pursuing such a course as will allow him the President time for all the official duties of his station. This should be the primary object. The next, to avoid as much as may be the charge of superciliousness, and seclusion from information, by too much reserve and too great a withdrawal of himself from company on the one hand, and the inconveniences, as well as a diminution of respectability, from too free an intercourse and too much familiarity on the other." This policy he adopted. Thus, in keeping with his conception of his station, he ordered from England a



st Presidential Mansion, Pearl and Cherry Streets, New York, from Valenti f the Common Conncil of New York, 1853, in the New York Public Library

coach-of-state. "It was globular, canary-coloured, gay with Cupids and nymphs of the seasons, and emblazoned with the Washington arms." Lest this smack too much of pomp and display, he determined to hold a weekly reception to which any person could come, and at which he invariably appeared clad in black velvet with a dress sword at his side. So he tried to create for the office traditions of dignity which would avoid both the ceremonial of monarchy and the unbridled freedom of republicanism.



From the portrait, 1791, by John Trumbull in the City Hall, New York, courtesy of the Municipal Art Commission

THE PRESIDENT PRESENTS HIS POLICY TO CONGRESS

In the more pressing affairs of the new government Washington felt less at ease. Hitherto he had, by force of position, viewed politics with the eyes of the military statesman. With the administration of an army he was familiar; about that of a government he was necessarily uninformed. But habits long formed came to his aid. He sent for all the papers of the Confederation dealing with public affairs since the treaty of peace. These he studied and annotated with painstaking care until he had at his command a working body of political knowledge. He then proceeded, relying much upon the advice of the men he had appointed to the major offices, to formulate a policy. When the Congress met for the second session, on January 4, 1790, Washington drove down to Federal Hall to "recommend to their consideration such measures" as he judged "necessary and expedient" Characteristically, his first consideration was to provide for the common defense by setting up a sufficient military force. His other suggestions sketched for the Congress "the outline of a vigorous system, which aimed at the establishment of a strong government with enlarged powers." - Lodge, Washington, II, p 81. Upon many of his recommendations the Congress took action, so that the

President was able in 1791 to tell them of "the happy effect of that revival of confidence, public as well as private, to which the constitution and laws of the United States have so eminently contributed."

PHILIP FRENEAU

MONDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1791. Voi

NUMB. 1.

TUESDAY, Other SA.

Mr Clark, Mr Dayton, and Mr Kitchell from New-Jerfey | and Mr. Jacobs from Pennfylvania, took their feats in the Houfe The Rev Mr Blair was appounted chap-

lain.

A meliage was received from the Senate, reforming that they were ready to attend the House in receiving the communication from the President. Wherrupon,
The Spanker with the members of the House, preceded by the ferjeant at arma, proceeded to the fenate-chamber, where the President alrested both House as follows:

Fellow-citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives.

I MEET you, upon the prefent oc-cation, with the feelings, which are na-turally inspired by a firong impression. oblaved, with the feelings, which are nationally infpired by a firong impression of our compactors, and by a persuasion equality, and by a persuasion equality infpired by a firong impression of our compactors, and by a persuasion equality of the specific or and credit of the nation. But on that the labours of the solid or a spirit, no less project of the spirit, and particular of a spirit, no less project of the spirit, and particular of a spirit, is no less project of the spirit, and increase of a spirit, and the spirit of the spirit, and the spirit, and the spirit, and the spirit of the spirit, and of the prosperous fituation of our common country, and by a perfusion equally firong, that the labours of the fedicon, which has just commenced, will, under the guidance of a spirit, no less pru-dent than patriorie, issue in measures conductive to the stability and increase of national prosperity.

important to cleape recollection.

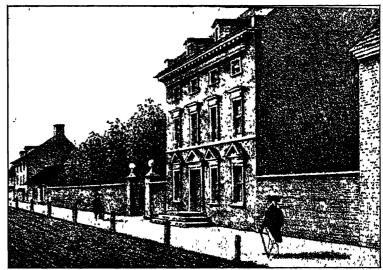
Your nwn observations, in your re
[positive fituations, will have fariafied
you of the prograftive state of agriculation has been paid to the executure, manufactures, commerce and na tion of the different objects which were vigation. In tracing their causes, you specially provided for by the laws and will have remarked, with particular resolutions of the last selling. The last selling is the last selling of that re. Among the most important of these causes are supported to that the last selling of the last s pleasure, the happy effects of that re Among the most important of these vival of considerate, public as well as is the defence and security of the Westprivate to which the conflitution and ern Frontiers. To accomplish it on laws of the United States have so emi-the most humane principles, was a prinently contributed. And you will have many with.
oblaived, with no less interest, new and According

bleffings which demand our grateful the fum allowed to be lubicribed in a acknowledgments; the abundance with fingle day, is among the firiking and which another year has again rewarded the industry of the hubandman, is wo left in the confidence in the confidence

Accordingly at the fame time, that

PHILADELPHIA BECOMES THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT

In July, 1790, the Congress decided that for the next ten years the seat of Government should be located at Philadelphia. The executive officers moved to that city, and by December they were established in residence. President Washington lived at No. 190 High Street, near the southeast corner of Sixth Street, which house had been built by Richard Penn and had been occupied in turn by General Howe, Benedict Arnold and Robert Morris. Jefferson lived on the same street.



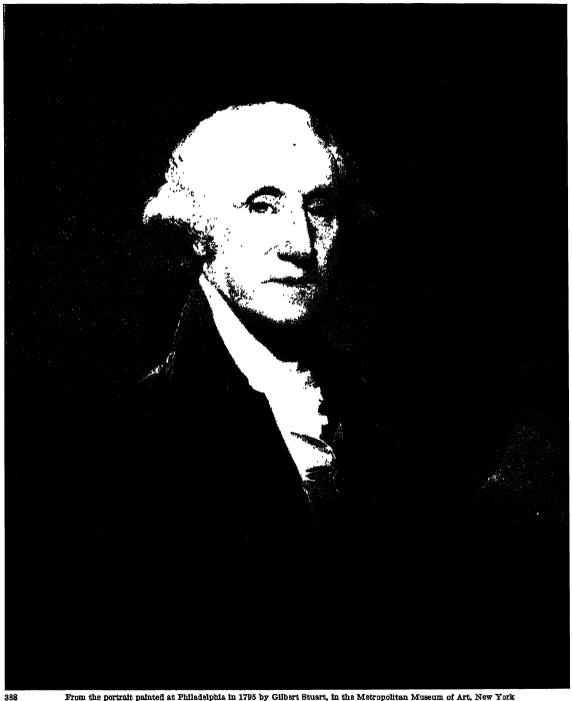
386 Residence of Washington in Philadelphia, from J. F. Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, 1830

WASHINGTON WORKS WITH OPPOSING FACTIONS

Washington had entered office with gloomy premonitions of stress and strain. He was profoundly aware that his conduct could not meet with unanimous approval. To counter, in some degree, the inevitable criticism, and to sound out the state of public opinion, he spent much of his time, between sittings of the Congress, in travel about the country. He found the people for the most part pleased and prosperous; but he also discovered the beginnings of division of sentiment, which were rapidly hardening into two distinct parties. This development he liked the less when he found the leaders of the opposing groups among his intimate advisers. He did his best to reconcile Hamilton and Jefferson. He appealed for a press less scurrilous than Freneau's Gazette, that the people might be given a fair opportunity to form unprejudiced judgments. As the time for the presidential election of 1792 approached, he yielded to the demand that he stand for reelection. The unanimity of the vote heartened him; though in January, 1793, he wrote, "To say that I feel pleasure from the prospect of commencing another tour of duty would be a departure from the truth."



387 From the painting Washington's Second Inauguration by J. L. G. Ferris in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, VIII—12



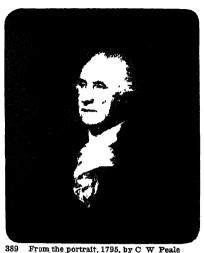
From the portrait painted at Philadelphia in 1795 by Gilbert Stuart, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

THE FEDERALIST ARISTOCRACY IS ASSAILED

WASHINGTON soon learned that his reelection did not mean a cessation of criticism of his administration. The success of Hamilton's measures made it difficult for the opposition to take issue with the Government on broad grounds of policy. Bent upon establishing a party, however, the Anti-Federalists became hypercritical. The dress, the speech, the private conduct of Washington and his advisers were held up to censure and ridicule in the Democratic press, much to the President's indignation and annoyance. He was accused of aping the aristocratic ways of monarchial England.

PARTY GOVERNMENT HAS ITS BEGINNING

"ALL statesmen entrusted in a representative system with the work of government," writes Henry Cabot Lodge, "are naturally prone to think that their opponents are also the enemies of the public welfare, and Washington was no exception to the rule." - Washington, II. p. 234. In this belief he was strengthened when the Jeffersonians seized upon the foreign issue of the French Revolution as the basis of their attacks upon the administration. At the doors of the Jacobin Clubs he too readily placed the blame for the Whisky Rebellion and the discontent of the transmontane settlements. When more virulent opposition rose over the ratification of the Jay treaty, Washington asserted his position even more fully. In September, 1795, he wrote to Pickering, an avowed Federalist and his Secretary of State: "I shall not, whilst I have the honor to administer the government, bring a man into any office of consequence knowingly, whose political tenets are adverse to the measures which the general government are pursuing, for this, in my opinion, would be



a sort of political suicide. That it would embarrass its movements is most certain." Thus Washington was reluctantly and with perturbation forced to recognize the presence of partisan opinion within the country.

WASHINGTON GLAD TO RETIRE FROM PUBLIC OFFICE

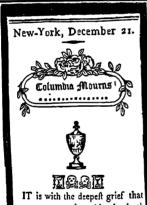
ACTING on this insight, he wrote: "To misrepresent my motives, to reprobate my politics, and to weaken the confidence which has been reposed in my administration, are objects which cannot be relinquished by those who will be satisfied with nothing short of a change in our political system." Feeling thus, Washington regarded his service to the country as complete. When the country had needed firm guidance in the execution of an accepted policy, he had worked with unremitting zeal; with the new government established, he wished to give way to men more fit for the active conduct of the new political fight. He therefore resisted all suggestions for a third term. In September, 1796, he published his Farewell Address, calling upon the people to beware of the dangers in the extremes of factional spirit. Then he thankfully withdrew from public office.



91 The Last Portrait of Washington, 1798, from a mezzotint by Max Rosenthal after the original physionotrace by Charles de St-Memin

POLITICAL AFFAIRS STILL INTEREST WASHINGTON

To Mount Vernon Washington retired to resume the life so pleasant to him, a life so long foregone. "To make and sell a little flour annually," he wrote, "to repair houses going fast to ruin, to build one for the security of my papers of a public nature, will constitute employment for the few years I have to remain on this terrestrial globe." But no more than in the days between 1782 and 1789 could he entirely refrain from participation in the fortunes of his country. As the strife between Federalists and Republicans grew more bitter, he wrote letter after letter in support of the former against the seditious aims he imputed to the latter. When the X Y Z affair made war imminent, Washington offered his services, "in case of actual invasion by a formidable force." Again, when the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions were spread abroad, Washington urged Patrick Henry to join him in resisting the Republicans. At a time "when everything dear and valuable to us is assailed," he said, "when this party hangs upon the wheels of government as a dead weight, opposing every measure that is calculated for defense and self-preservation: . . . when measures are systematically and pertinaciously pursued, which must eventually dissolve the Union or produce coercion; I say, when these things have become so obvious, ought characters who are best able to rescue their country from the pending evil to remain at home?"



ve announce to the public the death of our most distinguished fellow-citizen Lieut. General George Washington. He died at Mount Vernon on Saturday evening, the 13th inft. of an inflammatory affection of the throat, which put a period to his existence in 23 hours.

The grief which we fuffer on this truly mournful occasion, would be in some degree aleviated, if we possessed abilities to do justice to the merits of this *illustrious benefactor of* mankind; but, confeious of our inferiority, we shrink from the sublimity of the subject. To the impar-

ial and eloquent historian, therefore, we confign the high and grate ful office of exhibiting the life of George Washington to the present age, and to generations yet unborn, as a perfect model of all that is virtuous, noble, great, and dignified in man. Our feelings, however, will not permit us to forbear observing, that the very difinterested and important fervices rendered by George Washington to these United States, both in the Field and in the Cabinet, have erected in the hearts of his countrymen, monuments of fincere and unbounded grantude, which the mouldering hand of Time cannot deface; and that in every guarter of the Globe, where a free Government is ranked amongst the choicest blessings of Providence, and virtue, morality, religion, and patriotifm are respected, THE NAME of WASHINGTON WILL BE HELD IN

And as along the Aream of TIME, his name Expanded flies, and gathers all its fame, Oh! may our little bark attendant fail, Purfue the triumph, and partake the gale! While Statefmen, Heroes, Kings, in dust repose, Whole sens thall bluft their fethers were his fees.

CONGRESS, Dec 18
Immediately after reading the journal, General Marshall came into the House of Representatives, apparently much agliated, and ad

drelled the Speaker in the following words
Information, fir, has just been received, that
our illustrious fellow-citizen, the Commander
in Chief of the American army, and the late
Prefident of the United States, is no more!
Though this differling intelligence is not
certain, there is too much reason to believe its
with

After receiving information of a national alamity fo heavy and fo afficting, the Houfe of Representatives can be but ill fitted for jubic but ill fitted for but but not a the fitted for the forest that the fitted for the fitted for the forest that the fitted for the fitted for the forest that the fitted for the fitted f

ve adjourn The Houfe immedialtyy adjourned. The Senate alfo adjourned in confequence of this diffrelling intelligence,

Extract of a letter from a genileman of vers-city, dated Alexandria, Dec 10, 1799 "General Washington died last inghi, under the adjunct attention of Doctors Crock and Dick, of Alexandria, and Doctor Brown, of Port Tobacco, Maryland"

gentleman last evening politely savored us with the following extrast of a letter from Alexandria, dated December 15.

Alexandria, dated December 15.

"I mention to you the truly melancholy event of the death of our much beloved general George Washington—He made his exit last night briween the hours of 11 and 12 after a thort but painful illness of 23 hours. The disorder of which the died is by fome cylied the Crupe, by others an Indiamatory Quinzy, a diforder lately so morsal among children in this place, and I believe not until this year known to attack persons at the age of maturity. My information I have from dedor Dick, who was called in at a late hour. Alexandria is making arrangements to show its high efterm for him. We are all to close our houses, and departed. The bells are to "toll daily until he so bursed, which will not be until Wednesday or Thursday. He died perselly in his sense.

is buried, which will not be until Wedneldays or Thurfday. He died perfectly in his fields, and from doctor Dick's account perfectly refigned. He informed them he had no fear of death, and that his affairs were in good order that he had made his will, and that his public business was but two days behind hand."

See the Refolutions of the Common Co.

From the New York Gazette and General Advertiser, Dec. 21, 1789, in the New York Historical Society

WASHINGTON PASSES AT THE CLOSE OF HIS CENTURY

Washington did not live to see the elevation to power of the faction whose tenets he so disapproved. Early in December, 1799, he contracted a sore throat which brought on fatal complications. So passed on December, ber 14 a man who won the reverence of his contemporaries, and has received that of all succeeding generations.

CHAPTER VII

THE FEDERALIST RÉGIME

College turned naturally to Washington. The name of no other American carried so much prestige. Without his active participation the Constitutional Convention might well have ended in failure. The success of the campaign for ratification of the Constitution had added to his reputation and to his importance. He seemed the proper man to give dignity to the new office of President and to increase the confidence of the people in the new central government. The success of this Virginia planter in measuring up to the wide variety of responsibilities that his fellow countrymen placed upon him has been a source of unending wonder to succeeding generations. It was with real reluctance that Washington gave up the life of a private citizen to assume the cares of office. His achievements have sometimes blinded men of later days to the difficulties of the problems then confronting him.

When distances are considered, the United States even then was a country of truly vast size. The normal time spent in traveling from New York to Philadelphia was not much different from that which the twentieth-century traveler gives to crossing the continent. Measured in time, Boston was farther from Charleston than is San Francisco from Shanghai. Along the Atlantic seaboard were communities with interests as diverse as those of the small farmers of Massachusetts, the merchants of Philadelphia, and the rice planters of South Carolina. Across the mountains in then distant Kentucky and Tennessee lived frontiersmen who presented recurring problems both for domestic and foreign politics. In all these various sections local loyalties were strong and the sense of national unity largely absent. With the passing of the common danger which had been present during the Revolution, the particularism of the independent states sharply asserted itself. During the period of the Confederation state rivalries and local pride had more than once caused discord. While the first President found himself at the head of a government created, to be sure, by the combined action of these states, the new organism must establish an indisputable position for itself in the face of a not inconsequential jealousy on the part of the states.

When Washington assumed the Presidency some of the results of the Revolutionary War were already painfully evident. Seven years of fighting could not fail to have an unsettling influence upon the American people. Quite naturally the conflict had been followed by a moral and religious let-down. The economic depression of 1784 and 1785 had goaded the less fortunate classes to demand legislation that threatened property rights. Shays' Rebellion had demonstrated a readiness on the part of the discontented classes to resort to force as well as the inability of the central government to put down the uprising. The former Commander-in-chief of the Continental armies well knew that

the time would come when a threat of force would put to the test the new government of which he had been chosen the chief executive. When he considered the difficulties which that government would have to face under its new Constitution, he must have dreaded the day of testing.

But Washington at New York taking the oath of office was more fortunate in the ability of his associates than Washington at Cambridge assuming command of the Continental army. Then, scarcely any of his officers had had adequate military training; now he could call upon men who had learned the art of government in the hard school of the politics of the Revolution and of the "Critical Period" (1781–89). Most of the revolutionary leaders had been in their thirties at the time of the voting of the Declaration of Independence. In 1789 the same men were rich in experience and at the height of their powers. John Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Hamilton were not untried. With such men in high office the success of the new government was more than probable. The influence of all of them was powerful in the first formative years under the new Constitution. But the man to whom Cornwallis had surrendered did not become a figurehead. His work in civil office was not so spectacular as that in war, but from first to last Washington was President, guiding with his usual sound judgment the destinies of the nation he had done so much to create.

The ratification of the Constitution naturally brought new problems. The instrument did not attempt to make provision for all possible conditions that might arise. It was little more than a framework upon which there must now be woven the pattern that would express the political aspirations of a united people. The men who were chosen to inaugurate the new system held rather clear-cut ideas of the design that was to be worked out. Some, Washington among them, were chiefly anxious for peace and harmony; others, like Hamilton, sought material prosperity for America, thinking that in a prosperous people lay security for the government; while still others, like Jefferson, were concerned lest the new political order should result in a consolidated government that would overshadow the rights of the states and of men.



393 From the painting Washington leaving Mt Vernon for his inauguration, by

CONGRESS GIVES WAY TO THE REPUBLIC

On July 2, 1788, the president of Congress announced that nine states had ratified the new Constitution. The Congress had been called into being by Articles of Confederation which required unanimous consent of the states for amendment. Few incidents make so clear the political revolution for which the constitutional convention was responsible. The old Congress of thirteen states knuckled under and provided for the initiation of a new government set up by only nine. Though Virginia and New York soon ratified, two other states, Rhode Island and North Carolina, remained loyal to the old government. On the 13th of September a plan for initiating the Government was adopted. The states, on the first Wednesday in January, 1789, were to choose the presidential electors who were to cast their ballots a month later; the new Congress was to assemble the first Wednesday in March, which happened to be the 4th day of the month. (Three years later this day was fixed by Congress as the beginning of the presidential year.) In accord with these recommendations, the eleven states then in the Union made preparations for the first national election.

By the United States in Congress assembled,

STREETHER OF C

HERIAS the Consequent all only of the Park to the purinant to the Relation of Consequence of the period of the period of the Economy of the Economy of the Period of the Economy of the Consequence of the Economy of the Economy

RESOLVED. The the first Wednesday in January next, be the day for appointing lidectors in the leveral States, which before the faid by firstly our tills dath she't out from the Electron strattle infl. Wednesday in February text, in the day for the Electron strattle infl. Wednesday in February text, in the day for the Electron strattle life in their respective States, and not for a frieffight it and that the first Wednesday in Match next, be the time, and the prefent Sear of Congress the place for commencing Proceedings make the faid Confirmation.

Charlie monger

394 Call for the Presidential Election, Sept 13, 1788, from a copy in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In SENATE, November 19, 1788.

and he is furnished deployed. This the Schefferson of the responding to the state of the state of the state of the state of the responding men as the how discrete for estimate of the state of the state of the mental state of the product and the state of the state of the state of the state of state of the state of the state of the state of state state of state state

seed heigh consistents, he is beingeredly hereout, first lith strendth is not been been being as Tourish and the statement which the Desiration who the first lith a transcriptory that the processor who the statement will be the statement of the

thereof, is magner as storeduced, to the "spectury's coll. e, on or both very lay in faith precept to 1c potenthed. And the boardary like ty the dame behave the Constrour send Council, and in cale on proton fluid how, a majority is about shall, the Consensure to reped of both which to translate it as the period file thereign even it arrested of both which to translate it as the period file there are not rely a store, the Coll Andian Law Consensure to the con

the very terminate of the property of the the property of the

and the state of the distance for an Andrew of the brighter trades and Theplaces.

It is infinitely represent the last manifect of the two Manifest,
or the General Court facility matters manifesting to appear to the General Court for the Trades and Vicentification, and which the trades
we like the trades of the Court of the Court for the Court of the C

ded le il florido Refebrat. That the field Richten ha, and they be breived dischafe, to meet on the firth Wenderland of References, at the evidence in the 'linearone, at the final-Richte in the word of Refer. Our the purpose of verile by ballot, for two persons, for Freddent and Vice-Preddent of the United States, agreement, or Freddent and Vice-Preddent of the United States, agreement, or the Control of Richter and Vice-Preddent of the United States agreement, or the Control of Richter and Australians, they final receive the States compensation as constructed on the States are established.

Sent down for concurrence.

SAMUEL PHILLIPS, Jun. Prelident

id and concurred,

OHNHANCOCK

A true Copy.-Astell

JOHN AVERY, Jun. Semestry.

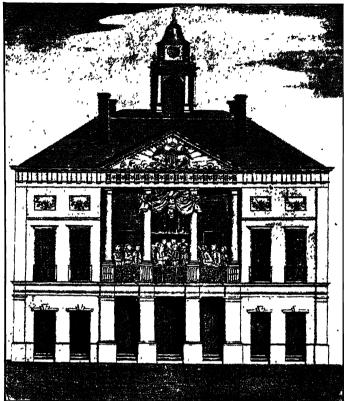
FORD RVERY, Jon. Secretary.

DOSTON -Francel by ADAMS & NOURGE, Paneress to the Hemistale CEMERAL COURT.

Massachusetts Resolution for Dividing the State into Electoral Districts, Nov 19, 1788, from a copy in the New York Historical Society

WASHINGTON BECOMES PRESIDENT

For the first office in the land Washington was the inevitable choice. Though loath to assume new and arduous duties, the General found the pressure of public opinion too strong to resist. He, it was said, was the one man who could ensure the success of the new undertaking. "Your cool steady temper," wrote Gouverneur Morris to him in 1787, "is indispensably necessary to give firm and manly tone to the new Government. To constitute a well-poised political machine is the task of no common workman; but to set it in motion requires still greater qualities. When once agoing it will proceed a long time from the original impulse. . . . The exercise of authority depends on personal character. . . . Among these thirteen horses now about to be coupled together, there are some of every race and character. They will listen to your voice, and submit to your control; you therefore must, I say must, mount the seat." To fill the vice-presidency proved less simple. Yet it was generally felt that Massachusetts, with Virginia the leader of the country, should be represented. Thus the choice fell upon John Adams.



396 Federal Hall, New York City, from the engraving by Amos Doolittle after the drawing by Peter Lacour, published in New Haven, 1790, in the New York Historical Society

NEW YORK PREPARES A TEMPORARY CAPITOL

In preparation for the impending events the citizens of New York hastened to furbish up the old City Hall, now rechristened Federal Hall. Subscriptions of \$32,000 enabled them to have the old building, erected in 1699, ready in time. It was, in truth, a fine structure. A grand vestibule, paved with marble, prepared one for the Senate Chamber with its azure ceiling from which shone the sun and thirteen stars. From this room three windows opened upon a balcony whereon the oath of office was taken in full view of the people. But with the 4th of March came few congressmen, nor for a month afterward was there a quorum to transact business. delay, due to the short notice given the states and the bad conditions for traveling, was interpreted by the unfriendly as showing a lack of interest in the new Government. At last, however, the two Houses could organize; and on April 6 the electoral votes were counted and messengers dispatched to notify the chosen. Adams arrived on the 22nd and took his seat under the

canopy of crimson cloth. On the following day Washington was greeted by a joyous multitude. A week later he assumed office.

EXPERIENCED MEN GUIDE THE NEW CONGRESS

THE work before the new Congress was prodigious. Much depended upon the wisdom of the initial steps, and caution was necessary. Though its membership was not as illustrious as that of the Philadelphia Convention, there were many able and experienced men present. In the Senate were found Robert Morris, Richard Henry Lee, Rufus King and Oliver Ellsworth, later to become Chief Justice. The House leader was James Madison; his colleagues included Fisher Ames and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, Elias Boudinot of New Jersey, and Jonathan Trumbull and Roger Sherman of Connecticut, all veterans of earlier political strife. Frederick Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania, a former Lutheran pastor of German descent, was chosen Speaker because of his reputation as a presiding officer of deliberative assemblies. Not until 1791 did the office become partisan. Committees were chosen by ballot of the House, and most of its work was done in Committee of the Whole, as had been the practice of the old Congress under the Articles of Confederation.



97 Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenbarg, 1750–1801, from the portrait by C. W. Peale, courtesy of Edward Brooke, Birdsboro, Pa.

A FINANCIER BECOMES CHIEF JUSTICE

ELISWORTH was one of the committee of four, called the "Paytable," that managed the military finances of Connecticut during the Revolution. As judge of the Connecticut superior court, he advocated the rights of the individual states, and it was by his motion that the words "national government" were expunged from the constitution and the words "Government of the United States" substituted. In 1796 he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. His watchfulness over the public expenditures earned for him the title of "the Cerberus of the Treasury"; and John Adams spoke of him as "the finest pillar of Washington's whole administration."

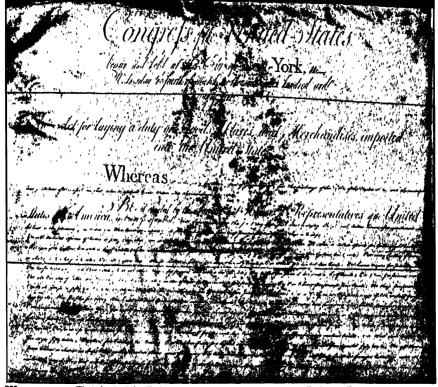
IMPORT DUTIES PROVIDE GOVERNMENT REVENUE

First of all it was necessary to provide revenue for the new Government. The Constitution had been greeted as the New Roof under which "the farmer would meet immediately a ready market for his produce, manufactures would flourish, and peace and prosperity adorn the land." To this end, and without waiting for the inauguration of Washington, the House proceeded to discuss a tariff bill introduced by Madison. At once debate arose. The duties

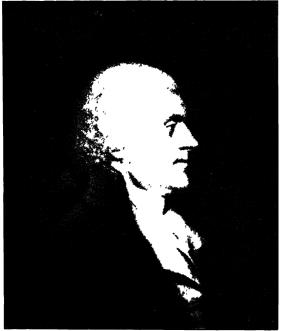


398 Oliver Ellsworth, 1745–1807, from the miniature, 1792, by John Trumbull, in the School of the Fine Arts, Yale University

were quite moderate, for the main objective was revenue, not protection. With this in view, Madison wished the bill to become law in time to cover the spring importations. To this the traders of the cities objected; and the first American lobby won a victory. The bill did not receive approval till July 4, nor was it to go into effect for a month thereafter. Despite this juggling the tariff soon was yielding \$200,000 a month, a sum sufficient to maintain the Government and to pay interest on the debt.



First sheet of the Tariff Act of 1789, from the original inscribed on vellun



400 Thomas Jeffersun, 1743-1828, from the pastel portrait, about 1798, by James Sharples (1751-1811) in Independence Hall, Philadelphia



401 Alevander Hamilton, 1757-1804, from the portrait, about 1792, by John Trumbull in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



402 Edmund Randolph, 1753-1813, from a copy of an original now lost, in the Virginia State Library, Richmond



403 Major-General Henry Knox, 1750-1806, from the portrait by Gilbert Stuart in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



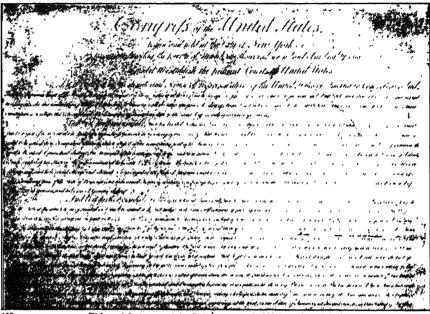
404 Samuel Osgood, 1748–1813, from the portrait by John Trumbull, courtesy of William B Osgood Field, New York

THE ORGANIZATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS

WITH the tariff out of the way, Congress turned its attention to the organization of the administration. In May it was decided to continue, under new titles, the three old departments of the former Government. Acts of July 27, August 7, and September 2 created State, and War and Navy departments. Later, provision was made for an Attorney-General and a Postmaster-General. Jefferson, trained in diplomatic intercourse, was selected as Secretary of State. For the head of the Treasury, Washington called upon the energetic and able Hamilton. General Knox was continued at the war office. Edmund Randolph of Virginia became Attorney-General, and Samuel Osgood of New York Postmaster-General.

THE JURISDICTION OF COURTS IS SETTLED

NEXT came up for consideration the court system. The Constitution provided simply that there should be a Supreme Court and such other courts as the Congress might establish. There was little difficulty about the former; but a difference of opinion arose concerning the inferior courts. Many wished the state courts to be given jurisdiction over federal cases, with appeal to the Supreme This did not Court. meet with the approval



Title and first page of the Judiciary Act of 1789 from the original in the Department of State, Washington

of the Federalists, who wanted a strong national government independent of the states in the discharge of its functions. The result was the act of September 24, largely the work of Oliver Ellsworth, a stanch Federalist. Senator Maclay of Pennsylvania, a leader of the opposition, wrote, "It certainly is a vile law system, calculated for expense and with a design to draw by degrees all law business into the Federal Courts. The Constitution is meant to swallow the State Constitutions by degrees, and thus to swallow by degrees all the State Judiciaries." The separate court system so created has never been abandoned; and the Judiciary Act of 1789, with few important changes, has remained law to the present time.

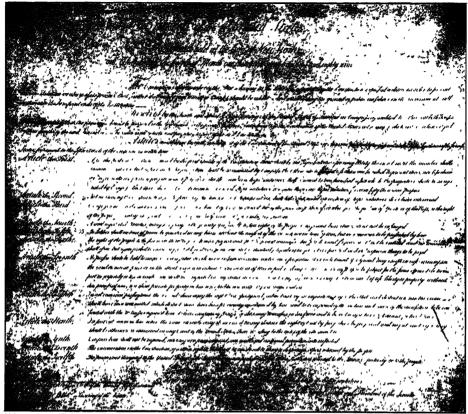


Gilbert Stuart in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, courtesy of Peter Augustus Jay

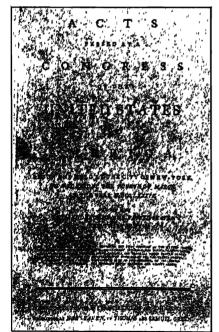
EMINENT LAWYERS ARE PUT ON THE BENCH

To fill these positions was now the President's task. Their importance he fully recognized. In a letter of September 27 he wrote "Impressed with a conviction that the true administration of justice is the firmest pillar of good government, I have considered the first arrangement of the judicial department as essential to the happiness of our country and the stability of its political system. Hence the selection of the fittest characters to expound the laws and dispense justice has been an invariable subject of my anxious concern." There were several possibilities for the Chief Justiceship — among them James Wilson, John Rutledge, John Jay and Robert R. Livingston. Jay was finally chosen. As his associates, Washington selected John Blair of Virginia, William Cushing of Massachusetts, James Wilson of Pennsylvania, John Rutledge of South Carolina, and Robert H. Harrison of Maryland. The last refused, and the vacancy was filled by James Iredell of North Carolina. All were eminent lawyers; most of them had had judicial experience. Jay, in particular, had over a long period of years and in many offices given proof of

courage and statesmanship. All, moreover, had taken a hand in bringing the new government into being.



Birst Twelve Proposed Amendments, inclimite of the original engrossed draft, in the Emmet Collection,



408 From the copy published at New York, 17 in the New York Public Library

AMENDMENTS FORM A BILL OF RIGHTS

Five of the states had ratified the Constitution on the express condition that certain amendments should be made at the earliest possible moment. This was a moral obligation upon the first Congress which, for a time, it seemed to ignore. Complaints finally forced its hand. The suggested amendments were referred to a committee. Weeding out from them all that affected the structure or powers of the Government, Congress sent to the states a dozen propositions, ten of which were adopted and to this day form the Bill of Rights of the Constitution. The Constitution, in addition to creating the outlines of a government, stressed property rights; the first ten amendments stressed those human rights, the demand for which had appeared again and again both before and during the Revolution.

THE GOVERNMENT STARTS WITHOUT PARTY LINES On September 29, 1789, the Congress, adjourned. It had successfully started the new Government. A judicial system had been created, administrative departments established, appropriations for ordinary expenses voted, salaries fixed, a tariff laid, an Indian policy formulated. These measures were recognized by all as necessary; divisions of opinion had not noticeably crept into Congressional debate. But with the second session, opening January 4, 1790, came matters of policy upon which party lines

formed. This situation developed out of the financial condition of the country, and with it is inextricably woven the names of Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton.

HAMILTON FILLS IMPORTANT PUBLIC POSTS

AFTER Yorktown, where he took an active part, Hamilton studied law at Albany under his fatherin-law. In 1782 he was admitted to practice, only to be sent by the New York Assembly to the Continental Congress. In 1786 he attended the Annapolis Convention and with Madison secured the call for the Philadelphia Convention, of which he became a member. His effective aid in securing the ratification of the Constitution has already been described (p. 158). His appointment to the post of Secretary of the Treasury was generally acclaimed as fitting. In that office he served till January, 1795, when he withdrew to resume private practice. His interest and activity in public and political affairs did not cease and his articles signed "Camillus," were a welcome aid to Washington in the contest over the Jay Treaty. When the war scare of 1798 came, he was made Major-General in charge of military preparations. The following years saw his struggle with Burr in New York and national politics, ending so disastrously in July of 1804. Slight in stature, Hamilton was of erect and courtly bearing and conduct. Inclined to stand aloof from the "great beast" that was the people, he had many enemies in the growing democracy. But enemies as well as friends bore testimony to his preeminent ability as statesman



Alexander Hamilton, from the portrait by John Trumbull in the New York City Hall

and financier. With Jefferson, his great rival, he shaped the national democracy that is America.

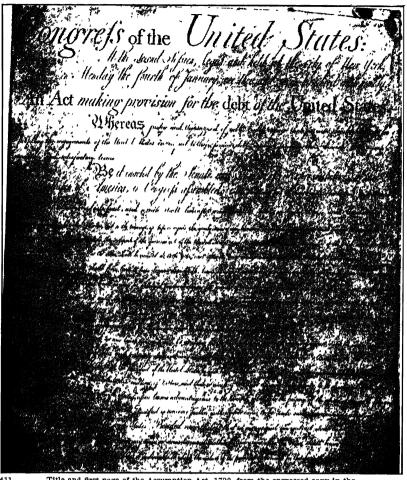
HAMILTON ORGANIZES NATIONAL FINANCES

Underlying all of Hamilton's actions while in Washington's cabinet was one central effort -- to attach to



410 Alexander Hamilton, from the engraving by J. Rogers

the Federal Government the vital interests of the influential groups of the country. He realized that the Government would be no stronger than the allegiance of its citizens. With him that allegiance was to be won through the purse. When, therefore, the Congress called upon him to prepare a report on the state of the finances, he eagerly evolved a plan that would simultaneously reestablish the national credit, gain the support of the moneyed classes, and draw the nation together into a unity resting upon a strong national government. This plan was presented to Congress in a series of masterly reports. The first, dated January 14, 1790, dealt with the public credit. Hamilton pointed out that the national debt exceeded \$54,000,000, the market price for which was as low as 25% of par. This debt he proposed to refund at par. Objection at once arose. For speculators, getting wind of the movement to refund, had bought up much of the domestic debt. Was the Government now going to enable them to profiteer? From the rural constituencies came vehement protest. Madison, pushed by Henry and the debtor farmers of Virginia, offered a compromise, the impracticability of which finally led to the adoption of Hamilton's scheme, substantially unchanged.



Department of State, Washington

HAMILTON PROPOSES ASSUMPTION OF STATE DEBTS

Hıs second proposition startled the country. The national government, he urged, should assume such parts of the debt of the several states as had been incurred in support of the common revolution against England. Such a step, he considered, was both sound finance and sound politics; for it would attach to the national government the money interests without whose support it could not stand. The states that had paid little of their debt -Massachusetts. Connecti-South cut. Carolina --favored assumption. Not so with the others that had little or no debt. These states, notably Virginia. were not eager to help their sisters carry their burdens. Madison now definitely broke with Hamilton. After weeks of discussion the bill was, on May 25, rejected by the House.

POLITICAL COMPROMISE PLACES THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON

Bur Hamilton did not despair. Since 1788 there had been much talk about the location of the permanent capital of the new nation. Debate had reduced the sites to two, one somewhere in Pennsylvania, and the other on the Potomac near Georgetown. Southerners favored the latter, but could not master sufficient votes

to carry the plan. Hamilton, caring little about the issue, seized upon it as a lever to secure the passage of the Assumption Bill. Jefferson invited Hamilton and Madison to dinner and the bargain was struck. To appease the Pennsylvanians the Government was to be located for ten years at Philadelphia, while the new city, planned by the President, Andrew Ellicott, and Major L'Enfant, with Versailles as a model, was in course of construction. On July 26, 1790, the Assumption was voted, thirty-two to twenty-nine, in the House of Representatives.



The White House, from an engraving by N King, published in 1805, in the Library of Congress, Washington

CONGRESS PROVIDES FOR A NATIONAL BANK

To the third session of the First Congress Hamilton presented the next plank in his platform, for the creation of a national bank. This, as has been noted, had long been a favorite notion. There were in 1790 but three banks in the country, at Philadelphia, New York and Boston. A national bank would be of inestimable service to expanding business interests, encouraging the development of land and manufactures. At the same time it would serve as fiscal agent for the Government. Against these arguments the opposition brought all their force without avail, in 1791 the bill was sent to Washington for his approval. The President, following his custom of relying upon his department heads for advice, asked for written opinions concerning its constitutionality, a point that had been raised in Congress. Jefferson and Randolph advised a veto. Hamilton, who had seen Jefferson's elaborate opinion against the constitutionality of the measure, on February 23 wrote his own, in which for the first time was laid down the doctrine of broad construction, to be followed closely in 1819 by Chief Justice Marshall. Two days later the bill became law

proved as his other distill arould promet, to the subject of Manufactures; and particularly to the mesons of promoting such as well tind to render the United States medicant on foreign Nations, for medicing and their official fapples and he hereign respect fully submit the following.

Provide:

The expediency of encouraging manufaction on the limits oblites, which was not long sures dement very questionable, appears at this time to be pertil generally admitted. The on barraferrants, which have betweented. The on barraferrants totale, have led to sensus reflect—some on the necessity of enlarging the false of our admitted commerce the restrictive regulations, which in frage. morbest obligather was to travely amples of our adjustively produce; some to topic an assume description of that simple may be created at home about the complete facility and has recorded manufactioning enterprise, in some valuable branches, comparing with the promoting symptoms, which actual some life motors afrage, in these, justify a hope; that the chiecks is the growth of this spears of military.

Treatury Gepartment December 13 ! 1790-

In skiume to the order of the Houp of Separations of the month day of August last requiring the becretary of the Triasury to prepare and report on thus day fack funder prompers as may on his openious, he necessary for oftablishing the Public feelst.

The said Secretary furtherp

Respectfully reports

That from a committee (as pagasted in his report 191 househ sprafer ted) That a Matienal Bank is an Institution of fromains in purtance to the spragueous administration of the Tomonics, and would be of the greatest utility in the operations committed with the support of the Public briefs— his attitution has been drawn to demping the plan of fuch an institution, upon a scale, which will institute at the ensistence, and be likely to condor it equal to the ensistence of the Public

Summify is outcome sprend the detail of this plan, he enterest the indulgence of the blows, towards force prolimenary reflectives was timally arifing out of the dispect, which he hopes will bel

413 First page of Hamilton's Report on a National Bank, Dec 13, 1790, from the engrossed copy in the Library of Congress, Washington

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IS URGED

To round out his policy of utilizing the national Government to promote the interests of the nation, Hamilton submitted to the Second Congress his famous Report on Manufactures. "To form a more perfect union" it was necessary to cultivate a manufacturing industry that could balance the existent agricultural and commercial activities. "Not only the wealth, but the independence and security of a country, appear to be materially connected with the prosperity of manufactures. Every nation, with a view of these great objects, ought to endeavor to possess within itself all the essentials of national supply. These comprise the means of subsistence, habitation, clothing and defence. The possession of these is necessary to the perfection of the body politic; to the safety as well as to the welfare of the society. The want of either is the want of an important organ of political life and motion." Although it discussed with profound ability the problems of political economy, this Report was received at the time with small enthusiasm.

⁴¹⁴ Extract from Hamilton's Report on Manufactures, Dec 5, 1791, from the engrossed copy in the Library of Congress, Washington



415 Alexander Hamilton in the uniform of a Major-General, from the portrait, 1791, by C. W. Peale in the New York Historical Society

AN EXCISE TAX LEADS TO THE "WHISKY REBELLION"

HAMILTON, indeed, had overreached himself. As, one by one, his policies were presented to Congress, antagonism grew. They were regarded as attempts to form a perpetual alliance between the national Government and the wealthy classes; they were excoriated as evidences of a desire to annihilate the states, the temples of self-government, by consolidating all powers at the center. The spirit of discontent first manifested itself in the Whisky Insurrection. As part of his financial program, Hamilton had in March, 1791, secured an Act to impose an excise tax on the manufacture of spirituous liquors. His aim had been at once to increase the revenues and to bring home to the individual citizen the fact of the national Government's existence and power. This truth proved unpalatable along the frontier. Crude means of transportation to the seaboard compelled the hardy settlers of western Pennsylvania to condense their corn and grain into whisky, which became their currency and their major source of income. The tax thus bore with special and, as it seemed to them, unfair severity upon the mountaineers. In 1794 murmurings broke into open revolt. A mass meeting near Pittsburgh

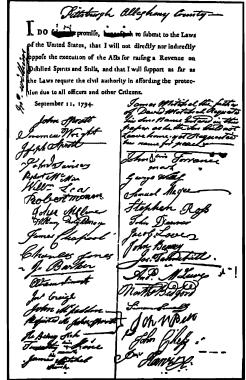
decided to resist the law by force of arms. The Governor of Pennsylvania awaited action by the national government. It was a situation exactly to the taste of Hamilton. On the seventh of August the President issued a proclamation against the rebels and called for fifteen thousand militia from the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and New Jersey.

THE INSURGENTS YIELD TO NATIONAL POWER

In the mind of Washington was the query, will these citizen troops march against their fellows of a neighboring state to enforce a national law? March they did, with Hamilton in the forefront. Such an overwhelming show of national power was more than enough. By the time the army reached Pittsburgh the insurgents had melted away. Hamilton was for driving home the lesson, but milder counsels prevailed. The tax, however, was retained. The Government had proved its power.



416 The End of the Whisky Rebellion, scene from The Chronicles of America motion picture Alexander Hamilton



417 Oath of Submission by Pennsylvanians, from the original in the Library of Congress, Washington

Fellow Citizens,

FOU have the moment been witherfies to one of the noblest special cles that the eyes of freemen ever beheld You have teen the fust patricular that the eyes of freemen ever beheld You have teen the fust patricular that the eyes of freemen ever beheld You have teen the fust patricular that the eyes of freemen ever beheld You have the moment been without the eyes of Less that the eyes of freemen ever beheld You have teen the full parti-or of his country, raifed by the unanumous votes of his fellow-cut-sens to the highest flation in it, flanding in the august prefence of the people, and binding himfelf by a folerant soath to support the constitution established by their deuberate and voluntary confers. How must the heart of every good cutzen exult upon this happy occasion, an occasion which is the triumph of freedom, the triumph of Americans—the triumph

But it is not enough, fellow-citizens, to rejoice on this occa But it is not enough, fellow-citizens, to rejoice on this occasion. It is your duty to act, yourse bound by all the cus of uncreed and confidency to alk ourfelves what further remains to be done, and immediately to fet about it. You owe it to yourfelves and the rest of the United States remove, as far as depends on you, every fource of embarrafilment which may threaten the futcashful administration of the government which you

we concurred in establishing

To chose, who will not fuffer themselves to be seduced by the busy to those, who will not little themselves to be leduced by the bufy entired anti-federalism, so policy can be more plain than that of remo-ing from the highest office of our flace government the man, who is lookving from the highest office of our flare government the man, who is looked up to by the adversarias of the intional confluction, not only in this flare but throughout the Union, as the great bulwark of their caule Federalifs who do not purfue this policy manifelt by their conduct, that however they may be friends to the confluencion, they are greater friends

however they may be friends to the confinution, they are greater friends to its greateft enemy.

Let me therefore compare fach of you, as may not already have given your votes, to halfen, with hearts glowing with federalism, to the polls of the feveral wards in which you relife, and there by your fuffrages, in favor of Judge Yares, to maintain the character of your cuty and prove so the refl of the United States that New York is unvariably rute on the caule the bas efponded.

FEDERALIST has efpouled. April 30, 1789

Handbill on New York Politics, 1789, from the copy in the New York Historical Society

FELLOW CITIZENS.

THE man who, on this day of general joy and familiation will attempt to improve the folemn fpecta-cle to which you have been witneffer jo the purpoles of forcenting party fight, and keeping up dif-unctions which ought to be forgotten, mult be influenced by diabolical motives.

Every hoofd beart glows at the reflection, that WASHINGTON is at the head of our government— and hall the fechage of any one be wounded by conjuring up thousame of and federal, to univer the pur-ole of a party?—It has been done; I filtow critisens, by a writer who figus burnfelf "A Fabrasanist"— the two federalit; its beliame jurnt, from a with ambition, and impedited by makes, and revenge, black as

Be not descived, my country men, alk yourselves, has not JUDGE YATES been as much opposed to be one government as GOVERNOR CLINTON? The latter you have tried, he is a good man, and good magitates. He has posselfed, and fill holds, the considere of the GREAT WASHINGTON, hom may beared long preserve.

s bonectived independent men, therefore, come forward and difappoint FARTY RACE, and UN-SONABLE ENVY, by gring CLINTON your votes

A FAIRED TO UNION, AND THENEW CONSTITUTION.

APRIL 20, 1789.

Handbill on New York Politics, 1789, from the copy in the New York Historical Society

PARTY LINES APPEAR

HAMILTON'S measures served to sharpen and bring into the national arena the conflict between two schools of thought that had their origin as far back as the Revolution. The differences between the debtor-farmers and the conservative classes in the days before the Constitution

were emphasized with the result that two political parties appeared, each ignoring state lines in its membership. On one side, under the Secretary of the Treasury, were ranged the large merchants, the manufacturers, the bondholders, the lawyers and the clergy — those who above all desired stability and prosperity. Against this compact minority was arrayed the mass of the people, the impoverished farmers, the self-reliant pioneers, the apprentices — those who saw no need for a strong government, much less for a strong central

government. Of this party Thomas Jefferson became the recognized leader.

THE PRESS PLAYS A LARGE PART IN POLITICS

To both sides the issue seemed clear-cut and fundamental. The followers of Jefferson charged that the administration leaders were under British influence, and that they were utilizing their power to favor a special and sectional class. We were "galloping into monarchy." The Hamiltonians, in turn, regarded their opponents as wild anarchists whose talk of liberty and democracy could mean nothing else than a desire to bring in the rule of the mob. The press took up the battle. Indeed, John Fenno, editor of the Gazette of the United States, founded in New York, 1787, had early found in Hamilton a patron. Philip Freneau, the poet, in 1791 was persuaded to edit the National Gazette, founded in that year to support Jefferson. National Gazette.

By Fenno and Freneau bitterest invective and personal spite were unleashed in the party struggle.



The "Republican Court," from the engraving by A. H. Ritchie (1822-95) after the painting Lady Washington's Reception by Daniel Huntington (1815-1906), original in the Brooklyn Museum

THE "REPUBLICAN COURT"

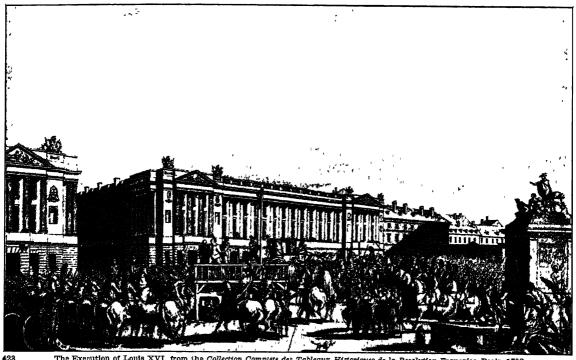
The pomp and ceremony thrown about Washington and his administration came in for especial derision and satire. Hamilton's suggestion that coins be struck with the image of the President of the day, the Senate's weighty deliberations on the matter of the presidential title — should it be "His Highness the President of the United States of America and Protector of their Liberties," or simply "His Patriotic Majesty" — Washington's cream-colored carriage bedecked with medallions, all these Freneau held up to fierce ridicule. He took particular delight in ridiculing Mrs. Washington's receptions, the "Republican Court" of the Monocrats. Their frigid formality furnished an occasion rarely lost, despite the obvious distress of the President.



422 The Storming of the Bastille, from the Collection Complete des Tableaux Historiques de la Revolution Française, Paris, 1798, in the New York Public Library

THE INFLUENCE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

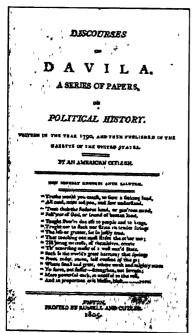
MEANWHILE in France a series of events were taking place which were to influence the internal politics of the United States for a score of years. The opening acts of the French Revolution, and particularly such dramatic events as the storming of the Bastille, aroused great enthusiasm throughout the United States. It seemed as France though were about to follow the footsteps of the American colonies by casting off tyranny and establishing a constitutional government.



The Execution of Louis XVI, from the Collection Complete des Tableaux Historiques de la Revolution Française, Paris, 1798

REACTION AGAINST FRENCH VIOLENCE

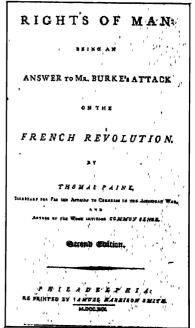
But as the Revolution in France progressed and assumed a violent character, a distinct reaction took place among certain classes of the American people. The execution of Louis XVI was the turning point. This act, together with stories of the flouting of the Christian religion, turned conservative Americans against the Revolution. Democratic Americans, however, became even more enthusiastic as a result of the execution of the King and the proclamation of a Republic. This division of sentiment was carried over to the internal



political struggles of the country and added to the growing hostility between the Federalists and the Republicans.

ARGUMENTS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

PROMINENT Americans took sides m the clash between the exponents of the principles of the French Revolution and the conservatives. In 1790, John Adams published a weighty argument on the principles of government to show that public affairs should be trusted to "the rich, the wellborn and the able." Then in 1791 appeared Thomas Paine's Rights of Man, written in reply to Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France, 1790, and welcomed by Jeffersonians as political gospel. Its circulation was a million and a half copies.



George Ofefer

James Boylan

Stand Cummin

Milliam Milliam Contist West Trained, and

Milliam Milliam Contist West Trained, and

Milliam Standard James David Jackson; Alexander James Dal.

Each of the above member hard to

Reward Trained priction the Jum;

Maltar Dollari making together, for

Dollars.

The Society then adjourned to

Me 2° day of Suly moch.

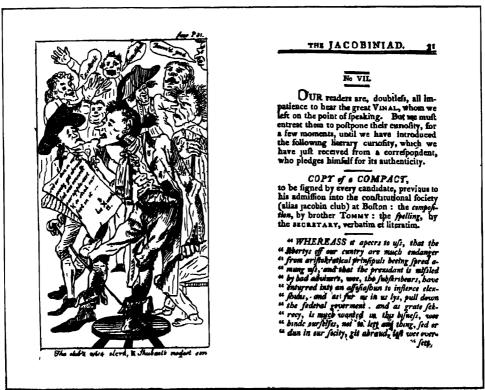
Extracts from the minutes of the first meeting, 1793, of the Democratic-Republican Society of Philadelphia, from the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

AMERICAN RADICALS IMITATE THE FRENCH

ENTHUSIASM for the French Revolution among the followers of Jefferson expressed itself in the erection of Liberty poles. The term "Republican" now became the favored title of the party. Some of Jefferson's followers went to the extent of direct imitation of the French Revolutionists. "Democratic clubs" were formed in various cities, based on the model of the Jacobin Club in Paris. These clubs held secret meetings and their members addressed each other as "citizen," in the manner of the French.

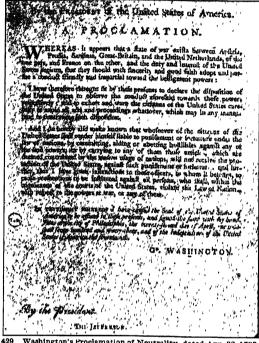
SATIRES ON THE JEFFERSONIANS

POLITICAL lampoons were used by both parties. The Jacobiniad was a satire upon the followers of Jefferson, who are pictured as ignorant and illiterate boors aping the radicalism of the Jacobin clubs of France.



THE FRENCH ENVOY ARRIVES

TRICOLOR cockades and Democratic societies sprang up everywhere. In the midst of this agitation the French envoy, Genêt, arrived at Charleston. After ten days of hilarious welcome, he began a triumphal progress to Philadelphia, traveling through a region disgruntled with the administration — an administration which naturally eyed this exuberance with suspicion



429 Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality, dated Apr 22, 1793, from a printed copy in the New York Public Library

American commerce, most of which was with England? Hamilton favored cancellation of the French treaties as no longer effective; Jefferson would countenance anything short of war with Britain. The upshot was an agreement to receive Genêt, but to interpret the treaty privileges of France with strictness; and, lastly, to issue a Presidential proclamation warning all citizens to refrain from acts hostile to any of the belligerents. Jefferson, as Secretary of State, played an important part in the development of the American system of neutrality.

HAMILTON DEFENDS NEUTRALITY

THE proclamation angered the opponents of the administration. Their newspapers lauded Genêt and virulently attacked the administration and the President. The French agent wrote to his superiors at Paris: "You could appreciate the value of the declarations of neutrality which have been made if you knew the enthusiasm and the entire devotion of our friends in the United States." He even asserted that the President had exceeded his powers in issuing such a declaration. This was seized upon by Jefferson and the Republicans as an ingenious weapon with which to strike the administration. Hamilton's pen came to the rescue. In the Gazette of the United States appeared seven letters from "Pacificus," ably defending the action of April 22.



428 Edmond Charles Genet, 1785–1834, from the portrait by Ezra Ames in the Albany (N Y) Institute and Historical and Art Society

AMERICA IS NEUTRAL IN THE FRANCO-BRITISH WAR

WHILE Genêt was being fêted in Charleston, news of war between France and Great Britain caused the cabinet grave concern. America was tied by bonds of gratitude and treaty to France. That country, indeed, had been promised, in case of attack, special privileges in American ports. Should, then, Genêt be received as the representa-

tive of the favored nation? What would this mean to

FOR THE GAZETTE.

Mr. Fenno,
As attempts are making very dangerous
As to the peace, and it is to be feared not
very friendly to the conflictation of the United States—at becomes the dairy of those who
with well to both to endeavar to prevent

their fuccess.

The objections, which have been raised against the proclamation of neutrality lately issued by the President, have been urged in a spirit of acrimony and invective, which demonstrates that more was in view than merely a free discussion of an important public measure; that the discussion covers a design of weakening the considence of the people in the author of the measure, in order to remove or lessen a powerful obstacle to the success of an opposition to the government, which however it may change its form, according to circumstances, seems fill to be adhered to and pursued with persevering industry.

This resection adds to the motives com-

This reflection adds to the motives connected with the measure itself to recommend endeavors, by proper explanations, to place it in a just light. Such explanations at least cannot but be faitisfactory to those who may not have leisure or opportunity for pursuing themselves an investigation of the subject and who may with to perceive, that the policy of the government is not inconsistent with its obligations or its honor.

The objections in question fall under four

430 Extrac. from the "rst of Hamilton's letters signed "Padiclus" in support on neutrality, from the Gazete of the United States, June 29, 1793, in the New York Public Library



A MATIONAL PAPER, PUBLISHED WEDNESDAYS AND SAU'RDAYS BY JOHN FINNO, No. 34. NORTH FIFTH-STRIFF, P'ILI ADELPHIA.

[No. 129 of Vol. IV.]

SATURDAY, AUGUST 24, 1795.

[Whole No. 431.]

FOR INS GARETIE

"Ny water L

ng dirip globalan blobilan s Chroman proph bringipes MggT bjesen mich sin glob

the dockings partill tred by the writer

speck due to the p cient head of the excen-tive, that may prove a foure to patriotiffa.

the powers.
This being particularly sched by the con-ditution in other departments, they are tyle-considered as exceptions out of the general proof to the measure defautment.

grapt to the necessive defortment. That heap, as exceptiones, to be certified firedly, the powers not firedly within their, sensin with the cancutive. They the cancert we consequently, so the origin of intercently with lovering matching, and the present of the cancert of the

at the procing meson of the 22d of April

Lift, is to be taken as the effect and expection

of that decrees in Paracioning a, we perceive, the extraordinary due, inc., that the powers of making ser and trainer, are in their nature executive; and therefore comprehensed in the "sevential grant of excepting powers," a receiver figure 1 and 6 offly excepted out

of the grout to carry a definite particle and that with a text to the publiship of including the senter, it is the publiship of including the senter, it is the product on the new continuous are custom the price section to an exact the sentence and thought of the product of the continuous and the product of the product o

hardered, at to early a div, in the take of the patter. He words could be an extracted from the beginning that it is a contraction of the particular to the following the

Agair It deferent to be remarked, that Again --- Is observed to be remarked, and as the participations of its Sanake to the maining team, and the power of the legislature to delive our, are everyther out of the general researches to rectice in the Professors, they are to be causiful and for 't, and ought to be expected.

Extract from the first letter of "Helvidius," from the Gazette of the United States, Aug 24, 1793, in the New York Public Library

MADISON REPLIES TO HAMILTON

THESE letters were too much for Jefferson He appealed to Madison for aid. "For God's sake, my dear sir, take up your pen . . and cut him to pieces in the face of the public." Madison responded under the name of "Helvidius." It was a battle between two of the best minds of the day and its results, so far as influencing public opinion, were inconclusive.

THE FRENCH ENVOY

MEANWHILE the conduct of Genêt had been alienating his friends. With cool disregard of international etiquette, he began his business without first presenting his credentials to the Government. He commissioned

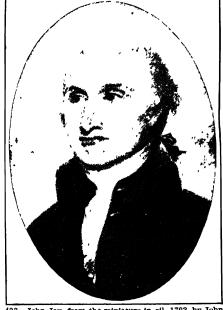
privateers, appointed consuls and prepared measures of offense against the Spanish settlements in Louisiana. Received with hauteur by Washington on May 18, he used the press to denounce the cowardice of France's turncoat ally and to appeal over the heads of the Government to the people. To Jefferson Washington then wrote: "Is the minister of the French Republic to set the acts of this Government at defiance with impunity?" His cabinet answered, "No!" The most exacting country could no longer counsel forbearance, and Jefferson agreed that the French Government should be asked to recall their tactless and insolent envoy. Jefferson's work as Secretary of State during the formative first years under the Constitution were as important in shaping American foreign relations as were Hamilton's in determining the nation's financial policy. Jefferson took the lead in establishing the principle (in the case of France after the execution of Louis XVI) of recognizing de facto governments which has become a regular practice in international law. He also made a distinction between political and ordinary crimes, and refused extradition of political exiles. His achievements gave him high rank among the men who have helped to shape American foreign policy.



32 From the painting Washington's First Meeting with Citizen Gendt by Howard Pyle for Wegdrow Wilson, A History of the American Feople. © Harper & Bros.

DIPLOMATIC COMPLICATIONS ARISE

JEFFERSON's action had its political aspect. On August 3 he wrote to Madison concerning Genêt: "He will sink the Republican interest if they do not abandon him. Hamilton presses eagerly an appeal - e.g., to the people. Its consequences you may readily seize, but I hope we shall prevent it." Though the Republican cause thus suffered, feeling for France remained friendly, as is shown by the activities of the numerous "Democratic Societies" (No 426). To this, grievances against England largely contributed. She had not yet executed several of the provisions of the treaty of 1783; the United States was still refused privileges of trade with British colonies; with the outbreak of war between France and England new sources of irritation appeared. France threw open to American vessels her West Indian ports, while our trade with European ports expanded. England hastened to claim the right to seize, as contraband of war, provisions bound for France and vessels attempting to run her blockade of French ports. In execution of these regulations she proceeded to search American vessels on the high seas and to impress any sailors found to be of English birth. Early in 1794 war with England seemed inevitable. This situation the Republicans tried to exploit to their own advantage.



433 John Jay, from the miniature in oil, 1793, by John Trumbull in the School of the Fine Arts, Yale University

In January, Madison presented to the House seven resolutions urging economic retaliation for Britain's harsh measures. Bills to fortify harbors, to build frigates, to strengthen the army, were rushed through the Congress. In March a temporary embargo was laid on British commerce.

THE JAY TREATY

In April, 1794, Washington dispatched Chief Justice John Jay to England as a special envoy. The British had not surrendered the frontier forts in accordance with the terms of the treaty of 1783; old American debts to British merchants remained unpaid, with the merchants prevented from taking legal action. It was Jay's task to prevent the two nations from drifting into war. The treaty which bears his name pleased no one, but it represented the best the young United States, with practically no international prestige, could obtain from the mother country. England agreed to surrender the forts; the debts were to be referred to a claims commission; the British grievance that the Loyalists had not been indemnified for their losses was balanced against the American grievance that the British army during the war had carried off many valuable slaves. The East Indian trade was opened to American vessels but the much desired trade with the West Indies was restricted to vessels of seventy tons or less, with other provisions to prevent the carrying of sugar and other subtropical products from America to Europe. The Senate after a bitter debate ratified the treaty but eliminated the clause relating to the West Indies.

By George Nashington Nessalad of the United States of America, M. Rocta martion SHUPCUS a treaty of anuly commerce and mange toon, between the Houtet Sute of Universe and Rus & Britannes Morgesty, was concluded and august at hendon, on the montanth charge of Hovember, on thousand sown hundred and analy four of the plane potal and another four of the lineted shelve and of the Section men togoty . duly and respect way with veril on the purpose - All of me wood the Section of the United States, but theretay the Society of the Section, of the theretay the Society, of the section of the theretay. by fruith day of from an thou want wire hundred and money from amount to and advice the Nova lend of the United the hat to partify the find freely on condition that there consend we added the reto was bette solvening of flowigh to agreed to very until he a per alter of of some had a file through the wife of the property them of the trade solve to the find a knowledge them by ganants used to a solvent on between the Visital or the had and him Solventhe with the first solventhe with the trade to the had a to the solventhe with the trade to the had a to the solventhe trade of the trade to the terms of the condition the with the trade to the terms of the condition the with the trade to the trade And wherests and an aster two been added to the find freaty, which truly undadditioned a chier are in the woods followinging Welly farmity commence on the vegetion between Had Bertumar . Cognety and the Under the level of the week by there Describered, with the widow a une consent of their elencete After Belown Ky by dy and the Under the lange from her, being tear come by a trusty of anily or more and investment to borne, while their defference in he has minimen a well out up to an to the good mile their deference in he has antended free or spectice competence and pretentions, may be the best with The last to permittees secretaries one to specter is and you wenter at and ingly a not maken to orgaliste the requirer and nangation between their ore pleasing wound trough cortains and people, in wink a man south mended the farm with mally bique from t inco fulls feelapy they have, respectively native their place

Title and first page of Washington's Proclamation on the Jay eaty, 1794, from the engrossed copy in the Department of State,

eaty, 179 ashington



435 Jay Burned in Effigy, from B J Lossing, Our Country, New York, 1905, after a drawing by F. O. C. Darley

FISHER AMES' SPEECH

ONLY after a hard struggle, marked by the brilliant and persuasive oratory of Fisher Ames of Massachusetts, did the House, in the ensuing winter, vote the appropriations necessary to effectuate it. The vote was close, the resolution being carried by fifty-one to forty-eight. New England cast only four votes against it and from the South there were but four votes in its favor. The prospect of the nullification of the treaty had alarmed the merchants; and their petitions addressed to the Congress played no small part in the final result.

POPULAR PROTEST GREETS THE TREATY

When, in the summer of 1795, the treaty came to public knowledge, protest was vehement. Jay became the most unpopular man in America. In Boston and Charleston he was burned in effigy. Hamilton was stoned in New York when he endeavored to speak for Jay. The treaty was labeled pro-British and anti-French. State legislatures declared it unconstitutional. It became the football of fur.ous party politics.



436 Fisher Ames, 1758-1808, from the portrait by Gilbert Stuart

437 Christopher Gore, 1758–182/, from the portrait by John Trumbull in Memorial Hall, Harvard University

THE JAY TREATY BRINGS SOME ADVANTAGES

As a means of avoiding war, the Jay Treaty was an act of And in its less wisdom. contentious clauses America profited by it. Under its provisions commissions were established to settle a variety of claims of the two parties and their nationals. Christopher Gore, later Senator from Massachusetts, was one of the commissioners to England; William Pinkney of Maryland, later Attorney-General under Madison and Minister to England and to Russia, was another. damages awarded to the citi-

zens of the United States proved greater than those received by British subjects, and in yet another way the treaty served well.



438 William Pinkney, 1764–1822, from the portrait by Rembrandt Peale (1778–1850) in possession of Mrs Isabelle McCoy Jones, Washington, D. C., courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library. New York

Pez Jeorge Hashington; President of the divinent States of amonica.

A Proglamation.

Whereits a Treaty of Trusdop, husts and trongeton, butters the United States of Unrouse and the butters. Majesty, was concluded, and segred at I downgo at a Real on the westy functo day of October, one thousand from hundred and mucky five, by the Olempolatianes of the Miles States and of his bathotic majesty duly and respected authorizes for that prinpose, which treaty, is in the words following MI.

439 From the engrossed copy of Washington's Proclamation of the Treaty of San Lorenzo, 1795, in the Department of State, Washington

Art XXIII.
The greens treing stude not be to fine untill Elgreense trees no sonbre afects o resofied by the contracting levine, and there. Bures contractured letraganisating bytuneous shall be operhanged in sea months afections a cambiaran on also from this sums, or searce of perfelle contains.

In Morrof Whoreof Me the underwrie. On he dels qual November les son Clongeron hance of the Castalio Majorey Dompson carror del M. Castalio Majorey Dompson de America transcrip and of the Drawd States of Armonica hance does not be the Drawd States of Front hap, had known glones godores one times and tanganon and have store. Armond Lumas y Navagruong upo afiged our scale respectively quere sources selves regarded.

Dorre ar San Loronza el Beal phis seven Thecha on San Loronza el bea and quency Jay of Desbor on theusand somming seets be bealing de mid sevenions but and runnery fure.

Momas Finchney Shomas Sinchney

RIGHTS ON THE MISSISSIPPI

For years Spain had insisted upon the exclusive right of navigation on the Mississippi. Her efforts to enforce this claim aroused the ire of the people of Kentucky and Tennessee to such a point that they threatened to take the matter into their own hands. At this juncture the President sent Thomas Pinckney, Minister at London, to Madrid to negotiate a treaty. He arrived at a favorable moment.

And Wheelth the said Truty has by me by and mich its admic and consent of the should of the limits of the limits of the lands of the limits of the lands of the restinguish on the restinguish were duly on changed at the agraed from the twenty fifth day of april me through and owned first Now therefore, to the with the fact the fact The framey, he execute and official with principality and the most survey regard to good faith, on the fact of the theutest attests, when make described free free fithe decent attests, when make decembed file free and office and with two parts and all presents heavy office and survey with the fact. It is special and offerents or heavy without the face, with two years had all office and offered the face of the present what the face, with the face of the present and offered the face of the present with the face, with the face of the face of

In Testumony whose of Hancome In the fact of the Marie States of america to the affect of the superior the face in the face of our love on the face of the face of our love on the face of the face of the minited for and fifte the face of the minited face of the minited face of the face of the minited face of the face

440 From the engrossed copy of Washington's Proclamation of the Treaty of San Lorenzo. 1795, in the Department of State, Washington

THE TREATY OF SAN LORENZO

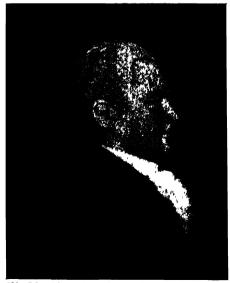
Godov, the Spanish Premier, was a Liberal. In 1794 news reached Madrid of the Jay Treaty (No. 434). Finckney, wearied by fruitless negotiations, asked for his passports, announcing that he was going to London. Godoy, fearing an alliance between the United States and England, therefore agreed to the Treaty of San Lorenzo. The boundary between the United States and Florida was fixed, and the Mississippi was thrown open to American navigation, with the privilege of using New Orleans as a port. The West had gained a route to the outer world.



442 Thomas Pinckney, 1750–1828, from a miniature in oil, 1791, by John Trumbull, in the School of the Fine Arts, Yale University

JEFFERSON CHOSEN VICE-PRESIDENT

Adams was heartily disliked by his party leader. Honest, intelligent, partiotic, he did not possess the art of winning and working with his fellows. Stubborn and proud, he refused to subordinate himself to Hamilton, who during Washington's administration had been the leader of the Federalist party. The latter therefore resorted to a questionable political trick whereby Adams' companion on the Federalist ticket, Thomas Pinckney, popular because of the Spanish treaty, would be returned as President. But the scheme became known, the Adams electors refused to vote for Pinckney, and Jefferson, head of the Republican ticket, was elected vice-president.



444 John Adams, from the pastel portrait by Sharples in Independence Hall. Philadelphia

JOHN ADAMS ELECTED PRESIDENT

THE uproar over the Jay Treaty had not subsided before the election of 1796 began to stimulate party passions, already fierce. Washington let it be known that he wished to retire; thus for the first time the Presidency was thrown open to contest. Congressional caucuses were held to select candidates. Hamilton, Federalist leader, had little popular following; Jay was disqualified by the treaty, John Adams was therefore chosen. He was an aristocrat in thought and speech, but his many years in public life had made his name a household word.



443 John Adams in court dress, from the portrait painted in England in 1783 by J S Copley, in Memorial Hall, Harvard University

ADAMS IS HANDICAPPED BY FACTIONS

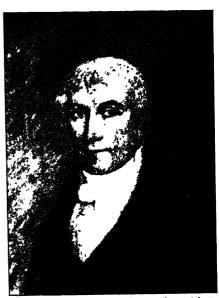
THE new President, therefore, entered office after an election that showed real strength in the opposing party and factions within his own. Under such conditions, his effort to carry on the non-partisan policies of Washington proved unfortunate. His proposals to appoint Jefferson or Madison as Minister to France alienated the Hamiltonians; while his retention of the Washington cabinet, most of the members of which looked to Hamilton for leadership, served to weaken his administration and to strengthen the Republicans John Adams may have been a profound student of government, but he was very slow in learning the lessons of practical politics.



445 Pierre Augusts Adet, 1763-1832, from the pastel portrait by Sharples in Independence Hall, Philadelphia

MONROE PROVES AN INDISCREET MINISTER

Almost at the outset Adams was faced with a serious foreign problem. In 1794, to supplant the Federalist Gouverneur Morris, Washington had sent, as Minister to France, James Monroe, Jefferson. disciple of Monroe found France perturbed by the pending Jay Treaty. In his efforts to appease the Directory he overstepped the bounds of diplomatic discretion, and was recalled in the autumn of 1796. Before



446 James Monroe, 1758-1831, from the pastel portrait by Sharples, about 1798, in Independence Hall Philadelphia

departing he intimated that should Jefferson be elected in the campaign of 1796, compensation would be forth-coming for the offensive treaty. Acting upon the hint, the French Minister in the United States, Adet, worked more or less openly for the success of the Republicans. Such tactics still further increased Federalist dislike of France.



447 Charles Maurice Talleyrand-Perigord, 1754–1838, from an engraving for the European Magazine, 1814, after a portrait by François P Gérard (1770–1837)



448 Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, 1746–1825, from the portrait by Gilbert Stuart, owned by Julian Mitchell, Charleston, S C

AMERICA RESENTS INDIGNITY BY FRANCE

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Federalist successor to Monroe, was humiliatingly refused the "card of domicile" which would permit him to remain in France. When news of this rebuff reached America, public indignation was intense. Adams called Congress in special session in May, 1797, and, telling the members forcefully that the Directory had "treated us neither as allies nor as friends nor as a sovereign state," recommended the taking of measures of defense, to show the world that "we are not a degraded people humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear."

beaute 10 Land on 6

TALLEYRAND SLIGHTS THE ENVOYS

Adams, however, thought peaceful relations might still be preserved. He therefore appointed, with the confirmation of the Senate, John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry to join Pinckney in Paris. Gerry was a Massachusetts Republican and so not altogether objectionable to the Federalists, while his presence might mollify the testy French Directory. In October all three were informally received by Talleyrand as Foreign Minister. A few days later they were approached by three persons, later distinguished as X, Y and Z, as agents of the Minister. They suggested that a gift of 1,200,000 francs might prove an aid to negotiations. "No, no, no, not a penny," responded Pinckney. Then, after months of futile exchanges between the two parties, the commissioners gave up in disgust. Talleyrand prevailed upon Gerry to remain, which encouraged the Directory to hope for a change of front by the United States, and intensified the foreign issue in American politics.

Paris, 13 Prairial, 6.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs [Talleyrand]

To Mr Gerry, Envoy of the United States.

The Winister of Foreign Affairs [Talleyrand]

to Mr Gerry, Envoy of the United States.

I have received, Sir, your letter of yesterday. You inform me, ist, that the journal presented contains all the informal negotiations communicated by the envoys to their government. 2nd, that the persons in question have not produced to your knowledge and in the Ministere des Affaires Etrangères, Paris

Although I understand your reluctance to name these individuals must beg you at once to subordinate this to the importance of the matter will you please, therefore, ist, either give me their names in writing, or tell them confidentially to the bearer. 2nd, name the woman referred to by Mr Pinckney, 3rd, tell me whether any of the citizens attached to my staff and authorized by me to see the envoys have said one word which has the least relation to the shocking proposal that has been made by X and Y to remit any sum whatever for corrupt distribution.



450 From a contemporary partoon *The Times: A Political Portrait*, in the New York Historical Society

WAR WITH FRANCE IS THREATENED

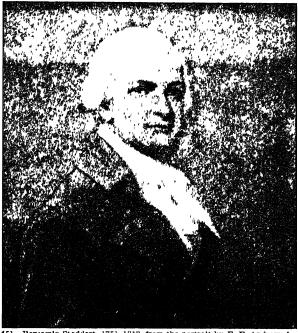
WHILE Adams awaited news from Paris, the war party was with difficulty restrained. But when, on April 3, 1798, the President sent to Congress the dispatches from the commissioners describing their treatment, the resentment was unbounded. As the correspondence was published, Republicans joined with Federalists in calling for war. "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute" became the universal rallying cry. Commerce with France and her possessions was ordered stopped, the French treaties were abrogated, a direct tax was voted, and a large volunteer army, with Washington at its head, organized. All this pleased the Federalists, and especially Hamilton, who became the second in command of the new army.

A NAVY DEPARTMENT IS **ESTABLISHED**

Among the various measures for waging the undeclared war was an act establishing a navy department, at the head of which Adams placed Benjamin Stoddert of Maryland, Revolutionary soldier and Georgetown merchant. Equipment for the new frigates, the Constitution, Constellation, and United States was voted; the merchant marine was permitted to arm for defense and offense; and in July, 1798, three squadrons sailed against the French in the West Indies.

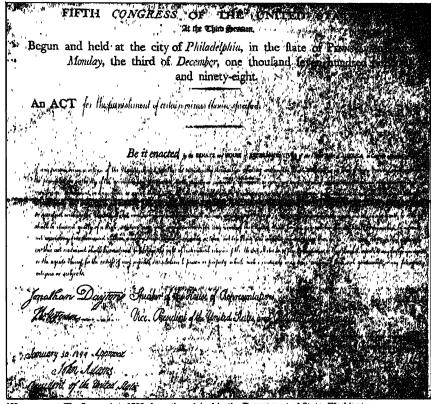
CONGRESS RESTRICTS INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION

THE war spirit ran high. France had injured America more than once. The impudence of Genêt and Adet (Nos. 428, 445) was not forgotten. Scores of American merchantmen had been captured by French privateers. Then came George Logan's trip to Paris for the purpose of averting war. Talleyrand received him with marked courtesy For in truth France wanted no war with the United States. Talleyrand's con-



451 Benjamin Stoddert, 1751–1813, from the portrait by E F Andrews in the office of the Secretary of the Navy, Washington

duct had been bluster to win America at least to benevolent neutrality. But Logan was a Republican and his action was an unwarranted and partisan interference in diplomacy. So the Logan Act was passed, forbidding an individual citizen to take part in a controversy with a foreign power.



The Logan Act, 1799, from the original in the Department of State, Washington



453 William Vans Murray, 1752-1803, from the miniature in the possession of V. Murray Sulvane, Cumberland, Md

A CONVENTION IS SIGNED WITH FRANCE, 1800

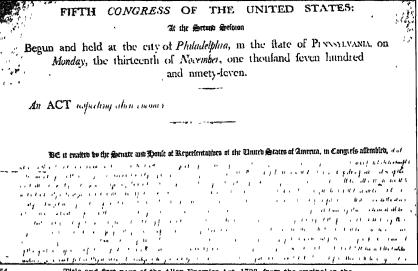
But Adams received Logan and welcomed the suggestion that Talleyrand was anxious for peace, and would give a proper reception to any Minister sent. The President wanted war as little as the French. He saw an opportunity to end it Never lacking in courage, he now took the initiative. Without consulting a hostile cabinet, he sent to the Senate, in February, 1799, the nomination of William Vans Murray, then Minister to Holland, as Minister to France. To the Republicans the action of Adams was endorsement from an unexpected quarter of their own contention, that it was foolish to talk of war with a country that was only too willing to be friendly if she in turn were not discriminated against. To the Federalists his action brought consternation. In the heat of his first reaction, a Federalist leader wrote to Hamilton, "Had the foulest heart and the ablest head in the world been permitted to select

the most embarrassing and ruinous measure, perhaps it would have been precisely the one which has been adopted." Taking the initiative for his party, Hamilton insisted that the negotiations be placed in the hands of a commission, to include the new Minister, rather than of an individual. Adams finally agreed, nominating Oliver Ellsworth and Patrick Henry. When Henry declined the nomination, William R. Davie of North Carolina was substituted. After many months of discussion, a convention was signed at Paris in September, 1800, which gave mutual satisfaction. Napoleon, now in power, did not insist on a renewal of the treaties of 1778, while America did not press certain damage claims. Thus formally came to an end the only treaty of alliance between the United States and a European power.

FOREIGNERS IN AMERICA MEET RESTRAINTS

The ultra-Federalists were at the height of their power in the spring of 1798 when the XYZ affair had aroused a spirit of militant patriotism. The opportunity was not lost on those who felt that a check should be placed on democracy. The Whisky Rebellion, the Democratic societies so warmly espousing the doctrines of the French revolutionists, the scurrilous press which stopped at nothing to denounce public officials — these were signs of a decay of the constitutional theory that government was to protect property and to be administered

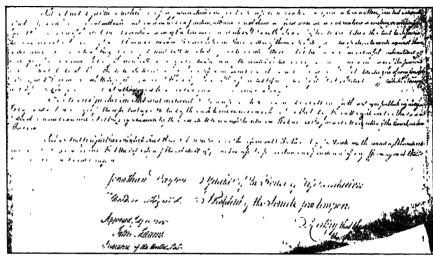
by the able. Many Republican leaders, notably Gallatın — who Albert had sympathized with the Whisky uprising — were of foreign birth, and so also were several of the more intemperate publicists. Hence the repressive measures of 1798. The term of residence for naturalization was raised from five to fourteen years, the President was given discretionary power to deport any obnoxious alien, and to arrest, imprison, and deport dangerous enemy aliens. Jury trial was not required.



Title and first page of the Alien Enemies Act, 1798, from the original in the Department of State, Washington

CONGRESS PROVIDES AGAINST SEDITION

These drastic measures were designed to counteract the exertions of French and Irish radicals within the country. Some thought Gallatin, Republican leader, was a special objective of the acts. But the effects of the statutes were far-reaching. Hamilton predicted that "If we push things to an extreme, we shall then give to faction body and solidity." So it hap-



455 Section 2. 3. and 4 of the Sedition Act. 1798, from the original in the Department of State. Washington

pened. The Republican press at once made an outcry. To muzzle it came the Sedition Act, later to serve as a model for the espionage acts in the war of 1917-18. This made it a crime to publish any false or malicious writings against the Government, Congress, or the President, with intent to excite popular hatred of or resistance to them, or to bring them into contempt. It was aimed at a few Republican editors, perhaps unduly ardent in their political activity. But the law did not single out the Republicans; nor were they alone in the use of unrestrained language. "Fire-eating salamanders" and "poison-sucking toads" were some of the epithets of Fisher Ames, arch-Federalist, when he tried to describe his political opponents.

CONGRESS AT ODDS OVER THE SEDITION ACT

Adams made no effort to enforce the alien acts, for the more obnoxious French agitators left the country of their own accord, while the President, to the disgust of the extreme Federalists, derided the prospect of a foreign invasion. Yet, like the rest of his party, he wished that respect should be shown to public officials, and prosecutions under the Sedition Act received his approval The first to suffer was Matthew Lyon, member of Congress from Vermont. A fiery Irishman, Lyon had worked up from poverty to the proprietorship of a newspaper which he called The Scourge of Aristocracy and Repository of Important Political Truth. As a rabid Republican, he was thoroughly hated by the Federalists and became the butt of their gibes. In January, 1798, irritated by Griswold, Federalist from Connecticut, Lyon in a passion spat in the face of his tormentor. The House took up the ease, but the Federalists could not muster the two-thirds necessary for expulsion of a



From a cartoon Congressional Pupilists, in The Echo, Hartford, 1807, published by Noah Bailey

own hands and on the fifteenth of February suddenly attacked Lyon with a heavy bludgeon. The latter retaliated as best he could. The following day a resolution to expel both members was brought in, but nothing came of it. Scarcely had the Sedition Act passed when Lyon was arrested for publishing a letter accusing Adams of "unbounded thurst for ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation, and selfish avarice." He was fined one thousand dollars and given four months in jail, during which time he was triumphantly reelected to Congress. Many years later the fine was refunded, with interest. On his release from jail, his fine was paid through the aid of Jefferson, Madison, Gallatin, and other Republicans of prominence.

member. Griswold took matters into his

JEFFERSON OPPOSES RESTRICTIONS ON POPULAR LIBERTY

PROSECUTIONS for a time continued, but their political effect soon caused the Government to abandon the laws. The measures had been aimed at radical aliens and their Jacobin sympathizers, the Republicans The latter were loud in condemnation of them. Jefferson in October wrote to a friend "The X,Y,Z fever has considerably abated through the country, and the alien and sedition laws are working hard. I fancy that some of the State Legislatures will take strong ground on this occasion. For my own part, I consider those laws as merely an experiment on the American mind, to see how far it will bear an avowed violation of the Constitution If this goes down, we shall immediately see attempted another act of Congress, declaring that the President shall continue in office during life, reserving to another occasion the transfer of the succession to his heirs, and the establishment of the Senate for life" In short, Jefferson saw in the rising tide of objection to the administration and its acts fine campaign material. To ensure that "strong ground of the State legisla-

KENTUCKY LEGISLATURE.

In the House of Representatives,

THE ROUSE according to also handley Color of the Day, referred still from a Commitme of the Whole on the ther of the Commonwealth. Mr. CALDWELL in the Chair.

and after Femerians from the size County, and after Femerians from the size of the Coun-the Chale, and life. Californial reported, that the Coun-mittee had according to order had under conference, the Computer Address, and had come to the solice-— memoring to order had under confidences the Gargener's Address, and had come to the soliva-ing RESOLVETON'S throughout, which he different in at the Cloud's table, where they were troor read and agreed to by the Honfe.

1. The SOLVED, that the feveral flates and possible the United States of America, are not united on the principle of minimide full flates and the principle of minimide flates of the Confirmation in the type and site of a Confirmation are the type and site of a Confirmation are the type of the office of the Confirmation of the type of the confirmation of the confirmation for floating and the tenth of the confirmation of the coverances, and that measures the coverances, and that measures the govern, its after are unauthorizative, wold, and of me force. That to this compact each finite necessite as a flate, and it was lategrain party, its ord-flates forming as to litely, the other party: That the General measurement of the measurement of the powers delegated to little; dispet that would have made its affection, again, and the confidence in all other color appears to the measure of the oversite of the measure of the powers delegated to little; dispet that would have made its affection, again, and the confidence in all other color appears to the confidence in all other color appears to the confidence in the measure of the powers; but there is all other color appearance in the confidence in the color and manufaction of redords.

terfalting the Geurities and unrest seleof the United States, pirsolas and febrates,
of the United States, pirsolas and febrates
committed on the High Some, and offenter against the laws of nations, such ano
ther crimes whatever, and it being stue,
as a general principle, and one of the
nation of the Conflitution having,
alid declared, "that the powers not dere
ignated as the United States by the Geney,
introlles, not probibled by it to the first,
introlles, not probibled by it to the first,
are referred to the State seignedirely, or
to the people," ther-force alid the fame
aft of Congress possess on the said
dation to the aft entitled an aft for the
punchmans of certain crumes against the
United States," as alias the aft passed by
them on the arth of the United States," and
itself and arth of the United States, and
the Am aft to punish freshed sommitted
on the Benk of the United States," and
all other their after which assume to clean
the Am aft to punish freshed sommitted
and all other their after which assume to
the connectate of the United States, and
the connectate deliver, and punish
inch other trainers as relevant, and the
all appreciates follow and excludely to the
expectative of the Conscillation of the
property of the property of the property.

III. Resistated, and faults accomplish exclus-

respective fater, can within its own. Territory.

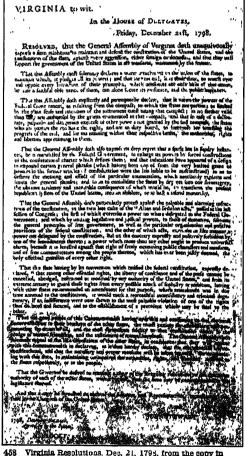
III. Raddwad, that it is true as a general principle, and is allo suprefully declared by one of the amendments to the Confluction that "the power stoot delegand to the United States by the Confluction, one prohibited by set to the fater, sor proper to the people," and that no power over the freedom of religion, freedom of freeth, or freedom of the preh their delegand to the United States by the Canfillation, and prohibited by it to the face, all law and prohibited by it to the face, all law and prohibited by it to the face, all law. II. Residend, that the Constitution of price Patter States the line delegated to the opposite a power to could treasure, course lab

Kentucky Resolutions, Nov 10, 1798, from an early copy in the Massachusetts Archives

STATE RIGHTS RESOLUTIONS PASS IN VIRGINIA

JEFFERSON persuaded Madison to draft for the Virginia legislature resolutions similar to those of Kentucky. This was done. These two documents, destined later to encourage doctrines of nullification and of secession, though condemned by other states, made a profound sensation. Many years later Madison wrote of them: "The Resolutions were for political effect, intended as a party platform to arouse the Republican sentiment throughout the country and secure a general condemnation of the Federalist centralization." If this was the purpose, they were highly successful.

tures," he drafted a set of resolutions which he placed in the hands of John Breckinridge of the Kentucky legislature, where, with minor changes, they were enthusiastically adopted. But Jefferson saw more than campaign material in the sedition law. The enactment impaired the right of free speech and free press without which the governmental experiment in the United States must fail. The common people rallied to his support as he led the attack upon the Federalist aristocracy.



Monumental Inscription. " That life is long robush answers Life's great end" Y ESTERDAY EXPIRED, second by MILLIONS of graceful. And by all good piets. The FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION Of the GOVERNMENT of the United States : Annoted by A WASHINGTON, an ADAMS ;—a HAMILTON, KNOX, PICKERING, WOLCOIT, M'HENRY, MARSHALL, STODDERT and DEXYER. ÆL 12 years Its death was excationed by the Secret Arts, and Open Vivience; of foreign and foundine Demayogue. Notwithhanding its which Jif. Was devoted to the Perintanate of every Duty to complete the property of the secret Posts. The UNION, CRLDIF, PLACE, PROSPER. IY, HONOR, inc FI LICITY OF 1TS COUNTRY. At us birth at found The Union of the States different like a Repe of firm; the high life; Stronger than the Tirestild cord. le found the United States Bankrupts in I finite and Reputation; It hath left trem Unbourfed in Credit; and respected throughout the World it found the Traffire of the United States and Individual states agets. It hath left them full and overflowing. It found the Ludences of Public Debts worth for rags to that he Ludences of Public Debts worth for rags to that he Ludences of Public Debts worth for rags to the thirt them More valuable than Gold and Silver. It I and The United States at war with the Indean Nations .-- It hath concluded Feace with them all. It found The Aboriginals of the foil in sterate comme of the white, It both exercised towards them just exant generohity, And bath left them fast friends 459

tr Cound Great-Britain in policifion of all the Freetur Pefer.
It hash demanded then furnender, and at leaves the re to the p first, on te found The American tensonalt unterly defi-felefe ; It bath leit it firtifed It found our Arfenals empty; and Magazines decaying . It hath left them full of armunitien and warf to Implement
It form four country dependent on Full gn Nations tor engines of defense , It hash left Manufactories of Cannon and Mufquets in full work The American Nation at War with Algure Teau and Trepet , le hath Made Peace with them all. American Freemen in Turkish flavery, where they had languished in chains for years 3 it hath Ranformed them, and fit them free. It found the war-worn, invalid Soldier flavoure from wan;
Or, like Belisarius, beging his refuse
meet from door to there;
it hath left Ample provision for the regular payment of his person. It found The Gammerer of our country confined almost to Gaping Greet;
It hath left at Whitening every fea with its canvals, and cheuring every chane with its flare. It found over
Mechanics and Manufacturers idle in
the frects for want of employ;
It hath left them Foll of buliness, prosperous, contented and happy. The Teomaner of the entery oppressed with enequal tare, —then larms, hould and have the aying, their extric filling is the step polls, and they dreve to their ration and del, than a train life.

Their collers in each; their houlds in repair

their trainsfull, their faum coordinement, and their present command is read natural, for a both price to floor. It found them pear, and east Maken enter; Wealthy briends to Order and good Government. It forni The United State . d oph in delt to From and Rolland it hash paid at a the demands of the manut, and the principal parent the latter It found the Country in a rumous it bath hours ably distolved if e connexion, and tet us free. It for pd The United States without a fwavel on float for their effort.

It hash left

A NAVY—composed of Thirty four thips of war, mututing 218 game, and manard by 2350 gallant tars It found The EXPORTS of our country, a more fong, in when,
It hash let it an worth
Above SFVFN't Million's of Dollar, per annum
Is one west,
It hand America informed, poor, infohent, week differ souted and meretaken It hash left HER United, queation, refertable, flicog, Let the faithful Hittorian, in after times, are the statement returning in the control of the case where things of its baseline, if it can.

And yet — not arthrituding all their furices a dimensional of the control who, left to virtue, to gratitude, and patriotian, Openly exult, this this Administration And that The " Sun of Federalim is fet for ever " " Qb flame where u the black ! As one Tribute of Grantude in thefe Times, the MONUMENT
Of the Talents and Services of the decealed; The Centinel. Mai & 414, 1861

The Passing of the Federalists, from The Columbian Centinel, Mar 4, 1801, published by Benjamin Russell, Boston

CENTRALIZED POWER RECEIVES A SETBACK

No more bitter election campaign has ever been fought than that of 1800. The Federalists, intrenched in public office, arraigned their opponents as Jacobins and raised the bugaboo of a French plot to sever Kentucky from the Union. But the people did not listen. In despair the Federalists appealed to the "friends of society, religion, and good order" to support an administration whose record of service was so full. Upon that record the Republicans, deftly led by Jefferson and Burr, concentrated their attack. Centralization of power, suppression of constitutional liberties, increased and direct taxation, swollen civil service, all came in for reproof. Disaffection in Federalist ranks added to their troubles. As state after state swung to Jefferson the Federalists became frantic When, despite Hamilton, Burr carried New York for the Republicans, the result was practically certain. The Federalists had fallen Never again did the party elect a President of the United States.



460 Senate Chamber of the First Congress, Sixth and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, from a photograph

CHAPTER VIII

THE VIRGINIA DYNASTY

HE party that came into power on the wave of the Revolution of 1800 was preeminently the party of Jefferson. As a party leader, Jefferson is without a peer. "In his understanding of mass psychology, he had no equal. When a measure was passed or a policy adopted in Philadelphia, he knew the reactions in the woods of Georgia without waiting for letters and papers. This rare insight into the mass mind made him a brilliant propagandist. . In his leadership we find more of leading than of driving. He had a genius for gently and imperceptibly insinuating his own views into the minds of others and leaving them with the impression that they had conceived the ideas and convinced Jefferson. . . . Jefferson was the original 'Easy Boss.' . . . Jefferson was the most resourceful politician of his time. For every problem he had a solution. He teemed with ideas. These were his shock troops. If he seemed motionless, it was because by a nod or look he had put his forces on the march Like the wiser of the modern bosses, he knew the virtue of silence. When in doubt, he said nothing. When certain of his course, he said nothing — to his foes. It was impossible to smoke him out when he preferred to stay in. In the midst of abuse he was serene. And he was a stickler for party regularity. He appreciated the possibilities of organization and discipline. When money was needed for party purposes, his friends would receive a note. 'I have put you down for He was never too big for the small essential things, and he was a master so much.' . . His energy was dynamic and he was tireless. He never rested on his arms or went into winter quarters. His fight was endless." — Claude G. Bowers, Jefferson and Hamilton, 1925, pp. 107-111. Such was the man who came to the Presidency in 1801.

The degree of success attained by Jefferson and the causes of his failures as well as of his achievements may be found embodied in the remarkable words of Josiah Quincy, polished orator and arch-Federalist. In the course of the debate in the House of Representatives on the suspension of the Embargo (1808), Quincy said: "We are but a young nation. The United States are scarcely yet hardened into the bone of manhood. The whole period of our national existence has been nothing else than a continued series of prosperity. The miseries of the Revolutionary war were but as the pangs of parturition. The experience of that period was of a nature not to be very useful after our nation had acquired an individual form and a manly constitutional character. It is to be feared we have grown giddy with good fortune, attributing the greatness of our prosperity to our own wisdom, rather than to a course of events, and a guidance, over which we had no influence. It is to be feared that we are now entering that school of adversity, the first blessing of which is to chastise an overweening conceit of ourselves." Quincy, in short, believed that the progress of the country was due, not to the somewhat undiscerning though eager experimentation of the Republicans, but to factors imbedded in nonpolitical institutions. These institutions, chiefly economic, Jefferson had found none too pliant. Less doctrinaire devices than his were needed to promote the general welfare. The times of adversity prophesied by Quincy came in 1812. Yet from the clouds of the War of 1812 the country emerged with a new, unchastened spirit of optimism. The "Era of Good Feeling" was a time of rejoicing, when men felt that their country had been tested and found good. The nation was vigorous, self-reliant, hopeful.

THOMAS JEFFERSON BECOMES PRESIDENT, 1801

The success of Jefferson was honestly dreaded by numerous intelligent folk. The Reverend Timothy Dwight, President of Yale, prophesied that "the Bible would be cast into a bonfire, our holy worship changed into a dance of Jacobin phrensy, our wives and daughters dishonored, and our sons converted into the disciples of Voltaire and the dragoons of Marat." Little wonder that, when it was learned that the electoral vote had been a tie between Jefferson and Burr, the Federalist caucus chose to support the latter as the lesser of two evils. Only the pressure of Hamilton secured, on the thirty-sixth ballot, the selection of Jefferson, who he thought would "pursue a temporizing rather than a violent system."

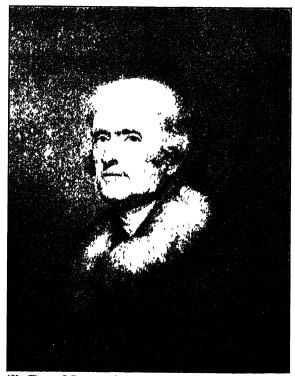
JEFFERSON'S MYSTIFYING PERSONALITY

THE man so distrusted was indeed a perplexing individual. Born, in 1743, of good Virginia aristocraey, he was a lifelong believer in the people and in their desire and capacity to govern themselves. Studious and retiring, he nevertheless for a generation led a political party with deftness and aplomb. A cultivated gentleman who with reluctance left the brilliant life of Paris to join Washington's cabinet he in a few short years was condoning the Terror as a

mere incident in a beneficent development. His partisanship dates from this period, and as time passed his mystifying personality unfolded still further. In May, 1787, he was described as "an American who is at once



462 From the portiait of Jefferson by Mather Brown (1761-1831), painted in London about 1785, courtesy of Charles Francis Adams, Boston



461 Thomas Jefferson, 1743-1826, from the portrait painted in 1805 by Rembrandt Peals, in the New York Historical Society

a musician, skilled in drawing, a geometrician, an astronomer, a natural philosopher, legislator and statesman. It seemed as if from his youth he had placed his mind, as he had done his house (Monticello), upon an elevated situation, from which he might contemplate the universe." Thomas Jefferson and Benjamın Franklın were two of the most versatile men that America has produced. Both were dessts and were influential in the development of desstic thought in their day. Both were men of science. Though the terms were not then in vogue, Franklin tended more to pure and Jefferson to applied science. If Franklin was the greater diplomat, Jefferson was the greater political leader. Jefferson knew well both how to compromise, when the occasion seemed to demand it, and how to fight. He made bitter enemies and constant friends. Although at the end of his administration he suffered the humiliation of seeing his policy of "peaceable coercion" abandoned, his prestige was not impaired. For more than a decade after his retirement he remained the "Sage of Monticello" to whose drawing room journeved men of all sorts seeking counsel and guidance, Though Jefferson has been dead for more than a century, his thou ht and his ideals still influence the development of the American people.



463 Jefferson in 1799, from the portrait by Gilbert Sturit in the Bowdoin Museum of Fine Arts, Bowdoin College, Branswick, Maine

MACLAY'S PEN PORTRAIT OF JEFFERSON

In 1790, Senator Maclay thus described the Democratic leader. "Jefferson is a slender man, has rather the air of stiffness in his manner. His clothes seem too small for him. He sits in a lounging manner, on one hip commonly, and with one of his shoulders elevated above the other. His face has a sunny aspect. His whole figure has a loose shackling air. He has a rambling vacant look, and nothing of that firm, collected deportment which I expected would dignify the presence of a secretary or minister. I looked for gravity, but a laxity of manner seemed shed about him. He spoke almost without ceasing, but even his discourse partook of his personal demeanor. It was loose and rambling, and yet he scattered information wherever he went, and some even brilliant sentiments sparkled from him." There is a striking contrast between the portrayal of the tland President by the politician Maclay, and the artist, Stuart.

JEFFERSON WANTS A "WISE AND FRUGAL GOVERNMENT"

JEFFERSON'S creed was simple, and understood by his followers. Nowhere is it better stated than in the maugural address, delivered by him in the new capitol "Let us, with courage and confidence, pursue our own Federal and Republican principles; our attachment to union and representative government.

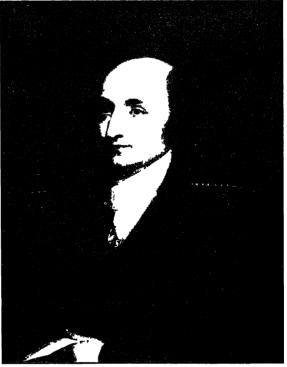
Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havor of one-quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others, possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation, entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisition of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and from our sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed indeed and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which, by all its dispensa-, tions, proves that it delights in the happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter, with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous nation? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens, a wise and frugal government which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them free to regulate their own pursuit of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities."



464 From the portrait of Jefferson, 1821, by Thomas Sully (1783-1872) in the Library of the United States Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.

JEFFERSON'S CHIEF ADVISERS

JEFFERSON'S cabinet selections still further illuminate the man Three, Henry Dearborn and Levi Lincoln of Massachusetts and Gideon Gianger of Connecticut, came from the stronghold of Federal-1sm, which had given Jefferson but one vote in the electoral college Robert Smith of Maryland became head of the Navy Department. These men were either of mediocre ability or in charge of military administration, a matter in which the President took little interest. His real advisors were two, Madison as Secretary of State and Gallatin at the Treasury Albert Gallatin was the ablest financier among the Republicans. A graduate of the University of Geneva, he had come to America in 1780 Since his election to the House of Representatives in 1795 he had made public finance his special study. In that body he had become the recognized Republican leader Gallatin's thirteen years as Secretary of the Treasury developed a policy pleasing to his leaders and their supporters. His major care at this time was to reduce the public debt. His economy was on a fair way to achievement when foreign disturbances came to disrupt his thrifty plans.



465 Albert Gallatin, 1751-1849, from the portrait by Gilbert Stuart in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

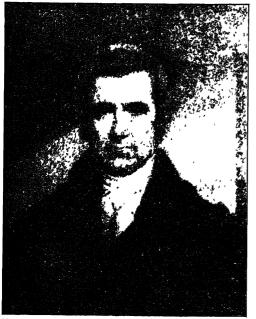
CONGRESS IS GUIDED BY RANDOLPH

With a working majority in both Houses, the administrative program fared well—Persons still confined under the Sedition Act were pardoued, the Hamiltonian whisky tax was repealed, the residence requirement for



466 John Randolph of Roaneke, 1773–1833, from the portrait by Chester Harding (1792–1866) in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

naturalization reestablished at five years, and the army, navy and diplomatic corps reduced. The President's spokesman was John Randolph of Roanoke, who had entered the House on the wave of opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts and was to prove a consistent strict constructionist. This led him later to break with Jefferson. But now he was administration leader and his keen wit and sareasm were employed against the Federalist The first clash with the Federalists came enemies early. On February 13, 1801, the hang-over Congress had passed a Judiciary Act (No 404) which set up a machinery of courts which the Republicans considered needlessly expensive. Worse than this, Adams had in the last hours of his administration filled the sixteen new judgeships with stanch Federalists, among them defeated Congressmen. The incoming Republicans regarded the measure, and with some cause, as a partisan device designed to perpetuate Federalist power Repeal was accomplished on March 31, 1802 "Judges created for political purposes, and for the worst of purposes under a republican government, for the purpose of opposing the National will, from this day cease to exist," rejoiced the National Intelligencer.



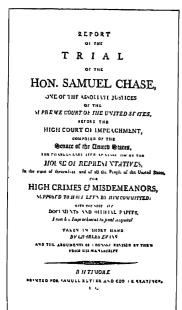
467 John Marshall, 1755-1835, from the portrait by John Wesley Jarvis (1780-1840) in the possession of R S Marshall, Portsmouth, Va, courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library, New York

JEFFERSON AND MARSHALL HAVE OPPOSING VIEWS

In June, two of the new judges sitting in the Supreme Court had instructed the District Attorney to prosecute the editor of the National Intelligencer for libel against the Judiciary. Though the matter was dropped, it had spurred Jefferson's zeal to get rid of such partisans Another event soon after strengthened this desire. On January 20, John Adams had nominated John Marshall of Virginia, acting Secretary of State, to be Chief Justice Marshall had long been the subject of Jefferson's dishke, while Marshall thought no better of the new President. The opinions of the Chief Justice in the famous case of Marbury vs Madison, 1803, were regarded by Jefferson with high indignation as an unwarranted and partisan "attempt in subversion of the individuals of the Executive Cabinet within their peculiar departments" Indeed, the contemporary criticism of Marshall's opinion was chiefly of this character; almost no attention was paid to the enunciation of that principle of judicial review that has since made Marbury vs. Madison a "leading case."

THE REPUBLICANS ATTACK THE JUDICIARY

Bir by bit, the Republicans became convinced that they could not hope to govern the country with the judiciary in the hands of hostile partisans. Hence began a general attack on the judges. They first dealt with John Pickering of the Federal District court in New Hampshire. As he was a drunkard and mentally incapacitated, it was easy to secure his impeachment by the House and removal by the Schate. Then charges were brought against Samuel Chase of the Supreme Court. Chase had been a Revolutionary hero, but since 1796 his conduct on the bench had been notoriously partisan. His handling of cases under the Ahen and Sedition Acts was remembered by Republicans with hatred. He had actively campaigned for



Adams in 1800. This was no unusual action for the judges of the day, but when, in May, 1803, in the course of charging a grand jury, Chase attacked the President and his principles, Jefferson gave the word to prosecute. But the House, and its manager, John Randolph, overdid it The Senate refused to find Chase guilty. The attack on the judiciary had failed. Not until 1811 did a majority of the Supreme Court owe their selection to the Republicans; even then Marshall's personality and views continued to dominate.



469 Samuel Chase, 1741–1811, from the portrait by C W. Peale in Independence Hall, Philadelphia

THE LOUISIANA COLONY BECOMES A CHILD OF FRANCE

MEANWHILE, the shifting currents of European politics were creating a new issue. Napoleon was master of France and eager to extend his power War with England was closing, Talleyrand pointed to America as a fruitful scene for new glory So on Oct 1, 1800, by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, Spain was persuaded to cede Louisiana to France. In March, 1802, the Peace of Amiens threw open to France the high seas. These developments perturbed the United States. No man in the country was more interested in the welfare of the West than the President. Now, when the settlement of 1763 with Spain seemed about to be reopened to the disadvantage of America he wrote Robert R. Livingston, Mmister at Paris "There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans. . . . " So long as that outlet for the Mississippi country was in the lax and indolent hands of Spain trouble could be avoided, but once let the strongest of European countries, controlled by the indomitable ambition of Napoleon, enter the country, and American interests were at hazard.



471 Robert R. Livingston, 1746-1813, from the portrait about 1796 by St. Memin, in the New York Public Library

PROCLAMATION.

AU NOM DE LA REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

VERTU



Le Général de Division VICTOR, Capitaine Général de la LOUISIANE. AUX LOUISIANAIS.

CHERS LOUISIANAIS!

 ${f P}$ ar in Truc die 2000 de Gouvernement i Rancais ets \imath majesté leroi d'espagne, arphiLA LOUISIANE est redevenue une Propriéte de la République l'enquite Je viers au nom de fon Premier Magillant, l'annorsel BONAPARTE, prendre policision de vetre instruffante Colonie, & affocut fou fort aux es destinées du Peuple Français.

ngu'd préfem, chers Louisiannis, maigré voire lige conduite, ét cous vas essors pour lagra ne Colonie, vous n'acce ple qu'y enprener le mouvement de vous actiente, que vous conferver dans de cercle danns de vos mocienyes policisions, vous n'avez pu profiter de toutes les reffour, es que vous offrais s l'agriculture, un territoire valla de lécond, vous d'avez pu fine tournes au profit d'un commerce plus profi, soutes les ribbestes de vorre boureux fui

Je viens au nom de noire Couvernement, vous offre les moyens que doivent multiplier vos jouissiment; je cons sprogra des loix qui ont fait la gloin. de la Nation Françaite, comme elles affecent fa tranquilles de fon bondeur Euroun, de Majakres probes & celairés, nous realiterens avoc les vârres pour utalife au milion de cour une judice le creatible. Luc relamifement Sage de prevenunt conners le mouvement & la vie à l'agriculture de a toure des branches de l'induffra. L'un commerce, se vous amene enfin de provenue frees gre corner man consequential incide all an an de le renne a voire, nour voire ell ner d' voirs a Del emer tout d'illelet tement contoude e nous m'alloge plus former que une ficile l'antie est enquile me urvallierens an bondeur de chacun & à la prospérie generale. Desonu voire père , l'en aussi sonne lagge dreife, is a celle placeificul la follier u'a de la mene parte pour apour et ce que pourou manque

Chere Lumianais : ne eraltoez rien de cere melle impolante de Cuttriere qui refentissem muite une acoulfe dans les combore leur à deja menue chere effime , les verus que les diffreque remote a les aimer. The reformation & flavour reflection des droits & von programme, Sape to a drote y pestite attaligne, in team n'autent fempour l'attente, qu'a cous lucter de leux const up. 4

Ourse's moi, Chers Lecturers, famal affic fatt pour mon bonken it le puis affirer le voure a rilles às par mes forma

The French Proclamation to the people of Louisiana, 1802, from the copy in the New York Historical Society

(Translation) In the name of the French Republic, Victor, General of Division, Captain General of Louisiana, to the Louisianians

In the name of the French Republic, Victor, General of Division, Captain General of Louisianians (e) the Louisianians

Dear Louisianians

By a treaty made between the Flench Government and His Majesty the King of Spain, Louisiana has become a property of the French Republic I come in the name of its First Consul, the immortal Nandoen, to take possession of your interesting Colony, and to join your fortunes to the brilliant destines of the French People

Up it the present time, dear Louisianians, in spite of your wise conduct, and all your efforts for the aggrandizement of your Colony, you have been able to stamp the result of your activities only within the narrow circle of your old possessions, you have not been able to take advantage of all the resources offered for agriculture in this vast and fecund teritory, you have not been able to turn to the profit of a larger commerce all the rich truits of your happy soil.

I come in the name of our Government to offer you means to multiply your pleasures. I bring you the laws that have made the glory of the French Nation, for they assure its tranquillity and its happiness. Surrounded by just and enlightened magistrates, we shall vie with you in establishing incorruptible justice in your midst. A wise and far-sighted administration will give movement and life to agriculture and to all branches of industry and of commerce it bring you brothers like myself who even though we have not previously met you, know you well enough to esteem and cherish you. Henceforth all delightfully mingling together, we shall form a family, each one of whose members shall work for the happiness and prosperity of all I shall feel for you the tenderness of the father that I have become. I shall show unceasingly the solicitude of the mother-country to provide the Colony with anything that it may need.

Dear Louislanians, do not fear the imposing group of warriors who surround me The glory that they have acquired in battle merits your esteem, the virtues that distinguish them will permit you t

JEFFERSON USES DIPLOMACY TO AVOID WAR

RUMOR of the treaty of cession came to Washington. Before it was a certainty, the Spanish Government in New Orleans closed the port on the technical ground that the United States had failed to apply for the extension of the privilege as provided for in the Pinckney treaty of 1795. The West was aroused; but Jefferson, abhorring war, thought diplomacy might succeed. Livingston was instructed to impress France with our determination to keep the Mississippi open, and with that end in view to sound Napoleon on the purchase of West Florida and New Orleans. Monroe, Jefferson's favorite diplomat, was dispatched to aid Livingston.



472 From a sculptured group Synning the Louisiana Treaty by Karl Bitter (1867-1915) on the Louisiana Monument, Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis

NAPOLEON SELLS LOUISIANA TO THE UNITED STATES

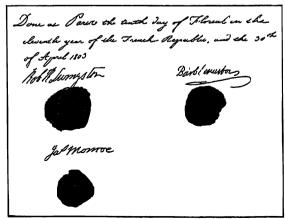
THE ultimate success of the American policy was aided by several events. Napoleon's colonizing scheme rested upon the rich island of Santo Domingo, Haytı. But a successful slave uprısıng and the appearance of yellow fever persuaded Napoleon to abandon the island. Louisiana was now useless to him; moreover, another war with England was brewing for which he needed money. So in April, 1803, Barbé-Marbois made an offer to Livingston to sell, not simply Orleans and West Florida, but all Louisi-After some haggling, the bargain was struck for \$15,000,000. Livingston, Monroe, and Marbois signed the treaty, which added to American sovereignty more land than was contained in all the original thirteen states.

Treaty Between the Vnited States of Smericar and the Trench Republics

The President of the Touted take of America and the Frest > Goward of the Swank My the in the wome of the Sweet . People descring to comme att Source of mone horstanding . relative to objects of Sumpor mer tound in the Summer and fifth ustale with fine con of the for Konta in relative to the rights i love it by the Could links, in suche of the Treaty constand we Marked the 27 of Odoba 1795 between s The fullaber Mayery & the Sand Yould the & walling to Sangleson the woon und freedoby which we the down of the Jand function was hoggetly restablished between the ton rations how respectively runed the Plenypolentation to wie The Sussedine of the Vaded Suter by and well the Direct and course of the Sands of the Land State . Robers - R Lavergeton Mounter Phonepolentary of the Will States and James Monroe . Humber Stenypolentury and lowery entered throng of the Soul States were the Government of the Sound Reguller, and the Trust foresed in the name of the Annah graph , figure Frances Barbe Murbour Mouston of the public landway who of the having regretesaly rechanged there full prount him ugreed to the following

POSSESSION OF LOUISIANA DISARMS CRITICISM

JEFFERSON was pleased and yet perturbed. The trans-Appalachian people were now assured of a trade route; but acquisition of the new territory conflicted with the doctrine of the strict construction of the Constitution he had so often announced. He even prepared an amendment to cover the matter, but fear lest Napoleon might change his mind, and also pressure from the frontier, caused it to be given up. The President summoned Congress into special session, the treaty was ratified on October 26, 1803, and the delicate point of constitutional law was overborne by the fact of actual possession.

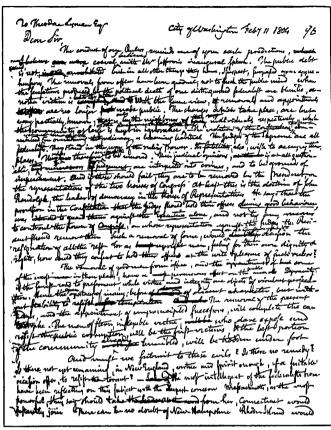


IRRECONCILABLES SUGGEST A MOVE TOWARD DISUNION

THE Federalists could not oppose the Louisiana Purchase on grounds of strict construction, but their dislike for the "lordlings of the South" found a pretext for opposition. The treaty provided for the ultimate admission of the ceded territory into the Union as a state or states, and this meant a lessening of New England's importance in the National Government. So they advanced the doctrine that although under the Constitution territory could be annexed as a colony, admission of such territory as a state would require at least a constitutional amendment, involving the consent of three-fourths of the states When this proposition failed of acceptance, a few irreconcilables, led by Tunothy Pickering and Roger Griswold of Massachusetts, broached the advisability of secession, and, although discouraged in their designs by such Federalists as Fisher Ames and George Cabot, they considered that if they could enlist New York's support the scheme would succeed. But New York was Democratic-Republican. How could it be won? The Federalists placed their hopes on Aaron Burr.



476 Aaron Burr, 1756–1836, from the portrait by John Vanderlyn in the New York Historical Society



475 First page of the letter from Timothy Pickering to Theodore Lyman, Feb 11, 1804, reterring to possible dissolution of the Union, original in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

FEDERALIST RELIANCE ON AARON BURR

No American career has been more checkered than Burr's. Son of Princeton's first President and grandson of Jonathan Edwards, he began life auspiciously. After serving with distinction during the war, he began in 1783 the practice of law in New York City. Owing partly to the restrictions then imposed upon Loyalist lawyers, his practice soon became highly lucrative. He also began a public career that showed him a master politician. From state offices he went in 1791 to the United States Senate. His services in the 1800 campaign were indispensable to the Republican cause; but his complicity in the Federalist jobbery resulting from that election lost him any remaining shreds of regard by the leaders of the party. Henry Adams thus characterizes the Burr of the early nmeteenth century: "An aristocrat imbued with the morality of Lord Chesterfield and Napoleon Bonaparte, Colonel Burr was chosen the head of the Northern democracy. He was the idol of the wards of New York City, and aspirant to the highest offices he could reach by means legal or beyond the law; or, as he pleased himself with saying, after the manner of the First Consul of the French Republic, 'Great souls care little for small morals."

NEW-YORK EFENING POST.

WEDNESDAY, TULY 19

The statement containing the facts that led to the interview between General Hamilton and Col Burn, published in the Eyeding Post on Monday last, audiously ayroded mentioning any particulars of what past at the place of meeting. This was decrated by shytable considerations at the time, and with the intention, that whatever it might be deemed propertie by before the public, should be made the subject of a future communication. The following is therefore now submitted.

In the interviews that have since taken place between the gradiemen that were present, they have the been able to agree in two important facts that passed there—for which reason gothing was said on those subjects in the paper lately published as coother particulars in which they were agreed.

Mr P expressed a confident opinion that Gene ral Hamilton did not fire first—and that he did not fire at all at Cvi. Burr Mr V. N secreted equality conditions to opinion that General H did fire first—and of course that it must have been at his aniago

General Hamilton's friend thinks at to be a sacred duty he owes to the memory of that exalted map, to his country, and his friends, to publish to the world such facts and circumstanges as have produced a desaure conviction in his own mind, that he can not have been minaken in the belief he has formed on those nonli-

lst Beardes the testimonies of Bishop Moore, and the paper containing an express declaration, under General Hamilton's own hand, inclosed to his friend to a packet, not to be delivered but in the event of

his death, And which have already been published, General Hamfton mformed'Mr P at least ten days previous to the Stair, that he had doubts whether he would not sacelve and not return M. Burr's first fire Mr P. remonstrated against this determination, and urged many considerations against it, as dangerous to tumself and not necessary in the particular case, when every ground of accommodation, not hemiliating, had been proposed and rejected. He said he would not de cide liebile. his take time to del be are fully it was incidentally mentioned again at their octasional subsequent conversations, and on the evening preceding the time of the appointed interview, he informed Mr P he had made up his mind not to fire at Col Burr the first same, but to receipe his fue, and fire in the air. Mr P again urged him upon this subject and repeated his former arguments. His heal an swer was in terms that made an impression on Mr P's mind which can never be affaced " My friend, It is the effect of a nautotous scaupet and does not admit of reasoning; it is useless to say more on the subject, as my purpose is definitively fixed "

2d His last words before he was wounded afford a percof that this jumpose had not changed. Within he received him pland, after having taken his position, he was asked if he would have the bair spring act?—His answer was, "Not this time"

3d' After he was wounded, and laid in the book, the first words he intered after recovering the power of speech, were, laddressing himself to a gentleman present, who perfectly well temperature in Pendleton knows I did not mean to five at Col. Bust the first time "

4th The determination had been communicated by Mr P. to that gentleman that morning, before they left the city

5th The pistol that had been used by General Hamilton, laying loose over the other appearate in the case which was open; after having been some time in the boat, one of the boatmen took hold of fits put it into the exse. General Hamilton observing this, raid "Take care of that pated—it is cocked—it may go off and do mischelly?" Thus is also rentermbered by the Gentleman alluded to.

This shows that he way not sensible of having fired at all. If he, had dread presuments receiving the wound, he would have received at the hard known that the plated could not go off, but if afterwards at must have been the effect, of an unyof, entary exertion of the muscles produced by a morral exercise the case, he sould not have been convenient of having fixed.

6. Mr P having so atrong a conviction that if General Hamilton had fired first, it could not have escaped his attention, (all his anxiety being alive for the effect of the first fire, and having no reason to beheve the friend of Col. Burr was not sincere in the contrary opinion,) he determined to go to the spot where the affair took place, to see if he could not discover some traces of the course of the bell from General Hamilton's piatol. He took a friend with hun the day after General Hamilton died, and after some examination they foriunately found what they were m search of They ascertained that the ball passed through the high of a order tree, at an elevation of about twelve fort and an half, perpendicularly from the ground, between thurteen and fourteen feet from the mark on which General Hamilton stood, and about four feet wide of the direct link herement him and Colonel Burr, on the right side; he having fallen on the left. The part of the limb through which the half passed was cut of and brought to this city, and is now in Mr Church's possession

No inferences are pointed out as resulting from these faces, nor will any comments be made. They are left to the candid judgment and feelings of the public.

477

Contemporary comment on the Burr-Hamilton episode, from the New York Evening Post, July 19, 1804

THE BURR-HAMILTON DUEL

THE Federalist conspirators found Burr in complaint mood. He was in the midst of a bitter struggle for supremacy in New York politics. The antagonism of Jefferson had thrown all patronage to Burr's rivals, the Clintons and the Livingstons. He was thus in the market for support, and accepted Federalist backing in the gubernatorial race of 1804. This alliance met with the stubborn opposition of Hamilton, friend of union and foe of Burr. Burr, defeated, laid the cause at the door of Hamilton, as he had done in 1800. Angry to the core, he called upon Hamilton to make good the charges the latter had sponsored in the campaign. The duel that followed in 1804 was a momentous event. The Federalists lost a great leader, the "Northern Confederacy" foundered, and Burr was compelled to flee as a murderer.



478 Blennerhassett's Island, from an engraving by F E Jones after a sketch by Lizzle Forbes for The Ladies Repository, Feb 1859

BURR GOES WEST

Broken in the East, Burr's audacious ambition led him to the West. Crossing the Alleghanies, he drifted to Blennerhassett's Island in the Ohio, near Marietta. It was the show place of the West, thanks to the mansion and estates of Harman Blennerhassett, a wealthy Irishman of good blood, born in England, who had settled here in 1798. He had surrounded himself with all the culture possible and whiled away his time with philosophy, music, and the arts.

BURR ENLISTS SUPPORT FOR A VAGUE SCHEME

WITH Blennerhasset was his talented wife, afterward to attain some fame as a poet. To them Burr broached a scheme which has never been fully understood. They fell in with his design and contributed money, energy, and supplies. The island became a hive of military activity Further to insure success, Burr won the support of General Wilkinson, then



480 General James Wilkinson, 1757-1825, from the portrait, 1808, by St Memin in the Corcoran Gallery of Att, Washington

in command of the army and Governor of the Louisiana Territory, and as twofaced a villain as served the ever United States Government. Other leaders of the turbulent West Burr won through magnificent fabrications of his fertile mind, the mind of a romantic politician in a romantic age.



479 Harman Blennerhassett, 1765–1831, from William H. Safford, The Blennerhassett Papers, Cincinnati, 1864, after the engraving by A. H. Ritchie (1822–95)

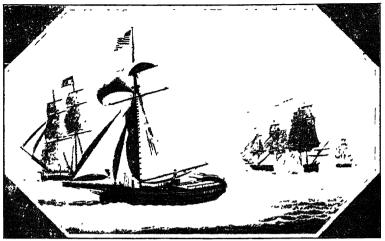
BURR CAPTURED AND TRIED FOR TREASON

Through 1805 and 1806 Burr carried on his involved negotiations. Rumor was rife throughout the West, but the Federal authorities were slow to act. At last Jefferson became convinced of the seriousness of the movement. A presidential proclamation of November 27, 1806, called for the arrest of all involved. Wilkinson and others deserted and Burr found himself a miserable fugitive. Finally caught in Alabama, he was brought to Virginia for trial on the charge of treason.

The case was an event of unparalleled social and political interest. It was tried in the United States Circuit Court sitting at Richmond. Burr's charming daughter Theodosia won him the sympathy of many, and the court room was packed to hear and see the eminent participants. Chief Justice Marshall presided. Luther Martin and Edmund Randolph were counsel for the accused, and William Wirt for the Government. John Randolph was foreman of the grand jury. The trial was widely regarded as a test of strength between the Chief Justice and the President. Certainly Burr's acquittal on technical grounds did not lessen Jefferson's animosity toward the leader of the Federalist bench. Burr was again tried on a charge of misdemeanor and was again acquitted.



From the painting The Trial of Aaron Burr by C V (1869-) in the possession of the publishers



482 The British Attack by the *Leander*, from a contemporary print published by J J Barralet in the collection of N S Bartow, courtesy of the American Art Association, New York

AMERICA SUFFERS FROM THE BRITISH-FRENCH QUARREL

MEANWHILE, despite factional quarrels arising from the centralizing tendencies of the administration, Jefferson had been triumphantly reclected in 1804. His troubles seemed to have vanished. In December he wrote: "Peace is smoothing our path at home and abroad" In this he was unfortunately mistaken. The Peace of Amiens had been broken in the final struggle between Napoleon and England.

Each employed all efforts to cripple the other, let neutrals suffer as they might. The chief neutral was the United States. After Trafalgar in 1805 England felt free to tighten her control of the seas. The competition of the American mercantile marine was proving damaging to the British merchant. The rule of 1756, for-

bidding neutral trade to ports closed to them in time of peace, was revived, and strengthened by an admiralty case in 1805. If France would not permit Americans to share in the trade of the French West Indies in time of peace, she should not be permitted to throw open these West Indian ports after war had been declared and after the British navy had driven the French merchant fleet from the Atlantic. In May, 1805, Fox's blockade closed French ports from Ostend to Brest to American vessels. Finding it more convenient to blockade the American coast than the European, British vessels were stationed off New York. Their policing proved highly obnoxious and occasionally warlike. killing of John Pierce by a shot from the Leander, a British warship off Sandy Hook, April 28, 1806, was an unwarranted act of barbarity that aroused American resentment.

THE BLOCKADE IS TIGHTENED

Napoleon countered with the Berlin Decree of November, 1806, declaring a blockade of the British Isles, and confiscation of all vessels coming from England to a French port. The English ministry replied with two Orders-in-Council, of January and November, 1807, which extended Great Britain's blockade to every European port from Copenhagen to Trieste. There followed Napoleon's Milan Decree of December. By the end of 1807 any ship bound for Europe, except for Russia, Sweden, or Turkey, was liable to capture by one or the other of the warring parties.

Paumb, 15990. [33]

The London Gazette.

Publiched by Authority.

From Cuestay January 6, to Saturbay January 10, 1807.

A T the Court at the Lymn's Palace, the 7th | Enemy, without taking some Steps on Ilia Part to of Jasuary 1809,

PRESENT,

KING's Most Excellent Majesty in Council. WHEREAS the French Coordinates has
iffued certain Orders, which, in Violation of
the Ulages of War, purport to prohibit the Commerce of all Neutral Nations such His Majefty's Dominions; and also to prevent such Nations i trading with any other Country is any Articles the Growth, Produce, or Manufacture of His Mijethy's Donumons; and whereas the faild Government has also taken upon stielf to declare all His Majesty's unions to be in a State of Blockade, at a T en the Fleets of France and her Alber are themfelves confined within their own Ports by the fu-perior Valour and Discipline of the British Navy; and whereas such Astempts on the Part of the Enemy would give to His Majefly an unquefinosable Right of Retaintion, and would warrart His Ma jefty is enforcing the fame Prohibition of all Com-merce with France, which that Power vanily hopes to effect against the Commerce of His Majefty's Subjects a Prohibition which the Superiority of His Maje 13's Naval Forces might enable hi Support, by actually investing the Ports and Coafts of the Enemy with numerous Squadross as Cruviers, to as to stake the Entrance or Appros thereto manifeltly dangerous; and whereas His Majefly, though unwilling to follow the Example of His Enemies, by praceeding to an Extremely for differling to all Nations not engaged in the War, and carrying on their accustomed Trade, yet feels Himfelf bound by a due Regard to the just De-sence of the Rights and Laterska of His People, sot to fuffer fuch Menfures to be taken by the

Leneny, attitude training tomes Steps on Its Park to refirm that Volences, and it or retort upon them the Evils of their own Injustice; Him Magely in thereupon pleading, by and with the Advice of He Pray Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that no Veifel finall be permutted to trade from one Port to acapter, both which Porus finall belong to or be in the Politifies of France or her Allian, or hill be for in under their Courtered in their Bright Veifels may not freely trade thereast; and the Commanders of Ha Magely's Slups of Wan and Privateers finall be, and are hereby instructed, to warn every Neutral Veifel coming from my fach Port, and defuned to another fuch Port, to diffeotises her Voyage, and not to proceed to any fach Port; and any Veifel are bung for warned, or any Veifel coming from any fach Port, after a reasonable Time fault have been afforded for receiving Information of the Hu Magelly's Order, which fault be found proceeding at another fach Port, fault be found proceeding at another fach Port, fault be fund proceeding to another fach fort, fault be fund proceeding to another fach Port, fault be fund proceeding to a not the fach fact that the fact of the Hugh Court of Adminity, and the Judges of the High Court of Adminity and Court of Vice Adminity, are to take the necessity Medianes berein as to them fault referedively and the pretain.

P. Fewbare

Die Mercery, 31* December: 1806.

ORDERED, by the Lord fiperane and Temporal, in Padament affemble, That the House will not receive my Pecture for province Illi after Friday the 21th of February and Control of the Co

Report from the Judges upon Petitions prefeated the House for private Bills, after the first Day a Masting after the Receis at Easter,

THE EUROPEAN WAR IS CARRIED INTO AMERICA

In theory, there was little to choose between the two belligerent nations. At first Americans sided with one or the other as party tradition dictated. The Federalists fancied war with France, the Republicans war with England. At any rate, a foreign issue was once again intruded into American politics and Jefferson's hopes for peace were rudely shattered. Jefferson desired peace and endeavored to maintain an honorable neutrality. But Britain's command of the sea rendered her conduct more odious in effect than the equally dictatorial policy of Napoleon. So it was against England that Jefferson directed his neutralization scheme. For long he had believed that America could maintain peace under such trying conditions by the use of a policy of commercial discrimination. He had witnessed the success of the non-importation agreements of colonial days; he revived the method now. In March, 1806, a Non-Importation Act was passed

The finishing STROKE.

Every Shot's a Vote.

and every Vote

KILLS A TORY!

DO YOUR DUTY, REPUBLICANS Let your exertions this day

Put down the Kings

AND TYRANTS OF BRITAIN.

LAST DAY.

April, 1807.

Republican broadside, 1807, directed against "British" Federalists, from the copy in the New York Historical Society

excluding such British goods as were not essential to America. Before this mild measure became operative he sent William Pinkney to London to negotiate a treaty which should restore mutual confidence. But the treaty proved so advantageous to Great Britain that Jefferson rejected it without submitting it to the Senate.

Wednesday, July 8, 1807.

BY THOMAS JEFFERSON,
PRESENCE OF MESSES,
A POCCEMBATION.

During the write which, for some time, have unhappity prevalid among the powers of European the United States of America, firm in their product of the United States of America, firm in their product of the United States of America, firm in their product of the United States of America, firm in their product of the United States of America, firm in their product of the United States of America, firm in their product of the United States of America, firm in their product of the United States of America, firm in their product of the United States of America, firm in their product of the United States of America, firm in their product of the United States of America, firm in their product of the United States of America, and the United States of America, firm in their product of the United States of America, firm in their product of the United States of America, firm in their product of the United States of America, which was the United S

As length, a deed, transcending all we have hitherts near or suffered, brings the public sembility to a serious, risk, and our fortecument to a necessary pause. A frigate of the U States fait depart as aforeased, or if they or any other bor on a distant service, has been surprised and or waters aloreated, if do in that case found all linearized by a British wasel of a squadron than lying in our waters and or crews, and do probabil all supplies and add from service, with the loss of a number of men billed and wounded. This normally was not only without provocation or justifishes gause, but was

siven at the city of Washington the second day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven, and of the sovereignty and independence of the United States the thirty-first

THA JEFFERSON. THE PRESIDENT

TAMES MADISON.

Secretary of State

JEFFERSON RESISTS BRITISH IMPOSITIONS

SHORTLY thereafter a further strain was placed upon Jefferson's conciliatory temper. Britain had never ceased to insist upon the inalienability of British allegiance, as applied to sailors in foreign service. Now, with American commerce flourishing, high wages brought many desertions from the English merchant marine and navy. So the policy of impressment was resumed This came to a head in June, 1807, when? the Leopard fired upon, stopped, and took several men from the United States frigate Chesapeake

TENTH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

At the thirst Dession.

Begun and held at the city of Washington, in the territory of Columbia, on Monday the twenty-sixth of October, one thousand eight bundred and seven.

AN ACT

Be it enacted by the Schate and House of Representance of the United States of America, in Congress assembled. That is also legan a to be I don't also interior a sorry or a time our superior that the sorry and because I do that the top from the continue to the continue of the sorry and the sor and the same for a second of the second of t is made in the first that the first states the purchase of some and water agest. The first weeter than to become before the first weeter to the course of the control of the control of the control of what are not and more experienced by the control of the control in the control of the the more than the second that the second of the second of

Edward Co

The Embargo Act 1807, from the original in the Department of State, Washington

FOREIGN COMMERCE IS FORBIDDEN

Such incidents convinced the President that stiffer measures must be taken. He, therefore, pushed the Non-Importation Act further in the Embargo Act of December, 1807. All foreign commerce was, for an indefinite future, prohibited.

SMUGGLING THRIVES UNDER EMBARGO

ENFORCEMENT of such a drastic policy proved harder than enactment. Shipowners and merchants were loath to surrender a highly profitable, if dangerous, trade. As prices fell, even the farmers began to resent the policy of passive coercion. Smuggling throve, despite rigorous enforcement measures, passed in 1808; even rowboats were subject to surveillance.

EMBARGO. THE

A SONG COMPOSED AND SUNG AT DOVER. JULY 4th, 1808

[TUNE-Come let us prepare-]

DEAR Sirs, it is wrong To demand a New Song, I have let all the breath I can spare, go, With the Muse I've conserd, And the wont fay a word,

But keeps laughing about the EMBARGO I wish that I could Sing in Alego mond,
But the times are as flupid as Largo,
Could I have my choice,

I would strain up my voice,
'I ill it fnapt all the strings of Exerago

Our great politicians,
Those dealers in visions,
On paper to all lengths will dare go,
But when call'd to decide, Like a turtle they hide,

In their own preity fhell the EMBARGO In the time that we try, To put out Britains eye, I fear we shall let our own pair go,

But yet we're fo wife, We can fee with French eves, And then we shall like the EMBARGO

A French privateer Can have nothing to fear an have nothing to fear, [go, She may load, and may hear or may there Their friendship is such
And we love them so much,
We let them slip thro' the EMBARGO

Our ships all in motion Once whiten'd the ocean

They fall d and return d with a Cargo Now doom d to decay,
They are fallen a prey,
To Jefferson, worms, and EMBARGO

Left Britain should take A few men by militake, Who under false colors may dare go, We re manning their fleet With our Tars, that retreat

From poverts, floth, and EMBARGO

What a fuss we have made, About rights and fire trade, And swore we ed not let our own share go, Now we can t for our fouls Bring a Hake from the fheals,

' I's a breach of the twentieth ENRARGO

Our Farmers to gay, How they gallop d away, Twas money that made the old mare go, But now the wont fir, For the whip or the ipur,

Till they take off her clog, the EMBARGO. If you alk for a debt,

The man turns in a pet,
"I pay fir ? I'll noi let a hair go, "If your officer comes,
"I fhall put up my thumbs,
"And clap on his breath an EMBARGO"

Thus Thommy destroys, A great part of our joys ; Yet we'll not let the beautiful fair, go ,

They all will contrive To keep commerce alive,
There's nothing they hate like EMBARGO

Since rulers defign, To deprive us of wme, 'Tis belt that we now have a rate go .

Then each to his polt, And fee who will do most, To knock out the blocks of EMBARGO.

PRINTED and for fale by J. K. REMICH, at his Printing Office on Dover Landing

AMERICANS:

See the EXECUTION of BONAPARTE'S Orders to Burn, Sink, and Deftroy your Ships!







Look on this Picture! Read the transactions on which it is founded and for Sullivan, or any other Partizan of France if you can !!-

BOSTON, Mince 40

RELLECTIONS
If we can plus of the rections of him only County, when without a punk tarm it we consistent the La reau Comperer in Han-

ACS though the Beilish hard special beginning to the state of the Beilish hard any court so the Beilish hard any court so the Beilish their act to the court so the first hard first hard such that the court so the state of the

OR RIGHT TREMEN TIPACY And BARBAR

or AMIJEICANIO YE who you of Free h Boneville no. Who wer I come a Alliance I And who you to be included in Facility I And then before you have no rise sample of your Confee

FACIS OF OATH.

FACIS ON OATH.

On Moder it is anisot been the dup hadre of his added to buy it heart of tun, is no days from Largerori; and had no see that the subject of the Note by Bollow, it is no the subject of the Note by Bollow, it is not the subject of the Note by Bollow, it is not the subject of the Note by Bollow, and the following for the Direct Proposed arthresis to the Note that the note that Well ladge, when croops on the return, in I we at their cut of the note that the note that the Change. I fame as the French others' overding. Hurri was sudered on board the Fotor others, and directions were Harn was endered on bornt the F Controlleds, and direction wer-shat the stone should be removed the Focalonus, and the flap BUR. These orders were discreams co-musided, use flores returned, and harm was conypiled to take on In y-bears From belonging to the lowing American Stiffer, which has TAKNO and BURN' by the Fran-

and trigates, vin. William, Racha W., from Iduriped, Bentus of Durkmy, South, from

blua, Italiar, from Inverped, fe

It is Paragraphia class escaped consi-

Federalist broadside on French piracy, published at Boston, 1808, from the copy in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass

THE EMBARGO IS THE CAMPAIGN ISSUE

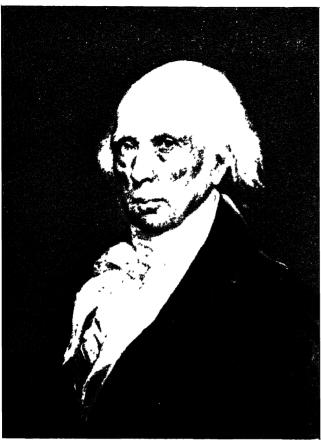
Under such circumstances occurred the election of 1808. Madison was the administration candidate; C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina stood again for the Federalists. John Randolph attempted to win support for Monroe in opposition to the Government. Throughout the states the election turned upon the issue of the embargo. Federalists denounced the Government for ruining trade and accused it of blundness to French maltreatment. The Republicans replied in kind, in manifestoes exploiting British truculence toward America. Once again, a foreign issue threw a shadow over domestic policy, and caused threats of secession to be made. New England after eight years of Republican rule and with four more in prospect was growing restive.

British Barbarity and Piracy!!

The Federalists say that Mr., Christopher Gore ought to be supported as Governor—for its attachment to Brunn.—If British influence is to effect the suffrages of a free people, let them read the following melancholy and outrageous conduct of British Piracy, and judge for themselves.

The " LEOPARD OUTSPOTTED" or Chesapeak Outrage outdone.

A Republican broadside, Boston, March 25, 1808, from the copy in the New York Historical Society



James Madison, 1751–1836, from the portrait by Asher B. Durand (1796–1886) in the New York Historical Society

MADISON BECOMES PRESIDENT

ALL the New England states, except Vermont, cast their votes for Pinckney, alleging that Jefferson's tactics were aimed at ruining their section of the country. Madison, however, won a majority of the electoral college and entered the presidency. He had behind him a long and distinguished career in the public service, but he had worked largely in the capacity of lieutenant to some more vigorous captain An excellent staff officer, Madison proved a weak leader. He is described as "possessing a calm expression and a penetrating blue eye; he looked like a thinking man." Small and plump, he was slow of speech and action. Though Jefferson retained an active interest in affairs, his master-hand was absent. Congressional factions assumed the power which Madison knew not how to use.

NEW ENGLAND AGITATES FOR EMBARGO REPEAL

Even before the close of Jefferson's administration the embargo had fallen. As its burden grew steadily greater, agitation in New England called for its repeal. Town meetings hotly debated the issue and sent petitions to Congress.

Town Meeting.

To the Inhabitants of the Town of

490

Salem.

Fralow Ctrizen.
You will know that your Selectmen have been decidedly of opation that it was necessary, mexperience, and improper for the Town of Salem to interfere with the General Government upon the question of removing the Embargo but as a legal number of the inhabitation of this power have requested them to call a meeting for the manager of the call a meeting for the manager of them. but an a legal number of the inhalitants of this nown have requested the into call a most-ing for the purpose of peritioning Congress on the subject, they have determed at their duty portains to the request of Bonjanin Pickensa jun. Esq and others, to usue and publish the following warrant, &c.

Per Order. JOHN PUNCHARD, Town Clerk

To bles of the Town of Salem.
You are bereby required forthweth to mostly and sean the Frecholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Salem, quality the season of the Town of Salem, and the Town of Salem on Weed No. 10 to the Salembie at the Meeting house called the Thermole in said Salem on Western of the Town will adopt the Following Fedicion, the presented to Congress as come as tony be then there are necessary by the Salembia Salembia

The Indubatants of Salarm in the State of Massachusetts, convened in legal Town Meeting, researchilly by research.

That in consequence of their local situstion they are abused whelly dependant apone foreign commerce for their subsistence. This, have been force seen with the deeper concern the constituence of the later later which have interested all such commerce, and subjected the constituence of the later later which have interested as the first later later which have interested and the first later later the power set of medding classes, have already suffered great desertate, and the search later allowed in the constituence of the later later

harteson, been able to obtain by their is bisted employment.

It new appears that there restrictive measures which have been defired on the expectation that they would include the boffger are to rescond their up and descree and ordern, have wholly fasted of product, that effect. But must the descree which course, it gives your Petuloners amplier autastaceous that a prospect so offered of opening a beneficial variety of the bistograms of form and Fortungs, and then offered of the order of the product of the order of the product of the product of the services who are entropying for a government of that own choice, and for the frequently of the order of the product of the first own that is a dety, it must be a paradication to the first and the product of the United States to and by a must thy advantageous commerce, the generous effects of that artific a that is not a first to recognize the independence of surfaces and for the Country,

Auest, JOHN PUNCHARD. Town Clerk.

To all real Americans and Friends of the Country.

You are called upon solemnly, to attend the Town Meeting, as warned above, to act on the foregoing petition. The government of your country have been endeavoring to maintain your rights and libertoes as an independent nation against G. Britain and France ; to protect our Geamen from impress-ment, and our trade from destruction; to resist taxistion by the British Gov. ernment upon our fair and honorable commerce; and to save our property from the avarice and injustice of pri-

valuers and anne of war. The embar go has been haid for these purposes, and the foregoing pertibut ealir upon you so desce the government and one yourselves up to the mercy and injustice of the belligarent powers. Have you no condicated in the government of your own choice? Are you willing continually to encourage to reign nations to infinite your notis by units. tions to infringe your rights by mishely avowing your determination not to hear any inconvenience to which a vinducation of them will subject you? If, like the Patnots of 1775, you are willing to bear all things rather than submit to be taxed by Great Britain, come forth and declare it, and vore

A caucus will be held by the True Americans, this Evening at 6 o'clock, at

WASHINGTON HALL. Attend, and shew your enemies the strength of the good old cause of Independence.

Salem Out 25, 1908.

Ma Symon Standard Both State of consistency Rolding and New Howard State Standard States of the despite of some entergrand and states and state

Connecticut Resolutions on the Embargo, Oct 1808, from the original in the Connecticut State Archives, Hartford

Resolved, that while we depressed was presented by parties but by accounting the aggregation of the state and compared to prove and the commence of a policy received of the state and compared to the commence of the state of the compared of the state of the st

Connecticut Resolutions on the Embargo, Oct 1808, from the original in the Connecticut State Archives, Hartford

NORTHERN STATES RESENT THE POWER OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

THE doctrine of state rights was for the moment borrowed from the Republicans and applied to the measures of Jefferson. Partisan legislatures in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Delaware passed resolutions denouncing the tyranny of the central government. The Connecticut Resolutions on the Embargo concluded, on behalf of the aggrieved people, with the "hope that the Congress of the United States will, at their approaching session, on a knowledge of their distresses, speedily decide that a removal of them is compatible with the peace, honor and happiness of the United States."

492

493

The offermaky have a terresed on the american commerce to the serveral acts of forgation for forgations from format programmes and more represently to an and after format property for young land by the Received of the Medical States of format the life of the life of the states of format the life of the li

494 Connecticut Resolutions on the Embargo, Feb 1803 (Extra Session) from the original in the Connecticut State Archives, Hartford

CONNECTICUT DEFIES THE SECRETARY OF WAR

In Connecticut, where were large commercial interests — Federalist in politics — opposition went to the extreme of nullification. On receipt of a letter from the Secretary of War, asking the Governor to assign militia officers "of known respect for the laws" to aid in enforcement of the embargo, Governor Trumbull sent a declination, and called the legislature into special session. To that body he presented his justification. "Whenever our national legislature is led to overleap the prescribed bounds of their constitutional powers, on the state legislatures, in great emergencies, devolves the arduous task - it is their right - it becomes their duty, to interpose their protecting shield between the right and liberty of the people, and the assumed power of the general government." This stand the legislature approved, and in a series of resolutions restated the condemnation of the "Enforcement Act." It issued an "Address to the People," and angled for support from the other New England states. One spirited response to the measure was The Embargo, by William Cullen Bryant at the time a boy of fourteen (see Vol. XI, p. 128).

department of likes, containing his referred tomake such stand automate research on the publish survey of the other as one burn ple to persons who was held places of stating which town there for our lives and produced to produce the forest on the forest of the forest of the forest of the forest of the state of the s



405 From a cartoon on the Non-Intercourse Act by "Peter Pencill," 1809, reproduced in the Bancker Collection catalogue, 1808, courtesy of S. V. Henkels

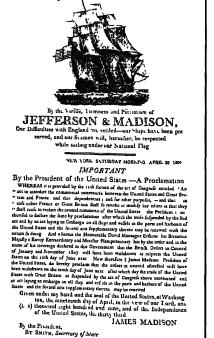
A NON-INTERCOURSE ACT SUPPLANTS THE EMBARGO

SUCH defiance forced the hand of the reluctant Jefferson. The Federalists in Congress, led by Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts, were joined by disgruntled Republicans such as John Randolph and Joseph Story. On

March 1, 1809, the embargo was supplanted by a Non-Intercourse Act which allowed trade with all the world except Great Britain and France. The President was empowered to suspend the prohibition against the latter whenever either of them rescinded her restrictions upon neutral commerce. The cartoon thrusts by the Federalist opposition are at Jefferson and the failure of his embargo "Intercourse" and policy "Non-intercourse" are sarcastically contrasted. Under the former, American trade suffers from foreign competition; under the latter, the American consumer feels the lack of commodities which had customarily come from abroad.



496 From a cartoon by "Peter Pencill," 1809, reproduced in the Bancker Collection catalogue, in 1898, courtesy of S V Henkels



By the President. RT Smith, Secretary of State

A Republican broadside, Apr 22, 1809, from the copy in the New York Historical Society

A FLUCTUATING POLICY AFFECTS INTERCOURSE

This relaxation of Jeffersonian policy brought a momentary gleam of hope at the opening of Madison's administration. Canning, British Minister of Foreign Affairs, instructed David Erskine, Minister at Washington, to offer the withdrawal of the Orders-in-Council on certain conditions. Erskine, exceeding his authority, represented the case to Madison in an unduly favorable light. The latter eagerly accepted the Minister's advances at face value, and on April 19 proclaimed a suspension of non-intercourse with Great Britain, to be effective June 10. In commercial circles Madison was hailed as a wizard-statesman: without delay a thousand ships were outfitted and dispatched to British ports to reopen the old profitable trade But when Canning learned of Erskine's action, the arrangement was disavowed and the Minister recalled. In deep chagrin, Madison had no recourse but to revive the Non-Intercourse Act against Great Britain. The policy of the Administration became increasingly unpopular. At length, in the spring of 1810, a further step toward its abandonment was taken. Macon's Bill No. 2 removed all restrictions on commerce, but authorized the President to recstablish them against one nation should it not within three months follow the action of the other in repealing its offensive regulations.

MADISON IS DECEIVED BY NAPOLEON'S SUBTLE POLICY

Napoleon had meanwhile been playing a crafty game. His actions had been as inconsiderate of the rights of neutrals as those of Great Britain, but because of his naval weakness not so oppressive to the United States. He feared, moreover, an alliance between America and Great Britain. When, however, the fiasco

of the Erskine negotiations stimulated American dislike of his enemy, Napoleon issued the Rambouillet Decree of March, 1810, confiscating all American vessels in ports under his control This conduct, he hoped, would lead to the reestablishment of the embargo, less injurious to him than to Great Britain. All this was changed by the Macon Act, which opened to his enemy a fruitful market. He therefore told Madison that on November 1, 1810, the Berlin and Milan Decrees would cease to operate, "it being well understood that in consequence the English are to revoke their Orders-in-Council and renounce the blockade." Madison fell into the trap. The President gave notice on November 2 that the French restrictions were removed, and asked Great Britain to revoke her orders. The latter refused. Madison thereupon issued a proclamation, under the authority of the Macon Act, restoring non-intercourse with Great Britain as of February 2, 1811. As news continued to come that Napoleon was still seizing all vessels breaking the decrees, the whole country, and particularly commercial New England, became intensely aroused. Then, at the critical moment, Napoleon released the vessels, and the war fever in America 498 swung against Great Britain.

Late and Highly Important Intelligence from FRANCE !!!The French Decrees nor repealed, on the 13th of March !! American Vessels Again Sequestered !! Or No American Ship can leave France without First obtaining a Special 87 Most all the American Masters will anandon their properly, and return home in a carred to New-York 17 IT It is now ascertained that the few American Versels released from France, cost their owners, the jull amount of them ! From the Fromard y Jureal Particulation and April 12. Cips Cime ... Deprime which piece 3.5 [48] conversely producing at 50 days from the production of the piece 3.5 [48] conversely producing at 50 days from the piece 3.5 [48] conversely producing at 50 days from push loope. Me already at 16 days from the push loope at 16 days from the push l From the Ferenac's Journal







500 John C Calhoun, 1782–1850, from the portrait, 1826, by Charles Bird King in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington

NEW BLOOD ENLIVENS THE TWELFTH CONGRESS

POPULAR resentment against Europe and the Administration was reflected in the election of 1810. Seventy new men appeared in the Twelfth Congress. Up to this time the political leaders were men of Revolutionary days, trained to temporizing caution. The new men were young, filled with an unreasoned patriotism and buoyancy. These "War Hawks" were more numerous in the House. Henry Clay of Kentucky, John C. Calhoun, Langdon Cheves and William Lowndes of South Carolina, and Felix Grundy of Tennessee were among the new spokesmen of the western spirit and western interests.





502 Langdon Cheves, 1776–1857, from a miniature, 1819, by Charles Fraser, owned by Mrs Louisa R. McCord Smythe, Charleston, S. C.

VILE AND DETESTABLE DEMOCRATICS TRICK EXPOSED!

THE last effort which has been made, to deceive the People of this County, as to the measures of the Federal Parry, and the characters of the men they are pieded to support, is perhaps the most fagrantly withest of say which has yer been adopted—On Thursday and the most of the People of the say which has yer been adopted—On Thursday last an inflammatory Hatdibill issued from the Figure of the Moreography of the Moreography of the Paraginia Proceding? —and Jon. Handy? This Handbill has been most industriously circulated, throughout the County—Hi purports to be made up of extracts from Federal New parient, published in 1804, and the substitution of the most of the process of the People of the Parish of the People of the Pe

which may have a tendency to accomplish their neistrous reference.

FROM THE HENDRILL

FROM THE CENTINEL OF JAN. 18, 1809]

AT A numarous meeting from different towns in the Councy of Hampshire, convened at North-Hampshire, on the 18th Jan. 1809, to the the present of the Hampshire, convened at North-Hampshire, on the 18th Jan. 1809, to take such consideration the present alarming condition of the U. States, and of this present alarming condition of the U. States, and of this present alarming condition of the U. States, and of this present alarming condition of the U. States, and of this present alarming condition of the U. States, and of this present alarming condition of the U. States, and of this present alarming condition of the U. States, and of the present and pelenthele tyrang—That our common constript has been, and still is suffering unusual and extraordinary batch tend to produce a DISOLUTION OF THE UNION—Therefore,

"Residend, That we highly approve of the conduct of the Legislature of this Commonwealth, and of their doings and proceedings at their last session, respecting our difference with Great Britian, and of the law laying as Embarge—That we have the fullest confidence in their wisdom and firmness, in their gall who measurer in future, as are in their power, to releve from the evilla generally fels—That we look to them to see that ample provision be made to sector and protect the inhabitance of the Commonwealth, from general and unreasonable search, Ge.

FROM THE CRATIVIT OF LAMMAY 18, 1809.

ans of this Commonwealth, from general and unreasonable search, Sec.

**RONT THE CRATTUPI OF LANGERT IS 1809.

**Considering the awful and eventful struggle now making in Europe, on the one hand to subjugate and ensiting in Europe, on the one hand to subjugate and ensiting in Europe, on the one hand to subjugate and ensiting in Europe, on the one hand to subjugate and ensiting in Europe, on the one hand to subjugate and ensiting in Europe, on the people of the United States—that our common country has been and still is suffiring unusual and extraordinary bundens from the measures recently adopted and pursued by the national government—That working our own commonwealth its treasures have been adjusted of the Europe and Crattally isoonsistent with the preservation of our republican form of government—That causes are continually occuping which tend to produce A MOST CALAMITOUS NEWENT—Distribution of the Union—and finally, that is the right and duty of those who love their country, and desire to perpetuate its liberty and independence in tenus of publick danger, boldly to call upon and urge their fellow curaens of all parties to exert themselves no promore the general welfare.—Therefore, Ersidents, That we have the fullest conduct of the Englishture of this Commonwealth in the choice of Electures of Fresident and Vice-President, and of their danger and proceedings at their last session respecting principles and proceedings at their last session respecting to their wasdom and firmness, in taking all such measures in future, as are in their power, to relieve from the first generally felt by the citizens, and once severely the first of those with the common respecting to their wasdom and firmness, in taking all such measures in future, as are in their power, to relieve from the first generally felt by the citizens, and more severely that first process and proceedings at their part of the Common-last, and to dwert the islal effects of hose with which a previous in the eastern part of the Common-last, and to dwert the i

many for free many to the many or many or many to a many the same of

habitants of the Commonwealth in the enlayment of these invaluable privileges secured by the ball of rights, and guaranteed by the federal construction, among which, we hold as more imagerant, the subord, at on if military powers to the five-the right of the firm from general and unreasonable search, and the ment of sections and finding sure and speedy redices for eigense suctional.

In the above passages, it is sufficient to point out two of the most gross and pulpable perversions of themeaning of the Federalists assembled at Northampton. The "ISSIGERY and UNOFFENDING NATIOS" referred of the most gross and polyhibit perversions of the meaning of the Federalists assembled at Northampton. The "ISNOCENT and UNOFFERDING NATION" referred to in the resolutions, is "Spina" which every body knows was then gloriously struggling against the "crackland released by any of Bonney at the "crackland released the supporters of these resolutions, of whom Covernour Strong is said to be one, with culogizing England" at an innecent and urificiation anation.—The is not all.—The resolutions speak of the dissolution of the Umon as "A MOST GALAMII OUS EVENT,"—The band-bill by basely omitting the expression, intended to produce a belief that this "dissolution" was the object which the Federalists were endeavouring to accomplish Let the two extrems be carfully compared, and no one can fail to percise that the whole passage has been more infamously munified with a view to mislead the Publick Schimment, as to the views of the Federal Party.

In the other passage selected, the same attempt has been made to produce a false impression as to the language of the Legislature.

guage of the Legislature.

"In the Legislature Electioneering Address to the People, which was got up on the 2d of March, 1859 just before the Spring electron, and which helped Mr. Gore mus office, is the following.—
"When they fiths Legislature] perceive that you [the People] are prepared to break the chains imposed by a fault and mittakin policy, [lembarge] and that ALL THE CONSTITUTED AUTHORITIES OF NEW ENGLAND are smuted in Sentiment and PURPOSE,—when stey are sensible that you are ARLA TO THE TOWN IS INTERESTED TO THE TOWN THE TOWN

FROM THE LEGISLATIFE ADDRESS PUBLISHED IN THE CENTINEL OF MARCH 11, 1809.

TICA is intended for the general welfare?

FROMTER LEGISLATURE ADDRESS PUBLISHED IN THE CENTRAL OF MERCH IN 1809.

It would indeed be a grateful occupation to the Legislature to 'apply an immediate renedy to the culs of which the Petitioners complain and which we feir will be aggravated by a contourance of the existing commercial restrictions, or substitutes not less orphisaive and fatal, though veiled under new titles. But they are compelled to avow that at is with the people the misches that every efficient plan of redress must originat.— While the advocates for British war and the contemners of commerce can calculate upon your divisions, they will advance in their mad and pretamptions course, and rely upon your Governors and your Representatives to neutralize your opposition to their measures. But when they [the National Government] perceive that you are prepared to break the chains imposed by a fatal and mistaken policy, and that all the constructed authorities of New England are unted in sentments and purpose; when they are sensible that you are able to resist, and that self-preservation will make resistance a duit, they will reflect upon your claims, and yield to the justice of your pretansions. They will level that the confederation is mended for the general welfare, and that it is only by paying some cegard to the object, we can maintain that union which common interest should make perpetual.

The object of the handbull is to prove that the Legislanue of Massachusetts were inviting the People of New-England to revolt from the Union and establish a government of their own. The genuine extract from their address, proves most unequivously that their object was to induce them to adopt such measures as "WOULD MAINTAIN THAT UNION WHIGH COMMON INTEREST REQUIRED SHOULD BE FIRETUAL!"

Instead of inviting the People to "break the chains of the Union."—they exhort them only to adopt such firm and deregence measures were adopted—"The Nattigue. AL Government, of their hostility to the missaure as "WOULD MAINTAIN THA

1967. Some has the moment arrived by express that, on Toundry han, the Comments of Powing Telesians has a rich speed the measure of each transfer Telesians has a secondary EMBARGO, AS PREPARALORY TO WAP!

"VILE AND DETESTABLE DEMOCRATICK TRICK EXPOSED!""

When the War Hawks came to Washington, in November, 1811, they were eager to avenge the insults of the past twenty years of neutrality. They elected Henry Clay Speaker of the House, in those days the more important of the two legislative bodies. then proceeded to secure, through the aid of the Speaker, control of the more important committees. Many of them believed that England was aiding the Indians of the Ohio valley to make war upon the frontier. With most of the War Hawks an inbred antipathy demanded waragainstEngland, though some, like Calhoun, more logically wanted to war on both England and France. So enthusiastic and dexterous were they that Madison's timidity was overcome. In the spring of 1812 he made public some letters purchased from one John Henry, a British subject (referred to in No. 503). Henry had sounded New England Federalists regarding separation, and his letters were sent by the Governor-General of Canada to Lord Castlereagh, the British foreign minister, a price of \$125,000 being put on them which Castlereagh refused to pay. Madison then bought them for the United States for \$50,000. While there was little in them not already known, their publication at this time further excited the militant passions and the sectional bitterness of New England.

MADISON IS SPURRED TO WAR PREPARATIONS

THE Twelfth Congress, convened ahead of time by presidential proclamation, devoted its attention to the where Clay had been chosen Speaker, was the war spirit noticeable. Early in the session a House committee reported that Great Britain, "instead of retracting that unjustifiable attack on neutral rights, in which she professed to be only the reluctant follower of France, had advanced with bolder and continually advancing strides, demanding as a condition of her revoking her orders, that France and her allies should admit into their territories the products and manufactures of Great Britain." The committee therefore recommended increasing the military force, refitting the navy, and authorizing merchant vessels to arm in self-defense. After heated debate, these motions were adopted.

On April 1, 1812, Madison, now fully under the dominance of the War party — which threatened to refuse him renomination for the presidency unless he sided with them — and of James Monroe, freshly returned from his European humiliation, recommended a sixty-day embargo, preparatory to open war.



Josiah Quincy, 1772–1504, from the portrait by Gilbert Stuart in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

EMBARGO BY EXPRESS.

BOSTON, PRIDAY EFENING, APRIL 3, 1812—6 o'clock The following letter is this moment handed me by express.

HARRISON G. OTIS.

"Mr CALHOUS, of South Carolms, a Member of the Committee of Foreign Relations, has this moment informed Mr. QUINCY, that the Committee of Foreign Relations, have decided to lay a Proposition for an EMBARGO on the table of the House of Representatives to-morrow.—This information may be depended on from the respectability of the source from whence it is derived, and the measure to be recommended, it is understood, meets the approbation of the Executive

JAMES LLOYD, JOSIAH QUINCY, JAMES EMOTT.

"Washington, Tuesday,
March 31, 1812, 2 o'clk, P M

The Honorable H. G. Otis, Boston.

SPRINGFIELD, APRIL 4th, 1812.

In confirmation of the above, letters have been this day received in town from Wis.

E.r., Esq at Washington, stating that an Embargo was to be immediately laid on, preparatory to a declaration of War.

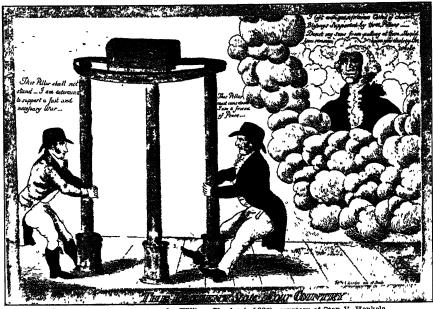
Information is this moment received from Mr. Byzzz of this town, now on his way to Philadelphia, that an Embargo is actually laid.

It is said that drafts are to be made from the militia within twenty days

504 From a handbill, April 4, 1812, announcing an embargo preparatory to war, in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass

CONGRESS DECLARES WAR AGAINST ENGLAND

These measures were not adopted without a In Josiah Quincy of Boston the Federalists found a leader, stanch in support of the commercial interests of his people. He had opposed the annexation of Louisiana, even to the point of suggesting secession, he had played a part in the protest against the Enforcement Acts. Now, joined by John Randolph and a few Republicans, he managed in some degree to check the giddy flight of the War Hawks. Additions to the navy were voted down. So were taxes, forcing the government to float a loan upon a market which refused to absorb it But, nothing daunted, the younger men pushed aside all opposition. On June 1, 1812, Madison presented to Congress the most forceful of his state papers, asking for an immediate declaration of war against England On the 18th. Congress assented. Two days later, the House committee on foreign relations, through Calhoun, made a report summarizing the acts of aggression of Great Britain, beginning in 1806, and endorsing the President's recommendation. Behind closed doors the matter was considered, until, on the eighteenth, the Congress was announced as having concurred in the opinion of Madison.



From a contemporary cartoon by William Charles (- 1820), courtesy of Stan V Henkels

THE WAR IS UNPOPULAR IN NEW ENGLAND

The United States had entered a war that was needless, rash, impolitic, and illogical. It was illogical because Napoleon had ignored American rights equally with Great Britain, and because the alleged causes for now declaring war had existed, and in more acute form, for years past. It was rash because the country was sadly unprepared. The navy, of excellent quality, counted seven good frigates and nine smaller vessels. The regular army in June, 1812, contained fewer than seven thousand troops, poorly equipped, inefficiently officered, and dispersed along the extensive frontier. The first Bank of the United States had been refused a new charter in 1811, and Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, struggled against tremendous odds to finance, even madequately, an unexpected war. It was impolitic because the country was as a whole apathetic, and in spots bitterly opposed. The declaration had been carried by votes of seventy-nine to forty-nine in the



507 DeWitt Clinton, 1769–1828, from the portrait, 1807, by John Trumbull in the New York Chamber of Commerce

House, and nineteen to thirteen in the Senate; and thereafter thirty-four congressmen signed and circulated a vigorous protest. To the Federalists the war seemed due to a "Virginia Cabal" in alliance with "madmen of Kentucky and Tennessee" and with Napoleon. New England church bells were tolled when news of the declaration came, and flags were at half-mast.

MADISON IS RE-ELECTED BY A NARROW MARGIN

The early test of strength came in the elections of 1812. The war party renominated Madison, with Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts as a running-mate, to win votes in the Federalist stronghold. Federalists and anti-war Republicans united behind DeWitt Clinton, vigorous and talented nephew of George Clinton, for so long leader of the New York Republicans. After a campaign in which the issue was war or no war, Madison was reëlected, but by a narrow and significant vote. The thirteen original states, split at the Potomac, gave Clinton eighty-nine votes and Madison ninety; the issue was determined by the West, whose votes went solidly for Madison and war.



From the contemporary cartoon by William Charles in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

THE AMERICAN NAVY

The war was unnecessary because at the time of its declaration Great Britain was on the point of conceding the American demands. Impoverished merchants and laborers pressed for a repeal of the obnoxious Orders-in-Council; and on June 16, two days before the American declaration, their withdrawal was promised. But injured feelings remained; so the War Hawks carried on. The Administration planned to rely chiefly on a land campaign that would win Canada and enable the United States to dictate terms from Halifax. Ignominious defeats along the border effectually frustrated this scheme; while the navy, of whose success no one dreamed in 1812, was winning spectacular victories on the lakes and the ocean. The news of Perry's victory on Lake Erie astounded the British public, and confessions of weakness began to appear in the English newspapers. One of the cartoons refers to the naval duel between the *Hornet* and the *Peacock* in which the latter suffered defeat, the other to Perry's victory (For the War of 1812 see Vol. VI.)



From the contemporary cartoon by William Charles in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania



510 From the New York Eventing Post, April 25, 1814, engraving on the repeal of the embargo by Alexander Anderson (1775-1870) after a drawing by John Wesley Jarvis

ECONOMIC PRESSURE LIFTS THE EMBARGO

SUCH victories, hailed with delight, were illusory. It was simply a question of time before Britain could concentrate her vast fleet upon American waters and blockade her ports. In the spring of 1814, Napoleon's abdication enabled England to bend all her energies upon the American war. Internal disaffection in America, moreover, rose rather than declined. The governors of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut ignored Madison's call for militia; the New England bankers boycotted the national treasury, the farmers and merchants went still further. In August, 1814, the British authorities wrote to London that "twothirds of the army in Canada are at this moment eating beef provided by the American contractors, drawn principally from Vermont and New York." To meet this illicit barter Madison pushed through, in December, 1813, a drastic embargo. followed widespread unemployment and open defiance by New England. In April the law was repealed, an event celebrated with speeches and bonfires along the coast.

NEW ENGLAND CALLS A CONVENTION OF PROTEST AT HARTFORD

In the spring of 1813, the Federalists regained control of the Massachusetts government. Josiah Quincy, who declined reelection to Congress, became the leader in the state in opposition to the war policy In June a Remonstrance against War was adopted; in February, 1814, there followed one against the

Embargo. Taking a leaf from Madison's Virginia Resolutions of 1798, the General Court asserted that, "Whenever the national compact is violated, and the citizens of this state are oppressed by crucl and un-

authorized laws, their legislature is bound to interpose its power, and wrest from the oppressor his victim." Then in October it issued a call for a convention of the New England States, to meet at Hartford in December. Here the delegates, among whom were leading Federalists such as George Cabot, Theodore Dwight and Harrison Gray Otis, in secret session formulated their demands on the national government. Senator Pickering, hoping for radical action, awaited its work with eagerness. The hostile cartoonist represents New England about to leap into the lap of England.



From the contemporary cartoon by William Charles in possession of the publishers

PEACE COMES BEFORE THE HARTFORD PROJECTS ARE PRESENTED

But more cautious counsel prevailed. After adjournment in January there was published an address which contained little more than a restatement of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. Seven amendments to the national constitution were proposed, and the participating states were called upon to present the demands to Congress. If the national government took no action within six months, another convention was to be held. Massachusetts and Connecticut thereupon sent commissioners to lay the projects before the Government. Before they could do this news came of Jackson's victory at New Orleans and of the peace treaty signed at Ghent the preceding December—In a trice the movement collapsed, leaving nothing behind but odium for the participants.

THE RUSSIAN BEAR OFFERS TO MEDIATE

NEGOTIATIONS for peace had begun shortly after the outbreak of hostilities Russia, to protect her new and thriving commerce with America, had embarked upon a war with France. But now America, instead of siding with Russia in the effort to subdue France, was fighting France's enemy. This was little to the liking of Russia; for during the war French interests would be favored by America at the expense of Russia; and at its conclusion either France or Great Britain, but not Russia, would reap the benefits of American trade.

THE

PROCEEDINGS

Convention of Delegates,

FROM THE STATES OF

MASSACHUSETTS, CONNECTICUT, AND RIIODE-ISLAND,

COUNTIES OF CHESHIRE AND GRAFTON,

In the State of New-Hampshire,

AND THE
COUNTY OF WINDHAM,
In the State of Vermont

CONVEND AT
HARTFORD, IN THE STATE OF CONNECTICET,
DECLARER 15th, 1614

HARTFORD —PRINTED
RE-PRINTED AT NEW-HAVEN, BY OLINFR STEFFE

Title-page of the pamphlet in the New York Public Library

To enable Great Britain to concentrate her strength against France, Russia's enemy, and to resuscitate her commercial dealings with America, Russia offered to mediate between the English-speaking countries.





514 From an engraving after a painting Peace of Ghent, 1814, and Triumph of America, by Mme Plantou,
"Citizen of the United States," published by P Price, Jr., Philadelphia

PEACE IS MADE ON CHRISTMAS EVE, 1814

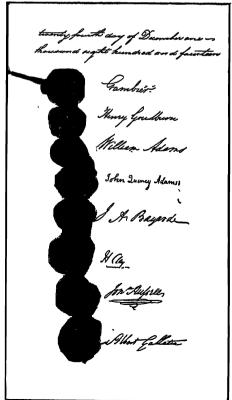
This offer Madison accepted in the spring of He appointed James Bayard, Federalist senator from Delaware. and Albert Gallatin to join John Quincy Adams, Minister at St. Petersburg, as peace commissioners. England, however, rejected Russia's mediation, preferring direct negotiations. These were opened at Ghent in August, 1814. Jonathan Russell, formerly Chargé

d'Affaires in London, and Henry Clay had been added to America's delegation The British representatives were men of little importance. They were instructed to make no concessions to the main demands of the United States — impressments, the blockade, and indemnity for maritime losses. Indeed, they were to push for several concessions from America. For a time the conference was deadlocked. Then came news from America of the British defeat at Plattsburg (Vol. VI). In addition to this, a shift in the European diplomatic situation proving unfavorable, England receded from her intransigent attitude. On Christmas Eve, 1814, an agreement was reached.

THE PEACE TREATY FAILS TO SETTLE DISPUTED ISSUES

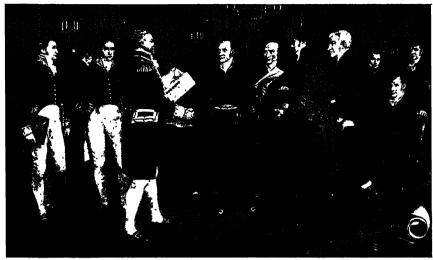
THE treaty simply provided for cessation of hostilities and a return to the pre-war situation. Impressment of seamen — the issue which Madison had most stressed went unmentioned. The long-standing disputes about boundaries, the Newfoundland fisheries, and navıgation of the Mississippi were postponed for future discussion, so that the treaty of peace was inconclusive.

The Britanne Superty and the solutions of the function of formand of prefet and for formand of prefet and for formand of prefet and states of formand of prefet and of prefet and states of formand for the function of forther and states and sta



FEACE ELIMINATES FOREIGN DISTRACTIONS

YET, thanks to peace in Europe, violation of our rights was no longer of value to Great Britain. In America, at any rate, peace was hailed with delight, for every one was tired of war. The struggle, moreover, had shown the folly of permitting French and English issues to dominate domestic politics and to engender disaffection. It stimulated a national pa-



From the painting Signing the Treaty of Ghent by A Forestler (1790-1872) in the State Department. Washington

triotism and commercial independence of Europe. After 1815, chief attention was devoted for the first time since 1776 to American problems.

of the liested States all and any forms and forms, by and make when a great effective, and amount and analogic advance or land, shall have been as inclusively advanced or land, shall have dependent the super and the content of the same a count of the same actual how been as inclusively advanced or land, and the same affect thing to the same actual how been as inclusively advanced or land, on the same affect thing to the same actual how been as inclusively advanced or land to the same actual how been as inclusively advanced or land to the same actual how to the same actual how as further same and the same and the same actual and the same actual and actual to the same actual and actual the same actual and actual act

From the original Act for a National Bank, 1816, in the Department of State, Washington

of an experiment of the communication of the communication of the court region, the reason of such make an electric the life of foother constitute, that the said important when the content of the content and experiment, or superiment, or yeld and salve, of any of it with, belle in digitalism, on a constitute superiment, and the content and experiment, and the content of the content, and experiment, and the content of the content, there experience, a shall assist or refer to pay or cleared, any belle, not or obligation, of four of present of the content. The forem or fraction, there experience, there are no experiment of the forem or foremark and an every seal and, the delay of any seals outs, belle, or long foremark the season of the folly finished attitude as the season of the content of the respectively be satisfied to recover and exceed extension of the same for any time here of the season shall be fully finished attitude as a forest of the season of the season of the season of the rests, belle, obly aten, or other soft of exceeding the content of the rests of satured above constructions and the standard and the season of the rests of satured above constructions of the season of the season of the season of the season of the rests of satured above constructions and the season of th

From the original Act for a National Bank, 1816, in the Department of State, Washington

THE FEDERAL POWER IS STRENGTHENED

THE difficulties of reconstruction were blithely faced by the youthful leaders of the new-model Republican party. Under stress of circumstances, their strict constructionist doctrine had in practice been dropped bit by bit. To the 14th Congress, meeting in December, 1815, Madison sent a memorable message, calling for an adequate army and navy, a protective tariff, national aids for roads and canals, the reestablishment of a national bank. The response was generous; as Josiah Quincy said, the Republicans "out-Federalized Federalism."



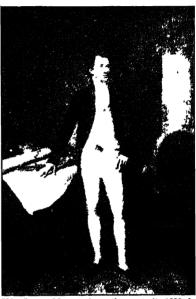
520 James Monros, 1758-1831, from the portrait by Gilbert Stuart in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

MONROE IS THE LAST OF THE VIRGINIA DYNASTY

That the Republicans were acting in accord with general opinion was shown in the election of 1816. Will little opposition from the dying Federalist party, the last of the Virginia dynasty became President. Monroe had early attached his fortunes to those of Jefferson. Without the brilliance of his leader, he possessed a stolid ability to manage routine that served him well in a period of mounting

prosperity, when new problems had not yet become ominous. He had, moreover, sufficient discernment to surround himself with able advisers.

J. Q. Adams, William H. Crawford, William Wirt and J. C. Calhoun were in his cabinet. A



521 James Monroe, from the portrait, 1822, by John Vanderlyn in the New York City Hall, courtesy of the Municipal Art Commission

tour of the country at the outset of his administration further strengthened his position. Monroe looked forward to a happy administration. In his maugural address he said, "Equally gratifying is it to witness the increased harmony of opinion which pervades the union. Discord does not belong to our system. Union is recommended, as well by the free and benign principles of our Government, extending its blessings to every individual, as by the other emment advantages attending it."



From a sketch for the painting *Election Day at the State House*, about 1818, by John Lewis Krimmel (1787–1821) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

PFBRUARY, 1810

87

FLETCHER P PECK

PLETCELL PACK

ERROR to the circuit court for the district of Massachusetts, in an Flicher against Peck. in an action of covenant brought by squad be that

Flicher against Peck.

The first count of the declination states that Peck, by his deed of big un and sik dated the 14th of May 1807, and 1807, in 1807, and 3,000 dollars, sold and come vected to Hetcher, 15,000 acres of lind lying in common and undivided in struct discribed avoldows he significant on the first country of the lattice and case of the same, running them, north of the equatorime received to same, running them, or thought river, thence up the said promisely river to white the lattice and case of the Tomingby river, thence up the said promisely river to white the lattice and case of the Tomingby river to the May 1807, and in 12 still 43 feet in parallel of Inturde and case of the May 1807, and 1908, and 1

From Report of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court, 1810, by William Cranch, New York, 1812

MARSHALL BROADENS THE POWER OF THE SUPREME COURT

NATIONALISM was further strengthened by a number of important decisions handed down by the Supreme Court, still dominated by Marshall. In 1810 it was determined that a state might not break a contract made with a private person (Fletcher vs. Peck); nme years later this protection was broadened in the famous Dartmouth College case. United States vs. Peters (1819), Martin vs. Hunter's Lessee (1816), and Cohens vs. Virginia (1821), immensely extended the jurisdiction of the national judiciary over state cases. In McCulloch vs. Maryland (1819), Hamilton's doctrine of implied powers and policy of liberal construction of the Constitution received judicial sanction; in Gibbons vs. Ogden (1824), the court hinted at the vast field of power resident in the interstate commerce clause of the Federal Constitution. Private and public protest at these "enerouchments upon the rights of the States" were unheeded.

SLAVE STATES ARE PAIRED WITH FREE

THE great slavery struggle broke in upon the peace of Monroe's administration. The question had smoldered since Congress in 1807 closed the foreign slave trade. Interest in emancipation had persisted, while an economic motive appeared for the institution's defense. The South discovered that her predominance in national affairs, so far as it was based on population, was waning. To preserve the balance between North and South in the Senate, the CASES IN THE SUPREME COURT

316

(CONSTITUTIONAL LAW)

M'CULLOCH V The STATE OF MARYLAND et al

ongress has power to incorporate a Bank
be got rement of the Luina is a government of the Prople, it
constants from them, its powers are granted by them, and are to
be sarretted directly on them and for their backit
be government of the I atom, though functed in its powers, is as
the government of the I atom, though functed in the powers, is as

preme within its aphere of action unoce of the constitution form the supre

here is nothing in the Constitution of the I nited States, similar to the articles of Confederation, which exclude spendent if or implied

If the end be legalimate and within the scope of the constitution, all the mouse which are appropriate which are plainty adapted to that end and which are not prohibited, may constitutionally be ein

end and which are not pronounced,
pluyed to carry it title affect.
The power of Latabilishing reorporation is not a divincet soveraign
power or end of government, but only the means of carrying into
affect other powers which are soveraign. Whenever it becomes an
it may be deserved. tution to the government of the Union, it may be exerc by that government

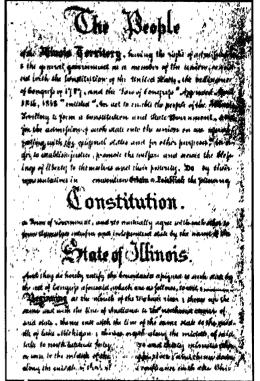
in means to carry into affect any of the powers, expressly given by the constitution to the government of the Linion be an appropriate measure not prohibited by the constitution, the degree of its necessity is a question of legislative discretion, not of judicial regnisance

The act of the 10th April, 1815 c 14 to ' incorporate the subsern bere to the Bank of the United States, ' is a law made in pursuance of the constitution

The Bink of the United States has, constitutionally a right to cata blish its branches or offices of discount and deposit within any biate. The State, within which such branch may be established, cannot, without violating the contribution, tax that branch

The State govern overnments have no right to tax any of the constitutions; sloyed by the government of the Union to exacute its con-

From Report of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court, 1819, by Henry Wheaton, New York, 1819



525 Facsimile of the first page of the Illinois Constitution, in the Department of State, Springfield, Ill.

scheme was hit upon of admitting new states in pairs, one slave, one free, thus: Indiana (1816) and Mississipp (1817); Illinois (1818) and Alabama (1819).



26 Jesse Burgess Thomas, 1777-1853, from the portrait in the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE CLOSES HOT DEBATE

The issue was joined in February, 1819, when James Tallmadge, Jr. of New York, during consideration of a bill enabling Missouri to form a state constitution, moved an amendment which prohibited the further extension of slavery and provided for gradual abolition

within Missouri. Once started, the debate raged throughout the country ferson wrote, "A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper." The Missouri ques-

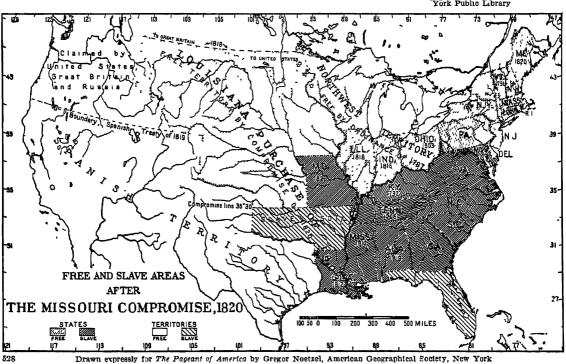
tion led to violent discussion,

THE MONOBABLE JAMES TALLMADGE, Jr. Duckess County, New-York, House of Representatives of the United States, SLAVERY. TO WHICH IS ADDED. THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE Manufiction society OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK. CORRESPONDENCE OF THEIR COMMITTEE Messrs Tallmadge and Taylor PRINTED BY E. CONRAD. 4819

SPEECH

the North condemning any attempt to increase the number of slave states, the South contending for slave owners' rights under the Constitution. For a time, however, a way out was found in the Compromise of 1820, which, offered by Senator Jesse B. Thomas of Illinois, by amendment admitted Missouri without restriction, but prohibited slavery north of 36° 30' north latitude (this being Missouri's southern boundary) in the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase. Maine was admitted as a free state to balance the admission of Missouri ment subsided, for it was thought that the issue was settled, that the Union was saved.

Title-page of the copy in the New York Public Library



SPAIN CEDES FLORIDA

MEANWHILE external affairs reengaged the attention of the Administration. It began with the question of the Florida purchase. Negotiations to this end had been opened by Jefferson; often interrupted, often renewed, they now came to a head. The Napoleonic wars had weakened Spain's control of her American colonies. South America was winning independence. In Florida, little effort was made by the Spanish authorities to preserve order, Jackson's invasion in 1818 brought home their impotence. (See Vol. II.) So, thanks to the able diplomacy of John Quincy Adams, Spain ceded what she could not hold, the treaty also placed the disputed western boundary of Louisiana at the Sabine River.

GREAT BRITAIN SUGGESTS ALLIANCE WITH AMERICA

New troubles soon harassed the Spanish Government in the form of a republican revolution. The King then called for help from the other European powers joined with him in the Holy Alliance. France, as their agent, went to Spain's aid. It was widely believed that the next venture would be to subdue Spain's colonies and the struggling young republics in South America. This displeased Great Britain. She had looked with some favor, not lessened by a growing trade, upon the liberal revolts in the southern continent. Canning, Foreign Minister, therefore suggested in August, 1823, that the United States unite with England in protesting against the impending invasion.

Bahbull selder 17 1220

Partier

Jeruse mat le que terr despetation, abandance musel prome to the the st. plain for y lady on 11 others are to the stand on 11 others are to the stand on 11 others are to the stand for the standard prome to the standard to the

530 Page of James Monroe's letter to Jefferson, Oct. 17, 1823, referring to Canning's proposal of "a co-operation between Creat Britain and the United States against the Holy Alliance," original in the Library of Congress

Art. 3.

The Boundary Sine between the two Countries, West of the Melsissipper, shall begin on the Sulph of Mexico, at the mouth of the River Sabone in the Sea, continuing North, along the Western Bank of that River , to the 322 degree of Latellede ; there by a Lowe due North to the degree of Latitude, where It stuky the Rio Roar of Nachetoches, or Red . River, then following the course of the Res Rose Westward to the degree of longitude 100 West from London and 23 from Washington then cropping the said Red River and running thence by a firm due North to the Rover Arkansas, thence, following the Course of the Southern bank of the Arkansas to its source in Latitude, 12 North, and thence by that parallel of Latitude to the south. Sea The whole being as land down in Meleshis Map of the United States published at Philadelphia emproved to the first of January 1818 But of the Source of the Ahkansas River shall be found to fall North or South of hatistede 152, then the Line Shall run from the Said Source sue South or North, as the case may be, till it meets the said Parallel of Latitude A2, and thonce along the said Parallel to the South Sea Islands in the Said Red and Ackanses Rivery .

throughout

529 Article 3 of the Treaty with Spain, 1819, fixing the western boundary of Louisiana, original in the Department of State, Washington

The greature promential by the latter you have sent one is the world one is the west to make the promential by the latter you have sent one is the world marked as a first here are no notice, the or of may compare and print to make the make is the make in a notice, the or of may compare and print the convenientable is an order throw the ones of I term opene in an and recover enables as on the south one that the convenientable is an order throw the ones I term a point of an investment on the trade of the content of the ones of the trade of I termine, make the took of I termine, and the trade of the order of termine, the the and South has a sall of inhoris is distincted from those of termine, the the and South has a sall of inhoris is distincted from those of termine, the the and South has a sall of inhoris is distincted from those of termine, the the and South has a sall of inhoris and the termine the demand glotogradue our endours therefore have a says time of between the demand glotogradue our endours the the termine that the trade is not a more and or the promption. The print force are maked our most of all and the thirthe is a the thirthe promption. The print force I have made the promption of the print force of the print force of the more saids are produced to the most than of any one, or all or namely and with how or were also are produced from the whole world with two them as the termine the with the trade of the print of themse to the or of places. I have a so the produced from the the theory of most than a print of the print of themse our hard for the the print of themse our produced that the termine of the the same or of the or of the termine the the the of the print of themse our than the the termine of the the termine of the print of themse our produced the the the or of the same or of the or of

531 Page of Joherson's letter to Monroe, Oct. 20, 1823, referring to Great Britain as "the nation which can do us the most harm of any one, or all, on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world," original in the Library of Congress

ude under which was most enlightened atizens, a exampleds felicity, this whole as devoted. We one it therefore to Candon isable Relations existing between the unsted states and those powers to deale Should consider any attempts on they particle then system to any portion of the Hames. With the existing coloners or dependences of any hear power we have not untifered and shall cuterface. But with the Governments with have Independence and maintained, ld not Please any enterposition for the for offrefound them, or contralling in any other Then desting, by any Ear any other light, the In the war between those new & of their recognitions

The Mannes Destring in Mannes's handwriting from the massage to Congress. Dec. 2, 1822, original in the Ultrary of Congress

ADAMS PERSUADES MONROE TO ADOPT THE FAMOUS "DOCTRINE"

Adams, however, did not desire that the United States should "come in as a cock-boat in the wake of the British man-of-war." He believed that England would act whether we cooperated or not; and that the United States was the leading power in America and should declare an independent policy. In this position he was strengthened by the knowledge that Great Britain would not be loath to acquire new territory in the western hemisphere. The arguments of the able Secretary of State convinced Monroe, whose public was made ready by popular sympathy with the South American republics. The annual message to Congress was selected as the vehicle, and on December 2, 1823, "the Monroe Doctrine" took its place in the list of American political "stereotypes."

CHAPTER IX

JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

Democracy. Out of the West, to perturb the sanguine and contented East, rose a new hurly-burly spirit. To the frontiersman and the worker in the city there seemed something awry with the system which gave to men prosperous freedom, but denied them the power to direct the flow of that prosperity more fully and more equitably. The self-confidence that had been bred by the social and economic conditions of the American frontier now asserted that the Virginia Dynasty, and King Caucus, must give place to a scheme of things more consonant with the times, more democratic.

Thus, on an irresistible wave of protest there came into power that strange thing called Jacksonian Democracy. Stubborn, honest, outspoken, eager, it tried with fumbling hands to redirect the course of events. Government henceforth was to be administered, not simply in the interest of the people, but also by the people. This ambition to rule was furthermore stimulated by a widespread suspicion that government in the past had not in all cases been carried on for the welfare of the common people, that government had been controlled by the few for the benefit of the few. Hence the common man must assume control; the man of little learning but of immense good will was representative of the mass, and to him must power be given; upon his counsel the public servants were to rely. Power to rule was to be justified, not by the accident of office, but by the character of the man. Thus were the people to come into their own.

Of all the men of the day, Andrew Jackson seemed most fully to embody the popular aspirations. To him, therefore, were gladly given the reins of power. One of themselves, he could be trusted. That such a delegation of power to the President might still further weaken the hold of the people upon their government was not foreseen, except by those who liked neither Jackson nor his ideas. They watched him accumulate power into his own hands, and predicted disaster. They dubbed him King Andrew, and asserted that the new situation was worse than anything that had been charged against the Virginia Dynasty. Jackson soon gave them plenty of cause for worry, for expostulation, for denunciation. It appeared that he had no respect for tradition, for the accepted decencies of political conduct. It became a matter of course that men of the older school should oppose the Democrats on every issue, large or small.

Thus, under Jackson, the character of the national government underwent transformation. The Presidency was exalted as never before; the cabinet became openly and completely subject to the will of the chief; the Congress lost all claim to direct the actions of the administration, and became a critic of, rather than a guide for, the President. Even the independence of the courts was threatened. No wonder the conservatives within the country were aghast; no wonder that, once they had recovered their powers of speech and action, they should begin a bitter battle against King Mob.

In the midst of this titanic struggle there appeared an issue that was to prove so momentous as to transcend all others. Unforeseen by most, unwelcome to all, a question began to distort the answers attempted for all others: What was the nature of these United States? Was it a loose, convenient league of sovereignties? Or a permanent consolidated union?

STATE OF TENNESSEE.

IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, OCTOBER 17th, 1813.

RESOLVED by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their best endeavours to prevail upon Congress, to propose to the several States for their adoption, an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, so as to reduce the term of service of Senators in Congress, from six to that of four years, from the time they enter upon the duties of their appointments.

Resolved, That the Executive of this state be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolution to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to each of the Executives of the several states, with a request that they submit it to the consideration of their respective Legislatures.

Speaker of the House of Representatives,

Rottle For ten

Speaker of the Senate

W Blessmayou. H Rep.

Tennessee Proposal to Amend the Constitution, Oct 17, 1813, from the copy of the resolution in the New York Historical Society

ical shore in the election of 1824. The Federalist party had disappeared, leaving no opponent for the Republicans. Monroe was not the man to maintain party discipline; nor was there any outstanding candidate

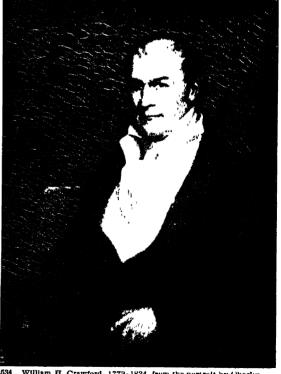
for the succession. Hence the election became a personal rather than a partisan struggle under which lay an unavowed sectionalism.

NEW BLOOD FROM THE WEST SHOWS POLITICAL STRENGTH

THE caucus candidate was William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, whose greatest strength lay in Virginia, mother of Presidents. Crawford had been born in Amherst County, Virginia, although he was at this time a resident of Georgia. But the West was tiring of the Virginia Dynasty. Already the legislatures of Kentucky and Tennessee had put forward Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson as their favorites. Early in 1823 Massachusetts placed John Quincy Adams in the running. All were in name Republicans, all tried to appeal for support to every part of the country. But Crawford was handicapped by illness, and by the widespread belief that he was little more than an intriguing politician, a suspicion perhaps justified by his Tenure of Office Act of 1820. Nomination by the Caucus, moreover, had by now become a liability rather than an asset. This was the more true in that Crawford's nomination had been made at a meeting attended only by that minority of Republicans favoring his candidacy.

THE WEST CALLS THE EAST UNDEMOCRATIC

EVEN before Monroe's election, the West was beginning to make itself felt and heard. The hardy frontiersman cherished notions of democracy that met with obstacles in many of the political institutions established on the scaboard. Property qualifications for the suffrage and for office, long tenure of office, the indirect election of Senators and President — these were devices to maintain the aristocrat in power. They met with little favor in the West. There were murmurings against the congressional caucus as an unconstitutional and undemocratic device. This caucus was a meeting of the members of the same political party who sat in the Senate and the House for the purpose of nominating the party candidate for the Presidency. The United States was too large and transportation facilities were too poorly developed to make a national nominating convention possible. This ground swell of opposition reached the national polit-



634 William H. Crawford, 1772-1834, from the portrait by Charles Bird King in the Redwood Library, Newport, R. I



From a campaign cartoon, 1824, by Crackfardl, in the New York Historical Society

JACKSON'S CANDIDACY MAKES A POPULAR APPEAL

ADAMS was strong, but almost solely in the North. Clay in the West represented similar interests. Jackson proved the only candidate with a national appeal. His strength was based partly upon his military record, partly upon his simple manners, partly upon the fact that he was untainted by long political service. He stood for a change. As the campaign progressed his strength grew; Clay finished the contest in fourth place.

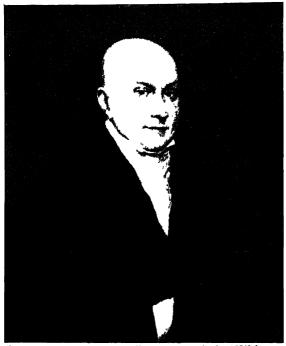
CLAY GIVES THE PRESIDENCY TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

Jackson received the largest number of votes in the electoral college but not a majority. Under the provisions laid down by the Constitution the election went to the House of Representatives. Clay, the genial speaker of the House, held the balance of power. Though personally unfriendly toward Adams, and differing from him immensely in character, Clay found the New England man the candidate to support. While the views of Adams were much like his own, the former's unpopularity hindered a second term; this would enable Clay in 1828 to join northwest and northeast in a successful campaign against his bitter enemy, Jackson.

So, on the first ballot, Adams received the vote of thirteen states, Jackson of seven, and Crawford of four. On being informed of the result of the election, the President-elect addressed a letter of acceptance to the House. He reminded them of the novel conditions under which he had been chosen, conditions unprecedented in the short history of the Republic, and called for their aid in making his administration successful.



From the painting The Oid House of Representatives, by S. F. B. Coreoran Gallery of Art. Washington F. B. Morso (1791-1872) in the



537 John Quincy Adams, 1737-1848, from the portrait, about 1840, by Chester Harding in the Redwood Library, Newport, R I

ADAMS IS HANDICAPPED

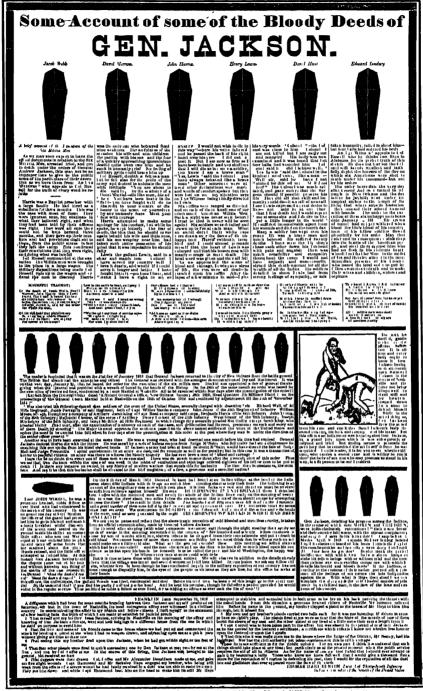
Adams brought to the Presidency integrity of character, a wide experience in foreign affairs and a deep knowledge of the needs of the country. He was a thorough-going nationalist and his administration was characterized by increased federal expenditures for public improvements. In temperament he was less sinted to the office. Ungracious and unbending, he rarely made warm friends The political and always made warm enemies situation aggravated these characteristics. The administration was a time of party realignment, with continuous jockeying for position in Congress and before the people. Jackson denounced the appointment of Clay to the chief cabinet post as the reward for a corrupt bargain, the election of Adams was, moreover, a defeat of the popular will, which had favored Jackson above all others. Around "Old Hickory" gathered all the many elements antagonized by the unplacable Puritan. Electioneering for the next campaign began in 1824. The opposition of the militant Jackson made it impossible for President Adams to proceed far with his statesman-like plans for the nation.

JACKSON'S FOLLOWERS ATTACK ADAMS

EVEN more than the campaign of 1824, that of 1828 was a battle of personalities. The intervening years had embittered former political friends. The downfall of "King Caucus" called into being new and more elaborate party machinery, controlled by such masters as Clay, and Martin Van Buren of New York. Cam-

paigning was national-National party committees took charge, preparing literature, devising appeals, directing tactics. The campaign of 1828 began almost with the mauguration of President Adams. A persistent effort was made by Jackson's followers to discredit the administration with the corrupt bargain charge. The illustration, "Adams and Liberty," is typical of the campaign material which was distributed as Adams neared the end of his term. It depicts the use of electioneering methods that were somewhat novel at the time, but which within the next few years came to be accepted as a matter of course.

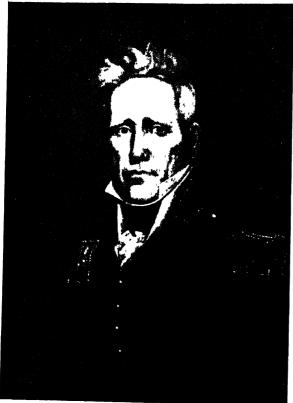




539 From a copy of a campaign poster known as the "Coffin Hand Bill," referring to the war

PERSONAL ABUSE MARKS THE CAMPAIGN OF 1828

The main objective of the Democrats in the election of 1828 was to oust the "Ins"; that of the National Republicans, to prevent the victory of the mob, led by the "arch-demagogue" Jackson. Decorous manners were forgotten. Campaign papers were devoted to scurrilous abuse of the opposing leaders. Jackson was characterized as a duellist, a gambler, a cockfighter, a drunkard, a murderer. Adams had bought the Presidency; he was a Freemason, a Unitarian, stingy, extravagant. Worst of all, he had purchased, with public money, a billiard table for the White House!



540 General Andrew Jackson, 1767–1845, from the portrait by Rembrandt Peale, courtesy of John Frederick Lewis, Philadelphia

JACKSON'S ELECTION ROUTS TRADITIONS

Jackson, with Calhoun as Vice president, was swept into power with the electoral votes of all the transmontane states. They had, in addition, carried two strategic eastern commonwealths. "Old Hickory's" popularity won Pennsylvania; Van Buren's management won New York. The old official class with its training and its traditions had been ingloriously routed. "King Mob," wrote Justice Story, "seemed triumphant." In Jackson they had found a perfect symbol and leader. He is thus sketched by Burgess (The Middle Period, p. 135): "Ignorant and trascible indeed, but virtuous, brave and patriotic beyond any cavil or question; faithful and devoted in his domestic life, absolutely unapproachable by pecuniary inducements, the best of friends and the most implacable of enemies; quick, hasty in forming his judgments and tenacions beyond expression in holding to them; prone to elevate every whim and impulse to a beliest of conscience; earnest, terrible in the inflexibility of his purposes; . . . here were certainly qualities calculated to rouse the enthusiasm of the masses, if not of the classes."

AMBITION MAKES JACKSON A GENTLEMAN FARMER

Jackson was the first President whose humble origin was exploited for political purposes. Though Washington had been a surveyor's assistant, and John Adams was dubbed a "cobbler's son," both had been aristocrats and regarded as such. Now had come a change: the mass had one of their own kind in the

chief office in the land. Curiously enough, however, Jackson in one important respect carried on the best Virgmia tradition. Like the Virginia presidents, his heart's desire was to be a gentleman farmer. To the Hermitage plantation, purchased in 1804, he gave as much care and thought as to the problems of state.



The Hermitage, home of Andrew Jackson, near Nashville, Tenn., from a drawing after a photograph



1835, by R. E. W. Earl at the Westernian

VAN BUREN BECOMES SECRETARY OF STATE

Jackson had come into power on a protest vote. During the campaign and in the building up of his cabinet, he gave little indication of the policies he would favor Cabinet offices were, indeed, bestowed not because of administrative ability or political attitude, but as party rewards. The first office went to Van Buren, the clever little politician of Kinderhook on the Hudson, who had risen to political importance as the head of a political organization in New York State known as the "Albany Regency," and had been recently chosen Governor of the Empire State. Unknown to Jackson, Van Buren, like Vicepresident Calhoun, cherished an ambition to become President. This fact soon played its part in the drama. In Ingham of Pennsylvania, Berrien of Georgia, and Branch of North Carolina, Calhoun secured three supporters in the cabinet. The others were Jackson's personal friends. None had previous experience in national administration; of them all, Van Buren alone proved a power in the new Government. These appointments to the cabinet, awaited with much interest by the trumphant populace, offered the first official inkling of the new character that the national government was assuming.



544 Amos Kendall, 1789-1869, from an engraving, about 1840, by the Bureau of Engraving & Printing, Washington



543 Martin Van Buren, 1782-1862, from the portrait, 1828, by Henry Inman (1801-46) in the City Hall, New York, courtesy of the Municipal Art Commission

SHREWD POLITICIANS FORM A KITCHEN CABINET

Ir soon became clear that the status of the cabinet had changed. Jackson regarded himself as the people's representative and relied for advice quite as much on outsiders as upon the heads of the departments. Gradually he gathered about him a group of country editors and personal friends whose counsel was so often sought - often in places less pretentious than the council room - that they were nicknamed the "Kitchen Cabinet." Chief among them were Amos Kendall of Kentucky, Isaac Hill of New Hampshire, Major William B. Lewis of Tennessee, Jackson's first campaign manager, and Francis P. Blair, editor of the Washington Globe. Nowhere could be found a shrewder group of politicians, nor one more ingenious in controlling the hurly-burly of the party press. The place given them in the process of government was a second indication of the democratization of the system set up forty years before, and a recognition of the part to be played in politics by the newspaper press.



545 John C Calhoun, 1782-1850, from a miniature, 1827, by John Trumbull in the School of the Fine Arts, Yale University

THE VICE-PRESIDENT WANTS TO BE PRESIDENT

THE power of the Kitchen Cabinet was in part due to the growing hostility between the President and Calhoun. In many ways the two men were alike. Both were Carolinians, both were born masters of men, of great courage and honesty. For many years they had been friends. But the resemblance was one of externals. Jackson was the uncultured man of impulse whose prejudices sometimes led to rashness, Calhoun the educated philosopher, who believed in action controlled by reason.

Entering Congress as a War Hawk in 1811, Calhoun had at once become a resourceful leader in debate, a national figure in politics. In 1824 he had yielded the presidential race to Jackson. In 1828 he joined him as Vice-president. For 1832 he was the expected candidate. To this end he bent his great energy. At his behest Duff Green had made the National Telegraph a powerful party paper. All who might be influential in politics were assiduously cultivated.

SOUTH CAROLINA CONDEMNS THE HIGH TARIFF

Calhoun found the issue upon which to wage his fight in the discontent of his fellow cotton planters of the South. In the expiring days of the Adams administration, party maneuvers

had resulted in the enactment of the "Tariff of Abominations" John Randolph said it was intended "to rob and plunder one half of the Union for the benefit of the residue." In South Carolina long-pent-up feelings of hostility to the tariff exploded. In December, 1828, the legislature

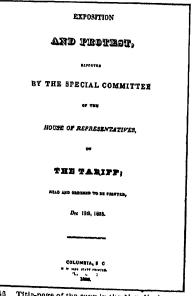
adopted an "Exposition" of their views that a protective tariff was unconstitutional and subject to avoidance by state action. Calhoun sympathized with their grievance. His casting vote had defeated the Tariff of 1827; he was the real author of the *Exposition*. From this situation he now hoped to frame an issue which would at once win him the Presidency, revive the prosperity of his state, and stave off the danger of secession.

A DISQUISITION ON GOVERNMENT AND AND AND AND AND ON THE CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES. SET JOHN C CALHOUN. MICHES BY RICHARD & CRALLE POLIMBIA DISCONDERS OF THE SHEETEN AND STATES. COLUMBIA, S. C. PRINTED BY A. S. TORNINGON 1861.

547 Title-page of the copy in the New York Public Library

CALHOUN MAKES A CONTRIBUTION TO POLITICAL THOUGHT

METAPHYSICALLY inclined, Calhoun developed to cover the situation a philosophy of government that still stands as the most original and incisive contribution to American political thought since The Federalist. He regarded government as a natural institution which, if left in the



546 Title-page of the copy in the New York Public Library

hands of the popular majority, would always be utilized by them to tyrannize over minorities. Some device was therefore needed to protect the latter. This he found, in the United States, to rest in the doctrine of "concurrent majorities," whereby no action of importance to any group or section should be taken without their consent. This theory he developed with great acuteness of reasoning in his Disquisition on Government, written a short time before his death.

SOUTHERNERS CLASH WITH NEW ENGLAND INTERESTS

THE first test of Calhoun's strength came early in 1830. In January, Senator Foote of Connecticut introduced a resolution for inquiring into the expediency of limiting land sales in the West The Southerners seized the occasion to win the dominant West, as represented by Jackson and the Democrats, to their side in the impending struggle with the manufacturing Northeast. Their spokesman was Senator Robert Y. Havne of South Carolina, a charming gentleman and an able lawyer who had already won laurels as an orator. His vigorous denunciation of the Federalists of New England won wide applause. The Democrats were jubilant, even Jackson wrote him a congratulatory letter. When Hayne approached the subject of nullification. Calhoun, from the chair, openly dispatched by messengers suggestions for the speaker's guidance. The whole speech was generally regarded as a telling shot in the party warfare.

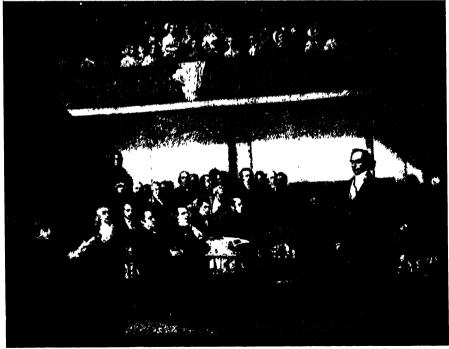
HAYNE DIRECTS HIS ATTACK AT WEBSTER



548 Robert Y Hayne, 1791–1839, from the portrait, about 1823, by S F B Morse in possession of Mrs William A Hayne, San Francisco

HAYNE's attack had been directed at the most conspicuous

Federalist in the Senate. Webster's reputation as an orator was already world-wide. But his political career made him easy prey for the Democrats Early in the war of 1812 he had become leader of the New Hampshire opposition, and it was for this reason that he had been returned to Congress in 1813. Throughout the war he opposed the administration with intemperate fervor that at times approached sedition. When, therefore, on a bitter winter's day he arose to reply to Hayne, the fashionable gallery expected fireworks. His effort was not disappointing. Defense of the war policy of the Federalists was difficult and none too convincing, but his exposition of the Constitution as supreme and binding, and of the Union as indissoluble was masterly.



549 From the painting Webster's Reply To Hayne, by G. P. A Healy (1813-94) in Fancuil Hall, Boston



From the painting Our Federal Union — It Must be Preserved, by C W. Jefferys, in possession of the publishers

JACKSON BREAKS WITH CALHOUN AND MAKES CABINET CHANGES

THE final break between Jackson and Calhoun came a month later, when the President for the first time heard that the latter had, in 1818, advised Monroe that General Jackson deserved censure for his conduct in Florida. Jackson, most loyal of friends, could not understand how a professed friend could so act. In May, 1831, he severed all relations with the Vice-president. This was followed by a shake-up in the cabinet. Van Buren, in "King Andrew's" favor, withdrew to give his Chief a free hand. Calhoun's supporters were forced out. These shifts the opposition tried to turn into political capital. In truth, they simply indicated that Jackson would in future have a harmonious and anti-Calhoun cabinet. This consolidation of the ranks of the Jacksonians against the leader of the South was at the time hidden. The press imputed the cabinet dismissals and resignations to the notorious affair of Mrs. Eaton, and quite overlooked their political implications.

JACKSON IS ROUSED TO SPEAK FOR THE UNION

To Jackson the encounter at first appeared purely a partisan affair in which his sympathies lay with Hayne. In all probability the danger of disunion had been unnoticed by him, as by most of the leaders, until the Great Debate. Then his eyes were fully opened to the threat. In the spring of 1830, the nullifiers planned a banquet, ostensibly to celebrate Jefferson's birthday, really to associate their doctrine with that of the father of Democracy, and to sound out the President. Jackson and Van Buren divined the motive and together prepared the President's toast for the occasion. "Thus armed," later wrote Van Buren, the "Red Fox," "we repaired to the dinner with feelings on the part of the Chief akin to those which would have animated his breast if the scene of this preliminary skirmish in defense of the Union had been the field of battle instead of the festive board." When, after Jackson's words had electrified the gathering, Calhoun, ever loyal to his convictions, responded with "The Union: next to our liberty, the most dear; May we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the States and by distributing equally the benefits and burdens of the Union," the issue was drawn.



551 From a cartoon by Edward W. Clay (1792-1837), dated Washington, 1831, original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

ABLER MEN BECOME JACKSON'S ADVISERS

THE new cabinet was composed of abler men. Edward Livingston was Secretary of State. Of the famous New York family, he had moved to Louisiana immediately after the Purchase; there he had long been a prominent Democrat, an ardent nationalist, and Jackson's friend. He was internationally famous for his Code on Reform and Prison Discipline. Roger B. Tancy became Attorney-General. He was at this time leader of the Maryland bar and a brilliant pleader before the United States Supreme Court over which he was soon to preside as Chief Justice.

of the Reople of the United States, whose delegates framed, and whole conventions approved it The most important among these objects, that which is placedo first in earth on which all the others rest is "to form a more perfect union" Now, is it possible that even if there were no expess provideon giving dispremary to the Constitution and laws of the United States over those of the Statescan it be conceived that an instrument made for the purposed of forming a more perfect union, than that of the confederation, could be so condstructed by the afembleds western of our country as to substitute for that confederation a form of government dependent for its existence on the local interest, the party spirit of a State, or of a pres. vailing faction in a State? Grow man of plain unesphericated understanding, who haves the ques. line will give such an answer as will present the Union - Ketaphysical subtlety, in pursuit of an impracticable theory, could alone have divided on that is calculated to deling it. I consider then the power to annul a law of the United States assumed by one States incom. patible with the oxistence of the Union contradistrib uprefly by the letter of the Constitution unauthorized by its spent inconsistent with army principle on which it was founded and destruction of the great object for which it was formed After this general ocew of the leading principle, we must examine the particular application of it which is made in the ordinance The preamble rest its justification on these grounds. It assumes as a fact, that the obnoxious



552 Edward Livingston, 1784-1836, from the portrait painted by Join Trumbull in 1805 for the City of New York, courtesy of the Municipal Art Commission

SOUTH CAROLINA DEFIES THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The nullification movement did not halt with speeches and toasts. South Carolina, finding the tariff of 1832 unsatisfactory, met in convention at Columbia. With the Governor as chairman, the assemblage declared the Acts of 1828 and 1832 null and void in South Carolina, as of February, 1833; authorized the calling out of the militia, and asserted that should the National Government try to use force the state would set up its own Government. This defiance aroused the testy Jackson. In December he issued a proclamation, drafted by Livingston, in which South Carolina was warned of what might follow from her conduct. The language was not less nationalistic than that of Webster.

at the Bety of Washington, this tenth day of Bacamber, on the year of one Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty two, and of the Independence of the United States the fifty:

Che United States the fifty:

Sewanth

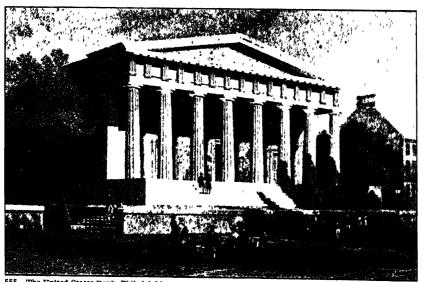
By the December of State.

Section 5. And had further a moted, West reference the interest of the it isled state. State the affectly informal, by the authorities of any had as by a fadge of may broad in District early of it. It and state is to state that, without the limits of each state way has a war of the arrived state, or the recentive through, we of may proceed from the tracts of the British state is observed to a, he implicant to finding love or by any other unlamful means as a close or recommended for him, of julcal proceeding, or by the power course or its marshal agreement or in a consequence for him. The Proceeding or by the force or and the requiring all such willing a a potter face forthwith to distinct and if at any to a after spring with tracking an aption face forthwith to distinct and if at any to a after spring with tracking and a many of objections that he and limity is, authorized proceeding such a same to energy the survey, the survey and to course the said same or proceed to be duty executed as one and only the said formally formally to employ such a same to energy the survey.

Section 5 of the Act for Enforcing the Tariff, Mar 2, 1833, from the original in the Department of State, Washington

THE TARIFF IS LOWERED AND SOUTH CAROLINA YIELDS

South Carolina remained obdurate. Calhoun resigned the vice-presidency to be free to fight the President from the floor of the Senate. The President then showed statesmanship. He advised downward modification of the tariff. South Carolina suspended nullification to await action by Congress. That body, after much debate, adopted a compromise bill framed by Clay in conference with Calhoun. This provided for a gradual reduction of the higher tariff rates, until in 1842 there would be a flat rate of twenty per centum. With this peace offering went the Force Act, giving the President adequate power to handle any like situation in the future. The Carolina Convention reassembled, expressed itself as satisfied, withdrew its nullification resolution of the tariff acts and made the gesture of nullifying the Force Act. The incident was closed. Conflict had been avoided, the Union preserved, and South Carolina had secured a lowering of the tariff.



555 The United States Bank, Philadelphia, engraving after a drawing by W. H. Bartiett in N. P. Willis,

American Senery Illustrated in a Series of West, Vision V. Debay Vision in N. P. Willis,

THE NATIONAL BANK EXCITES THE WEST

MEANWHILE another issue had come to the foreground. Jackson's political strength lay on the frontier, where easy money was in demand. Credit for expansion was sought from the banks. But state banks were hampered by the competition of the National Bank, with headquarters at Philadelphia. It was, to the West, monopolizing the money market and standing for the money power of the East.

JACKSON VETOES THE NATIONAL BANK'S CHARTER

THE Bank's charter expired in 1836. Nicholas Biddle, the president, was anxious to discover Jackson's Throughout the summer of 1829, the attitude. President put him off with evasion or silence. Then, m his first annual message, he opened the attack. He urged Congress that it was not too soon to consider the question of a new charter. "Both the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating this bank are well questioned by a large portion of our fellowcitizens, and it must be admitted by all that it has failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency." This was far from pleasing to the aggressive Biddle. He was, however, in a quandary. Should be continue to endeavor to win Jackson's favor, or should he join the party opposition with the Bank as the campaign issue? Clay, leader of the opposition, and searching for an issue, pressed Biddle to the latter The apparent hesitancy of Jackson to push the matter encouraged Clay to believe that on such a plank he could win the election of 1832. "My own belief," he wrote Biddle, "is that, if now called upon,



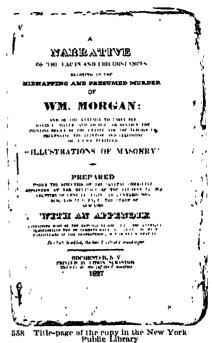
558 Nicholas Biddle, 1786-1844, from the portrait, 1826, by Thomas Sully in possession of Charles Biddle, Andalusia, Pa

he would not negative the bill [for recharter], but that if he should be re-elected the event might and probably would be different "Biddle was won over, on the 9th of January, 1832, he applied for a new charter. The Democrats, led in the Senate by Benton of Missouri, and in the House by Polk of Tennessee, proceeded to the fight, with Clay and McDuffie opposing. Biddle himself came to the capital to superintend. In July the Whigs carried the day. Jackson, however, was adamant. With most of the cabinet against him, he sent to the Senate his veto message, phrased as a campaign document. The Democrats had stolen a march on the Whigs. The latter had forced the Bank as the issue for 1832, the former outdid them in making political capital out of it.

THE A S O IT IN Y ONE OF THE PRACTICAL. "THE PARTY HAM TO YES STREET. "AND HAS DAVIDED THIRTY HAM TO YES STREET. "AND HAS DAVIDED THIRTY HAM TO YES STREET. "AND HAS DAVIDED THIRTY HAM TO YES STREET. "THE TABLE SON FRA APPLIED. 1887. THE PUBLIC LIDERTY PRIVILED SON FRA APPLIED.

THE RISE OF ANTI-MASONRY

THE campaign which followed was in many ways significant of the growing political life The first nomination had been made by a new and remarkable party. One William Morgan of Batavia, New York, had published a book purporting to reveal the secrets of Freemasonry. His subsequent disappearance led many to believe that he had been abducted and murdered by Masons. Through New York, New England, and Pennsylvania spread the suspicion that the Masonic order, with members mainly from the wealthier classes, was a secret political society whose influence swayed legislatures and juries.





559 'William Morgan Williag his Illustrations of Masonry," from The Anti-Masonic Almanac, Rochester, N. Y., 1829

POLITICIANS MAKE CAPITAL OF THE NEW MOVEMENT

Several demagogic young politicians, such as Thurlow Weed and William H. Seward in New York, and Thaddeus Stevens in Pennsylvania, seized upon the movement to promote their own ambitions. The party carried on campaigns in several other states in this election, and met with some success. To magnify the issue and to strengthen their position in national politics, they held, in September, 1830, a national convention at Philadelphia where it was determined to organize a national party. This was America's first national party convention, and the precedent established by the Anti-Masons was soon followed by the older parties. A year later, meeting in Baltimore, the Anti-Masons nominated William Wirt of Maryland as their presidential candidate. He was a well known man of letters, author of didactic essays in the manner of The Spectator, on oratory, the fine arts, education, etc.



581 William Wirt, 1772–1834, from the portrait by Henry Inman in the Boston Athenæum



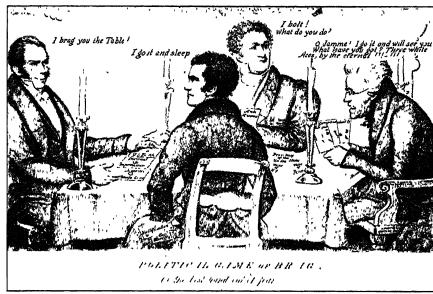
560 "William Morgan taken from Batavia by a mob of Masons and confined in Canadalgus jall under false pretences," from The Anti-Masonte Almanac, Rochester, NY, 1829

ANTI-MASONS WANT THE WHIGS TO ACCEPT WIRT

Wirt was a brilliant lawyer who had been Attorney-General under Monroe. He was, moreover, an intimate friend of Clay and held similar views of politics. It was the hope of the Anti-Masons that Wirt would prove an acceptable candidate to the Whigs, thus consolidating opposition to Jackson.

CLAY IS NOMINATED BY THE YOUNG REPUBLICANS

CLAY, however, would not surrender his ambition. The National Republicans, aping the Anti-Masons, held in December a convention at which he was unanimously nominated. In the following May, Clay's "Infant School" of young Republicans met at Washington and issued a platform endorsing internal improvements and protection. Clay at first wished Wirt to withdraw in his



From a contemporary cattoon by Edward W Clay in the New York Historical Society

fayor. This Wirt desired to do; but the politicians discovered that with him nominally in the race there was a greater chance of winning New York and Pennsylvania from Jackson. Thus an unannounced coalition was formed. Clay was also angling for the support of Calhoun and the Nullifiers. The cartoon illustrates the game as viewed by the Whigs. Clay, confident of victory on the issues fixed and with Wirt as secret ally, is about to take the stakes — the votes of New York and Pennsylvania — from under the eyes of the harassed and astounded Jackson. Calhoun discreetly withholds his cards from play.

THE NATIONAL BANK DEPOSITS ARE REMOVED TO STATE BANKS

THE result was a thorough drubbing for the coalition. Their intrigue had overlooked a fact never forgotten by the clever politicians of the Kitchen Cabinet — namely, that the election was to be decided by the masses, not by the business man, the banker and the manufacturer. Jackson interpreted the election as a complete endorsement of his views, and proceeded to execute them. "Emperor Nicholas" (Biddle), who had thrown himself and the Bank actively into the campaign, did not despair. He saw that sudden closure of the Bank in 1836 would bring on a crisis to avoid which Jackson might be forced to recharter the institution. To



THE DOWNFALL OF MOTHER BANK.

York opposition; the bribed editors of the National Gazette and of minor organs of the Bank, were overthrown, From a contemporary cartoon in possession of the publishers

forestall the reentry of the Bank into politics, detrimental to his interests, Jackson, under pressure from Amos Kendall and Frank Blair, ordered the removal of the deposits to state banks. Loyal "Downing" Democrats rejoiced at the energetic decision of their leader. His strokes had brought down the temple of financial corruption on to the heads of its defenders. The grafting hangersthe National Republicans, Clay and Webster; Silas Wright, leader of the New

664



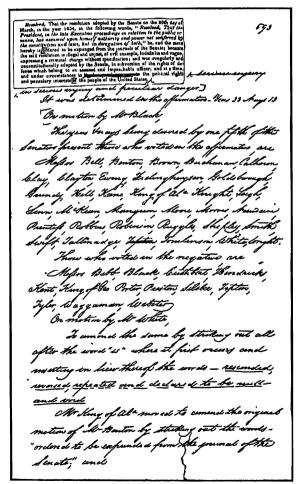
From a contemporary cartoon in the New York Historical Society

JACKSON'S ORDER IS CENSURED IN THE SENATE

On the publication (September 25) of Jackson's famous "Paper to the Cabinet," the Bank took counsel. At Webster's suggestion, a memorial to Congress was prepared the arrogant tone of which indicated the confidence with which the financiers approached the struggle with the President. There were, indeed, grounds for confidence. Van Buren and conservative Democrats believed that searcity of money and widespread distress would follow the placement of public funds in small and irresponsible local banks. Biddle took care to drive home the lesson by progressive curtailments of the Bank's credit. In January, 1834, he wrote to a friend: "Our only safety is in pursuing a steady course of firm restriction and I have no doubt that such a course will ultimately lead to restoration of the currency and the recharter of the Bank." It was in truth a struggle between two giants In it Biddle ruthlessly employed the financial power that was his, until the oppressed began to suspect that their distress was due fully as much to the Bank as to Jackson. Bit by bit, the business interests of the country then began to desert Biddle. But the politicians, less quick in judgment, continued the fight on the floor of Congress, long after the country had lost interest. The House sustained the removal by a vote of 118 to 103. In the Senate the opposition was in control, and, led by Clay, there followed "the longest period which had been occupied in a single debate, in either House of Congress, since the organization of the Government," ending on March 27, 1834, in a vote of twenty-six to twenty censuring the action of the President. A voluminous literature deals with this "bank war," a notable feature of which is the series of letters in which Biddle vindicates his own course of action.

JACKSON AND THE SENATE'S CENSURE

THE censure stung Jackson to fight back. Three weeks later he presented to the Senate his Protest, in which he vigorously denounced the resolutions and berated the Senate for "proceedings . . subversive of that distribution of powers of government which the Constitution has ordained and established, . . . and calculated . . . to concentrate in the hands of a body, not directly amenable to the people, a degree of influence and power dangerous to their liberties and fatal to the Constitution of their choice" This demurrer was greeted with delight by the people: the Senate refused to place it upon their Then followed Benton's dramatic and persistent effort to have stricken from the records the censure of his chief. Austere, conceited, a prolix and diffuse speaker, he was, nevertheless, a commanding figure in American politics and long a leader of Democracy. His fight to pass an expunging resolution, successful in 1837, kept the Bank issue in politics during the election of 1836.



586 From the Journal of the Senate of the Twenty-third Congress, debate on the Jackson resolution to evoluge; with a printed copy of the resolution of censure pasted in the journal



66.5 Phomas II Benton Addressing the Senate on the Resolution of Censure, from a sketch in the United States Magazine and Democratic Review, Oct 1837

EFFECT OF THE CENSURE FIGHT

From one angle the censure fight may be regarded as an incident in a significant constitutional development. More than once, on the floor of Congress, it was urged that the President's actions in his executive capacity were subject to legislative control. The victory of Jackson may be regarded as a victory for presidential over parliamentary government. at least certain leading politicians read the event. This is shown in the change of party name, in the spring of 1834. Niles' Register for April 12 reported: "In New York and Connecticut the name 'Whig' is now used by the opponents of the Administration when speaking of themselves, and they call the Jackson men by the offensive name of 'Tories.'" It was a conscious effort to stigmatize Jacksonism as executive usurpation, to identify the National Republicans with the historic struggle against royal prerogative. The same feeling appeared in Calhoun's claborate report on "the extent of federal patronage and the expediency of reducing the same," in which the Whigs combined party politics with constitutional principle. They proposed (1) an annual distribution of the surplus revenue; (2) a law to regulate executive selection of public depositorics; and (3) a repeal of the law limiting the tenure of customs officers. Thus it was hoped executive tyranny and the Democratic machine could be curbed.



587 Hugh Lawson White, 1773-1840, from a portrait in the State Library, Nashville, Tenn, courtesy of the Tennessee Historical Society

THE DEMOCRATS ARE DIVIDED OVER CANDIDATES

EVEN among the Democrats a division had appeared. Van Buren had long been regarded as the Crown Prince, picked to ascend the throne in 1836. His candidacy was, however, unacceptable to many of Jackson's supporters. Jackson, with all his faults. was recognized as honest, "Mattie," the "Red Fox," was looked upon as an intriguer. He was, moreover. a northerner. To the southern gentleman of breeding and wealth these were not appealing characteristics. Jackson had lost strength in the South Advocates of state rights were distressed by his treatment of South Carolina, the wealthier planters were horror-struck at his attack on the Bank, the strict constructionist at his many vigorous actions Above all, they shuddered at the intimacy between Jackson and the spoils politician symbolized by the Tammany Society. This disaffection found a candidate in Judge Hugh L. White of Tennessee, an old friend of Jackson, who, as early as 1834, had left the fold. Ponderous, dignified. White was a Senator of the old school. The Whigs

were appealed to by his grudge against the President; and for a time considered the possibility of making him their own candidate. His taciturnity, however, militated against his availability for the spirited campaign in sight. He was left to draw southern votes away from Van Buren.

VAN BUREN IS ELECTED AS JACKSON'S FAVORITE

Jackson, therefore, had little trouble in nominating his favorite, although Virginia rebelled at the selection of Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky for Van Buren's running-mate, an action which later threw the election of the Vice-president into the Senate. The Whigs finally fixed upon William Henry Harrison, the popular victor of Tippecanoe, as a candidate who would appeal to the frontier democracy and the olden virtues. Massachusetts remained loyal to Webster; while Calhoun's supporters continued their separatist tactics

by backing Senator W. P. Mangum of North Caro-The dying Antilina. Masonic party found a candidate to their liking in Judge John McLean of Ohio. With so many candidates in the field, appealing to such a wide variety of political tastes. the opposition hoped to draw from Van Buren sufficient strength to throw the election into the House. Van Buren. though never popular and somewhat timid, nevertheless elected as Jackson's man, pledged to "follow in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor."



From a contemporary cartoon in the New York Historical Society

ILLUSORY PROSPERITY PRECEDES THE PANIC OF 1837

THE walking was rough. In his farewell address, issued on the day on which he retired from the Presidency, Jackson had much to say about the prosperous condition in which he left the country. But such prosperity as existed was largely illusory. The destruction of the United States Bank and the distribution of the Treasury surplus had opened the way for a flood of "wild-cat" cur-



69 From a contemporary cartoon The Modern Balaam and His Ass, in the New York Historical Society

rency; "wild-cat" banking had led to feverish speculation; speculation in public lands had prompted the issue of the Specie Circular which required all payments to the government to be made in recognized national currency instead of local bank notes; and soon after Van Buren was installed, the Specie Circular proved the forerunner of a severe financial panic. Credit staggered and fell, trade was prostrated; prices shot upward; bread roots broke out, business houses by the score were driven to the wall.



THE PANIC HAS DISCONCERTING POLITICAL EFFECTS

HERE we have an anti-Jackson cartoonist's idea of disconcerting developments at a Democratic feast. The cotton planters and the Tammany man are making merry. But Van Buren, who as President is reaping the whirlwind sowed by others, has eyes only for the specter that has slipped into his chair at the head of the table; while Jackson, in the role of Lady Macbeth, explains away his successor's perturbation as best he can.



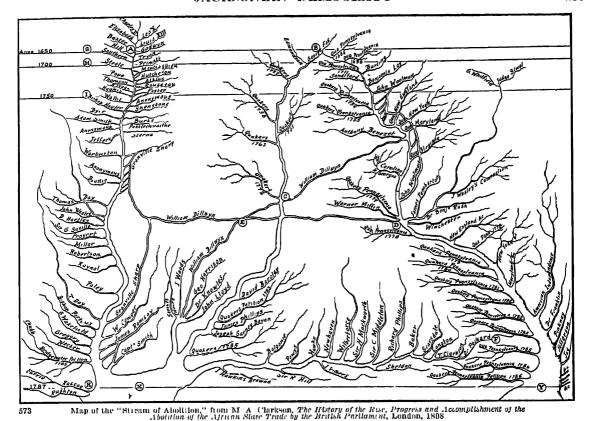
VAN BUREN CALLS CONGRESS TO PLAN RELIEF

Petitions poured in, asking for relief. Van Buren yielded to the pressure, and, withdrawing somewhat from the bullionist element of his party, led by the dauntless Jackson and the dogged Benton, called Congress into special session, in the autumn 1837, to consider remedies

THE SUB-TREASURY BILL PASSES CONGRESS

In this move he was influenced largely by a partisan revolt in his home state. Here a group of laborers, filled with doctrinaire notions of the desirability of returning to the "first principles" expounded by Jackson, had rebelled from Tammany rule and the Albany Regency. They denounced all banks and special privileges and believed that hard money was a panacea. As a result of their defection, the Whigs carried the city of New York in the autumn of 1837. This disturbed the "Little Magician." He therefore suggested to Congress an extension of the principle of the Specie Circular; in addition, he urged the establishment of an Independent Treasury whereby the government would care for its own money in sub-treasuries in each of the larger cities. This did not please the old Bank men, who labeled his bill the Divorce Bill because it divorced public and private business. Jackson, however, wrote an open letter from the Hermitage approving the plan, and Calhoun, seeing its real ment, swung to its support. It was finally carried in June, 1840.





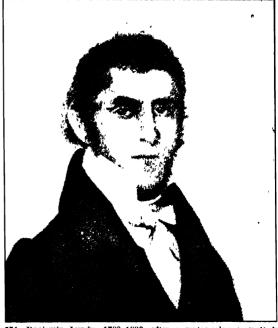
THE SLAVERY ISSUE ASSERTS ITSELF AFRESH

Throughout Van Buren's term the panic and its aftermath held public attention, while another issue returned to disturb the country. Since the Missouri Compromise, the slavery question had never entirely dropped

from view. Indeed the problem was older than the United States. In the eighteenth century many of the colonial leaders, notably Franklin, Jefferson and Jay, had spoken and worked for abolition. Slavery, however, was subjected to less criticism as time passed. Only its more cruel features, such as the foreign slave trade, received general disapproval. And this had been abolished by the Act of 1807.

A QUAKER WORKS FOR EMANCIPATION

WHILE the new nation was finding its feet, the slavery issue rested, only to emerge suddenly in the Missouri question. At that time, and for a decade after, antislavery advocates were pursuing a conciliatory policy. The leading spirit was Benjamin Lundy, New Jersey Quaker of fine mind and ideals. He founded and published The Genius of Universal Emancipation, which persistently but tactfully urged gradual emancipation. Traveling extensively through the South, Lundy won moral and financial support from many slaveholders. In 1816 was founded the American Colonization Society which, under such men as Bushrod Washington, Clay, and Madison, sent some thousand negroes to Liberia on the west coast of Africa.



574 Renjamin Lundy, 1789-1839, after a water-color portrait in the possession of the family, reproduced in the Journal of the Illinois State Mistorical Society, July 1913



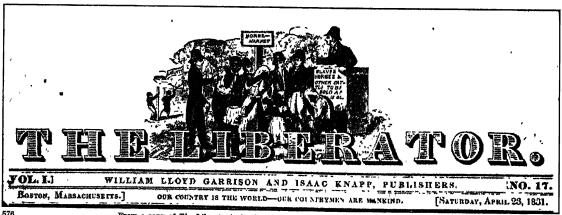
575 William Lloyd Garrison, 1804-79, from a photograph, about 1880, in possession of the Garrison family

A NEW FIGURE APPEARS AGAINST SLAVERY

Now appeared a new and forceful figure in the person of William Lloyd Garrison of Massachusetts. In 1829 he had associated himself with Lundy as joint editor in Baltimore. Here he denounced slavery in such flaming terms that he was imprisoned for libel. This experience convinced him that Lundy's methods were futile: immediate emancipation became his objective, to be attained by an unrelenting attack from the North upon the South.

GARRISON IS INEXORABLE FOR ABOLITION

OBTAINING the necessary funds by antislavery lectures, Garrison issued in Boston the first number of The Liberator, on the first of January, 1831. He deeply felt the moral wrong of slavery, and passionately demanded its abolition. His first words were characteristic. "I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with toleration. . . . I will not equivocate — I will not excuse — I will not retreat a single inch — and I will be heard."



576

From a copy of The Liberator in its first year, 1831, in the New York Public Library

THE LIBERATOR LIVES TILL ITS OBJECT IS ATTAINED

Garrison kept his word, and for thirty-five years he waged war against an institution he regarded as sinful. He was the avowed leader of the abolitionist radicals. Until his life-work was ended he never relented.



From a copy of The Liberator in the last year of its life, 1865, in the New York Public Library

A QUAKER SCHOOLMISTRESS PERSECUTED FOR TEACHING COLORED GIRLS

Such tactics were bound to arouse resentment. The immediate effect in the North was to alienate law-abiding people, who saw in Garrison an enemy of society. The radical social doctrines and intemperate language of the abolitionists stirred the latent intolerance of vested interests. One of the unpopular tenets of the group was equal freedom of activity for women At Canterbury, Connecticut, Pruand men. dence Crandall, a Friend, conducted a school for girls to which she admitted persons of color. The townsfolk and the officials protested and forbade enrollment of negroes from without the state, except by special permit. The principal was persecuted by her neighbors and imprisoned, and her schoolhouse was destroyed by a mob.

GARRISON IS MOBBED IN BOSTON

In Boston, upon the occasion of a lecture, October 21, 1835, Garrison was mobbed and dragged through the streets with a rope around his neck. He was finally rescued by the mayor, who placed him in the city jail for safety. At the time, one of his co-workers, George



578 Prudence Crandall, 1803-90, from the portrait by Francis Alexander (1800-81), palvied in 1838 for the Anti-Slavery Society, in the Library of Cornell University, thaca, N Y

Thompson, recently arrived from Scotland, escaped only by donning woman's garb. Thompson's visit had aroused so much indignation that President Jackson publicly denounced him. He eventually fled in a row-boat to a British vessel bound for St. John, New Brunswick.



AMERICA HAS A "MARTYR AGE"

This violent spirit spread over the North. In 1837 the Reverend Elijah P. Lovejoy, editor of an antislavery paper, whose press had been destroyed three times by mobs, was murdered in Alton, Illinois. With his friends he defended the office-building, but on opening the door was instantly struck by five bullets—The trustees of Bowdoin College attempted to remove a professor suspected of abolitionism.

THE FOES OF ABOLITION RIOT IN PHILADELPHIA

In Philadelphia the abolitionists erected a hall at a cost of \$40,000, only to have it set on fire the day after the first meetings were held therein. For three nights the city was the scene of riots in which many houses occupied by negroes were attacked.



581 Burning of Pennsylvania Hall, Philadelphia, May 17, 1838, from a sketch drawn on the spot and engraved by John Sartain, reproduced from The Story of Pennsylvania Hall



From a contemporary cartoon by E W Clay in the New York Historical Society



580 Elijah Parish Lovejoy, 1802-37, from a silhourite portrait in Randall Parish, Hastoric Illinois, Chicago, 1905, courtesy of A. C. McClurg & Co.

FREE NEGROES SUFFER FROM THE ANTI-ABOLITIONISTS

SOUTHERN feeling against the abolitionists was intense. Conduct which in the North offended moral standards received in the South additional opprobrium as exerting violence among the negroes and as destructive of law and order. Uprisings such as Nat Turner's insurrec-

tion of slaves in Virginia, in 1831, were laid at the door of the northern fanatic. Turner, a negro who believed he was chosen by the Lord to lead his people to freedom, had set out with a band of disciples to destroy the entire white race. An early response to such outrages was a tightening of the Black Codes which governed the activities of the negroes. In many cities freedmen were numerous; their presence was now regarded as dangerous to public peace. The southern point of view was expressed in 1837 by one of their most cultivated writers, W. G. Sımms: "By emancipation and the pettings of philanthropy the coarse and uneducated negro became lifted into a condition to which his intellect did not entitle him, and to which his manners were unequal: - he became presumptuous, accordingly, and consequently offensive." In the North a similar opinion was adopted, and the free negro, in many places denied citizenship. became the victim of legal and social humiliations and economic discriminations.

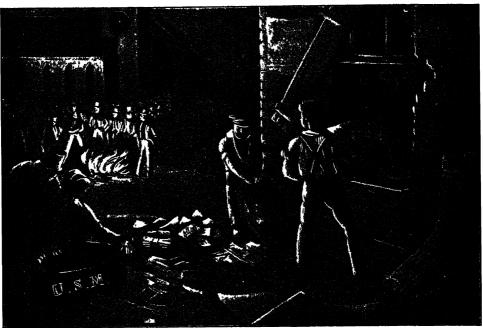
THE INCONSISTENCY OF THE SOUTH IS SATIRIZED

THOSE who dared to express sympathy with the abolitionist too often received summary treatment at the hands of their neighbors. The picture is an abo-Îstionist rejoinder, and a burlesque on the incompatibility of slavery with American liberty. The same theme was often used in English caricatures of America.



583 From a contemporary cartoon issued by the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass





From an antislavery broadside, Southern Ideas of Liberty, representing an attack on the Post Office at Charleston, S. C., in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass

A PRO-SLAVERY MOB BREAKS POSTAL LAWS

THE

War in Texas:

REVIEW OF FACTS AND CIRCUMSTANCES.

SHOW ING THAT

THIS CONTEST IS THE RESULT

THE GOVERNMENT,

eholders. Land Sveculators. Sc.

RE ESTABLISHING. FXTENDING. AND PERFETUATING

THE SYSTEM OF

SLAVERY AND THIS SLAVE TRAIDS

IN THE

REPUBLIC OF MEXICO

CITEZEN OP THE UNITED STATE

MUCH of the antislavery propaganda was deliberately sent into the South. Inflammatory pamphlets and papers were sent broadcast into the South, arousing strong resentment. Attacking the post office, a mob in Charleston seized and burned a mail sack full of such literature. The postmaster of New York thereupon refused to forward such mail destined for southern points, and in this summary procedure he was upheld by Amos Kendall, the Postmaster-General. This ruling aroused heated debate in Congress, where Calhoun endeavored to secure a statute prohibiting the use of the mails for abolition literature addressed to points where its circulation would be illegal. His plan was, however, defeated. To give to postal officials the right to discriminate among the pieces of mail presented to them was to establish a dangerous practice and one likely to produce greater evils than the sending of abolitionist propaganda into the South.

JACKSON RECOGNIZES TEXAN INDEPENDENCE INTO still another political field the slavery issue was injected. Since the early 'twenties, Americans had been settling in the Mexican provinces north of the Rio Grande. Several times Adams and Jackson had suggested the purchase of Texas, only to be rebuffed by Mexico. last came the Texan Revolution, resulting in a declaration of independence - signed chiefly by Americans - and in 1836 a request for annexation to the United States. Abolitionists in the North shouted wolf; this was simply a southern plot to increase slave territory. John Quincy Adams declared against annexation, Webster counseled delay, and Congress merely authorized the President to recognize Texan independence (March 3, 1837).

THE "GAG RULES" KILL PETITIONS AGAINST SLAVERY

FURTHER excitement was aroused by the attitude taken by the House of Representatives toward antislavery petitions. A group of abolitionists had determined to secure congressional action for their goal, so far as the National Government had power over the matter. Beginning in the session of 1833-34, petitions poured in calling for acts abolishing slavery in Florida and the District of Columbia, and for control of the interstate slave traffic. Bit by bit, southern are rose, until in the winter of 1835-36 the House spent bitter days fighting over the constitutional right of petition and over slavery in the District. In May, 1836, it determined that all such petitions should "without being printed



587 From the broadside Slave Market of America, published at New York, 1836, by the American Anti-Slavery Society, original in the New York Historical Society

and referred, be laid upon the table." This was a red flag to the abolitionists; the volume of petitions grew, until in 1840 the House provided that no such memorials "be received . . . or entertained in any way whatever." This simply inflamed abolitionist ardor, and kept the cause in the political arena. Not until 1844, after the mischief had been done, were these gag rules abandoned. The unwavering and courageous leader of the fight against the gag rules, John Quincy Adams, now a member of the House of Representatives, rose again to greatness.

THE BIBLE AND SLAVERY

THE attack upon slavery roused the gentlemen planters of the South to thought regarding their peculiar institution. A profound religious awakening had stirred southern communities in the first third of the century. Many southerners turned to the Bible as the literally inspired Word of God. On its pages, both in the Old and the New Testaments, they found references to slavery, even rules governing the relation of master and slave. They came to the sincere conclusion that slavery was a divine institution, and that negro slavery was God's way of bringing civilization to the savage African. Slavery, therefore, was a positive good to both black and white. Its evils could be mitigated by the spreading of the gospel. The South-



89 From a caricature Black and White Slaves, by E. W. Clay, in the New York Historical Society

erner pointed to patriarchal slavery in the South where the master and mistress looked after feeding, clothing and doctoring their people. He called attention to the loyalty of thousands of slaves to their owners and to the close bond of affection which often developed. Then, by way of contrast, he pointed to the horrible conditions in the industrial cities of England where free labor was ruthlessly exploited in the midst of wretchedness and need. The argument was a telling one.



From a contemporary cartoon in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

HENRY CLAY

CLAY in his defense of slavery followed a more devious course. He talked much of the difference between equality in the abstract and in human society, of the state of nature as against long-established social institutions, of ethics as against law, of the dangers to life and property which would follow upon emancipation. While Calhoun, the philosopher of state rights, in the face of this new issue, trampled upon the antislavery petition of the sovereign state of Vermont, Clay was seeking a na media that would satisfy all factions of a political party whose sole bond of union was desire to preserve property interests from Jacksonism. His efforts to conciliate the South won him the hatred of abolitionists. In a famous speech of February 7, 1839, he announced that he had opposed the calling of a constitutional convention in Kentucky in 1838, for fear that the abolitionists would dominate its deliberations. He continued. "If I were now a citizen of any of the planting states — the Southern and Southwestern states — I would continue to oppose any scheme whatever of emancipation, gradual or immediate, because of the danger of an ultimate ascendancy of the black race, or of a civil contest which might terminate in the extinction of one race or another." Seizing upon this reasonable proposition, the abolitionists interpreted it as sounding an alliance between the Great Pacificator and the champion of slavery.



590 Hard Times Token (obverse and reverse) issued in the Jackson period, courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, New York

CHAPTER X

THE ROARING 'FORTIES

THE eager Jacksonian Democrats had concerned themselves chiefly with domestic These had been approached with the zeal of the reformer, and manhandled to solution. But these rough and ready methods brought in their train other problems, which could not so easily be settled by the decree of vox populi. The Democrats, however, did not at first realize that there were limitations upon the effectiveness of their tactics. This is well illustrated in the history of America's foreign relations during the period. For in the years following Jackson's administration the same bumptious patriotism that had brought him to the Presidency found expression in a militant nationalism that for a time threatened to overwhelm the better sense of the people. The cry of "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" embodied the popular solution of the Oregon question. The apparent success of such diplomatic procedure led to the extension of that rallying-cry into "Manifest Destiny." It was foreordained that the United States should absorb Canada, Cuba, Mexico, the whole of the Americas. But thanks to President Polk, Calhoun and Webster, the methods of the boisterous Democrats received the restraint they needed. In the field of domestic issues, a similar shift in tactics was to prove necessary. The attitude of the Jacksonian Democrat toward such issues is vividly portrayed in a passage in Van Buren's Autobiography written in the 'fifties: "Never," . . . was this Country so thoroughly convulsed, never before was the vital principle — that of the sovereignty of the popular will — . . . so seriously menaced, never before were our material interests so severely and wantonly injured as they were by the successive struggles of the second Bank of the United States to obtain a renewal of its charter. Those who lived at that day and were conversant with public affairs know that all the branches of the Federal Government, . . . as well as those of the State Governments, were profoundly agitated by those struggles. They obtruded themselves into all the ramifications of society, shed their baleful influence upon all its interests and for a season suspended, if they did not permanently weaken, the recognition of some of its most vital obligations." - J. C. Fitzpatrick (editor), The Autobiography of Martin Van Buren, 1918.

That menace was met in typical Jacksonian fashion, for, as has been well said, "Jacksonian Democracy did not fear central government as such; it only feared central government directed by its political enemies." — F. L. Paxson, History of the American Frontier, 1924, p. 319. Such methods were bound to arouse opposition. The character of that opposition was affected by the concurrent external policies of the Government; and it found a philosophy of conduct in the principles enunciated by Calhoun. The annexation of extensive lands, and proposals to annex others, raised serious problems — above all, that of the status of slavery in the territories. The problem, which had slumbered since the Missouri Compromise, now started a series of events leading to a final solution of the slavery question. In the 'forties the question was more acute than before, thanks to the issues raised by South Carolina in 1832. The tactics of Jacksonism made "states rights" a doctrine under which centralization could be opposed and slavery protected. Clearly, the slavery issue was joined to the knotty problem of the relation between the National Government and the states. The time was approaching when the continuance of the former issue was to endanger the Union.



From a contemporary cartoon in the New York Historical Society

THE MEETING AT SARATOGA

CLAY, in his famous speech on February 7, 1839, had taken great pains to push his claims for the Presidency; and after its delivery he returned to Kentucky, confident of success at the party convention in December. With the exception of Webster, no other Whig was so prominent, and none was his peer in party and public service. Webster, however, did not possess the attributes that make a popular presidential candidate. During the summer, rumors reached Clay

that all was not well in New York State, where Thurlow Weed, the astute political manager, had been friendly. Hence he set out, ostensibly upon a journey for his health, to discover what was happening. Early in August, he came to Saratoga, where, as elsewhere, he was received with apparent enthusiasm. To the welcoming assemblies attended by the élite came Clay supporters in fantastic hirsute adornment — for they had sworn not to shave until Clay was President. Here the aspiring Kentuckian met Van Buren, whose opponent Clay soon hoped to be. Here also Clay conferred with Weed, who told him that he could not be elected. In point of fact, Weed was at the moment taking steps to pledge the New York delegation to General Scott, in order to keep it from voting for Clay.

POLITICIANS SEEK A NEW CANDIDATE

WEED'S real candidate was Harrison, native of Virginia but now resident of Ohio. For Weed, above all a politician, was concerned with the prospect of victory in 1840. He saw the many weaknesses of the Whigs. Their two great leaders, Clay and Webster, were jealous of one another and unwilling to yield precedence. The party had no common convictions and no common program, except that of ousting the Democrats. Under such conditions, principle, thought Weed, must be subordinated to expediency. A candidate must be chosen who would poll votes. This meant that Clay could not be selected. He had been too long in the arena, and his position was too well known to permit straddling. He had recently offended the abolitionists. He was a Mason whom the strong Anti-Masonic group within the party would not favor. He had, also, twice been defeated for the Presidency. In short, he was distinctly not the best candidate. General Harrison, on the other hand, possessed those attributes which Clay lacked, and at the same time did not arouse the manifold prejudices directed against the Kentuckian.



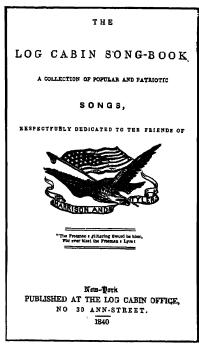
592 William Henry Harrison, 1773-1841, from the portrait by George Catlin (1796-1872), courtesy of the Ehrich Galleries, New York



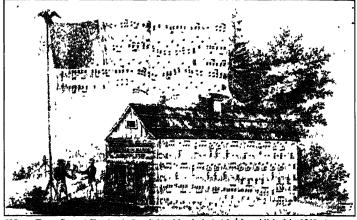
From a broadside published in New York, 1840, at the office of the *Harrison Almanac*, original in the New York Historical Society

CLAY LOSES THE NOMINATION TO HARRISON

Harrison had a military record that would appeal. During the War of 1812 he had served with distinction in the Northwest. He was the hero of Tippecanoe. Except for his strong candidacy in 1836, he had not recently been active in politics. He was, moreover, the son of a "signer." His views upon current issues were scarcely known. In fine, he would be a great vote-getter. So the wire-pulling of Weed and Greeley resulted in the defeat of Clay's ambitions and the nomination of Harrison. To allay the bitterness aroused by this decision, the convention managers selected as the General's running-mate a man known to be Clay's friend. This was John Tyler of Virginia. The campaign of 1840 began as soon as the Whig convention adjourned in December, 1839. There was no need to await the action of the Democratic convention to be held in Baltimore in the following May; for Van Buren's renomination was a certainty. The Whigs, wisely avoiding the internal dissension that would arise from the attempt, adopted no platform. To hide their lack of principle and of unity, they embarked upon a campaign in which emotion was to swamp reason.



594 Title-page of the original issue, New York, 1840, from a copy in the New York Public Library



5 From General Harrison's Log Cabin March & Quicksfep, published in 1840 at Baltimore by Samuel Carusi

CAMPAIGN SONGS

THE Democrats affected to treat the Whigs and their tactics with contempt. At the time of the Harrisburg convention, the *Hartford Times* had suggested that the Whig nominee, when chosen, should be called "the federal-whig-abolition-amalgamation-conservative-antimasonic-striped-pig-foreign-missionary candidate." After the nomination another prominent eastern paper wrote derisively of Harrison as a man better fitted, if provided with a pension, to remain in his

log cabin with a barrel of hard cider than to enter the White House. The remark was unfortunate. The people of Ohio had just passed through the log-cabin era; with the log cabin they associated the hardships and privations which "Mattie's" panic of 1837 had renewed. Resenting the imputation in the article, these people seized upon the log cabin as a symbol of liberty and democracy. At the Whig state convention at Columbus in February, 1840, was introduced the "log-cabin song," written to the swinging tune of Highland Laddie. Other songs quickly followed and were sung up and down the country. Horace Greeley, a young New York journalist, saw his opportunity, and established a campaign paper, The Log Cabin, which soon had a circulation of eighty thousand copies

THE HARD CIDER CAMPAIGN

EVERYWHERE log cabins were erected as headquarters for the Whig politicians. Here were held mass meetings to which from many miles around came farmers with their families to spend days and nights in singing

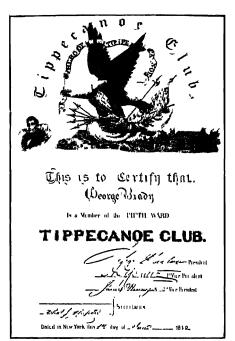
songs and shouting "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." It became impossible to count them, and surveyors were employed to measure the throngs by the acre. At every gathering appeared the jug of cider and the coonskin, tokens of Harrison's love of the people. A campaign biographer of the candidate said that "his table, instead of being covered with exciting wines, is well supplied with the best cider." (See Nos. 568, 600.) In contrast with the "Honest Farmer of North Bend," possessed of all the homely virtues of the true American, Van Buren became the aristocrat who lived in a palace and dressed himself before elaborate French mirrors, callous to the sufferings brought upon the people by his policies and the corruption of his administration.



596 From a lithograph by J T Bowen after an aquatint Log Cabin Politicians, by William Hall, courtesy of J F Sabin, New York

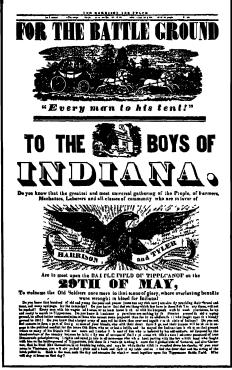
AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

THE politicians who had engineered Harrison's nomination overlooked no method of appeal for votes. The masses were carried along upon a swelling wave of enthusiasm. It was like a religious revival Never before in America's political history has there been seen such immense conventions, such crowds,



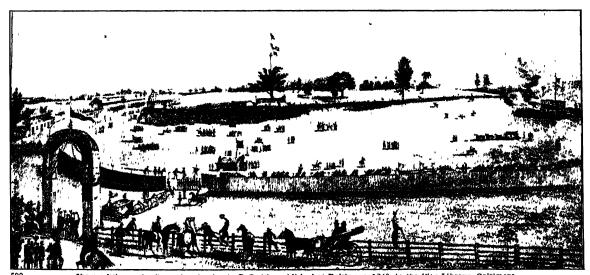
598 Certificate of membership in the Tippecanoe Club, New York, dated June 1, 1840, from the original in the New York Historical Society

such stupendous processions, whole towns and counties turned their population into a line of march often five miles long and sometimes stretching from one state into another Clay and Webster soon threw themselves fervidly into the campaign. Clay declared: "The battle is now between the log cabins and the palaces, between hard cider and champagne."



7 From The Spirit of '70, issue of May 9, 1840, in the Indiana State Library, Indianapolis

Webster publicly apologized for not having been born in a log cabin, and pointed with pride to the fact that his elder brothers and sisters had that honor. "If ever I am ashamed of it," he added, "may my name and the name of my posterity be blotted forever from the memory of mankind."



From a lithograph after a drawing by A C Smith, published at Baltimore, 1840, in the City Library, Baltimore

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF WHIG YOUNG MEN

To an immense gathering at Baltimore in May, there was rolled, from Kentucky, a large ball, whence originated the phrase, "Keep the ball a-rolling." Before this throng, Clay exclaimed "This is no time to argue; the time for argument has passed; the nation has already pronounced its sentence."



600 From a contemporary cartoon published by H. R. Robinson, New York, in the New York Historical Society

HARRISON EVADES EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL OPINIONS

The Democrats could not withstand such campaigning. The Baltimore convention had issued a platform declaring against the protective tariff, national aid to internal improvements, and a United States Bank, as involving the exercise of "doubtful constitutional powers." But these issues could make no headway against the cries of the Whigs. Banners with the legend "Matty's policy, fifty cents a day and French soup; our policy, two dollars a day and roast beef," carried more weight than did arguments of a more reasoned character. When Van Buren called upon Harrison for an expression of views, hoping that political capital might be made for the Democrats, the hard-cider men turned aside the effort to introduce real issues by contrasting the habits of life of the two candidates.

HARRISON ELECTED PRESIDENT

Long before election day it was evident that Van Buren would be defeated. Nothing that he and his supporters could do was sufficient to prevent his downfall. He lost his own state -- indeed, Illinois was the only northern state which went Democratic — and received only sixty votes out of the two hundred and ninety-four in the electoral college. The defeated candidate accepted the verdict with his usual composure, hoping that in 1844 he would be more fortunate



801 From a campaign cartoon, 1840, published by H R Robinson, New York, in the Library of Congress

TYLER SUCCEEDS TO THE PRESIDENCY

THE Whig rejoicings were short-lived. Although they had carried most of the states of the Union, Harrison's popular vote was only about six per cent larger than Van Buren's. The Whigs, moreover, had come into power with divided counsels. Harrison's policies were still largely a matter of guesswork, although Clay seemed to have secured the post of unofficial adviser. On one point only were the Whigs certain. They wanted office. So persistent were their demands for spoils that Harrison's strength was overtaxed; and on April 4. 1841, just a month after the inauguration, the President died. For the first time there succeeded to the chief magistracy a man who had been elected Vice-president. John Tyler had been nominated by the Whigs, not because he was thought to be of presidential caliber, or because he was sympathetic with the views of the dominant faction within the party, but as a means of conciliating a minority faction. For thirty years he had adhered with pride to a fixed political principle, that of strict construction. When the party of his choice seemed to him to stray from that principle, he had not hesitated to change party. That this had brought him political success did not weaken his convictions. The nationalistic Whigs foresaw trouble.



602 John Tyler, 1790-1862, from the portrait by G P A. Healy in the United States National Museum, Washington

TYLER AND THE WHIGS

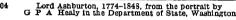
Under pressure from Clay, Harrison had summoned Congress to meet in special session on May 31, 1841-Tyler fell in with his plan; he also kept in office Harrison's cabinet, packed with Clay's friends. Clay now determined to assert his leadership openly. On June 7 he introduced into the Senate six resolutions which were to be the Whig platform, to be enacted under the guidance of the Kentuckian. The program had three chief planks: first, abolition of the independent treasury and reestablishment of a national bank; second, upward revision of the tariff; and third, distribution among the states of the proceeds of sales of public lands. At first all went well. The repeal of the Independent Treasury Act was speedily accomplished, with Tyler's approval. Then came the hitch. Tyler's strict constructionist views were well known, yet Clay

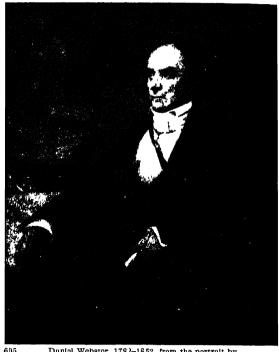


603 From a contemporary cartoon published by H R Robinson, New York, in the New York Historical Society

and his supporters were confident. Tyler's remarks on the matter in his message of June 1, 1841, had seemed conciliatory. So Clay continued with his program, only to have it blocked by two successive vetoes. This made the breach between the President and the Whigs complete. Clay's partisans in the cabinet resigned, followed by others until Webster alone remained. In Congress and out, Tyler's followers were so few as to be nicknamed "The Corporal's Guard." The party was broken; the elections of 1842 gave the Democrats control of the House; and the prospects for 1844 were gloomy.

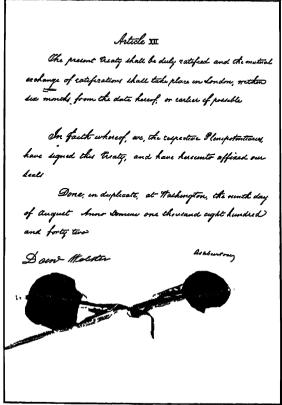






Daniel Webster, 1782-1852, from the portrait by G. P. A. Healy in the Department of State, Washington

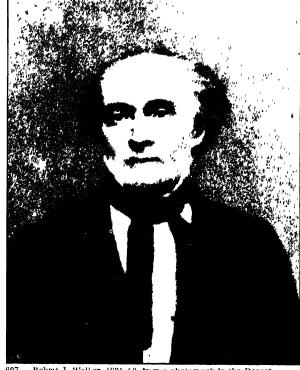
THE WEBSTER-ASHBURTON TREATY



Webster had remained in the cabinet as Secretary of State in order to conclude certain matters of moment then pending with Great Britain. In an effort to settle all outstanding difficulties between the two countries, Lord Ashburton, who knew and liked America, was in 1841 sent as special Minister to the United States. Webster, backed by the President's constant support, negotiated with him. In the summer of 1842, an agreement was reached upon a number of important matters. Some years earlier, Great Britain had forbidden English vessels to engage in the slave trade. Afterward she had made arrangements with many other nations authorizing her navy to enforce their laws prohibiting the trade. The United States had not entered into such an arrangement, with the result that many slavers hid under the American flag. Great Britain therefore asserted a right to search vessels to determine whether they were properly carrying the American flag. To this the United States, remembering what had happened before the War of 1812, refused assent. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty now settled this dispute. Both nations were to maintain patrolling squadrons off the African slave coast Thus Great Britain gained suppression of the trade, while the United States did not accede to any right of search. The treaty also settled the Maine-New Brunswick boundary, long a troublesome point in the relations between the two countries.

"ALL OF TEXAS, ALL OF OREGON"

As the election of 1844 approached, Clay and Van Buren appeared as the most likely candidates of their respective parties The Whigs, who had turned against Clay four years before, had been chastened by the events of Tyler's administration Van Buren, in spite of his defeat of 1840, had not lost his hold on the organization of the Democratic party. In the spring of 1844, returning from a visit to Andrew Jackson at the Hermitage, he called upon Henry Clay. Both prospective candidates agreed in fearing the disruptive possibilities of the issue of the annexation of Texas. They seem to have agreed that the Texas question should be eliminated from the party platforms. On April 20, when Clay was in Raleigh, North Carolina, and Van Buren was at his home in New York State, the country was surprised to read letters given out by both Clay and Van Buren decrying a discussion of Texas annexation. There was a sharp popular reaction against this concerted attempt to sidetrack an issue in which everyone was interested With the Democratic convention scarcely a month away, Senator Robert J. Walker of Mississippi undertook the task of defeating the "Little Magician" Walker already had boldly demanded the



607 Robert J Wulker, 1801-69, from a photograph in the Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss

"re-annexation of Texas and the re-occupation of Oregon" — all Oregon. This had laid the foundation for a union between the South and the West. When Clay and Van Buren published their "self-denying ordi-



James K Polk, 1795-1849, from a daguerrectype in the

nances," Walker assumed the management of the Democratic party. With the opening of the Democratic convention at Baltimore he renewed and vitalized the two-thirds rule. "He procured the passage of this resolution by a mere majority vote, and thus Van Buren, who had a majority of the delegates instructed to vote for him, was deprived of the leadership of the party. The Walker slogan, 'All of Texas, all of Oregon,' was adopted by the convention, and James K. Polk, formerly Speaker of the House of Representatives, was nominated for the Presidency."—W. E. Dodd, Expansion and Conflict, pp 129-30.

POLK SUITS THE SOUTHERNERS

"He was the least conspicuous man who had ever been nominated for President"—Fish, Development of American Nationality, p. 305. As a friend of Jackson, a native of North Carolina, and a resident of Tennessee, Polk suited the southern branch of the Democratic party better than Van Buren. The platform, moreover, declared strongly for the annexation of Texas. Thus the campaign of 1844 drew sharply a definite and important issue, that of expansion.



From a cartoon by E W. Clay, published by H R. Robinson, New York, in the New York Historical Society

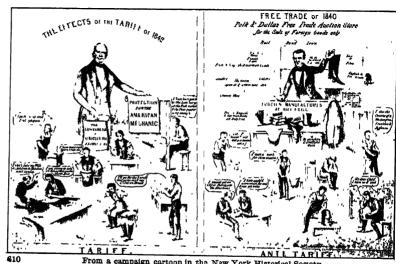
THE CAMPAIGN OF 1844

PRESIDENT TYLER, dishked by both the Whigs and the Democrats, attempted to build up a party of his own, but withdrew from the race before the campaign was over. Calhoun supported Polk, and hoped that the coalition of South and West which had put the Tennessean forward would advance his own candidacy in 1848. Webster, Clay's great rival for the leadership of the Whigs, said little during the campaign. The contest centered about territorial expansion and slavery. Polk, whose platform supported both propositions, found himself in a highly favorable strategic position. Clay, whose prestige and personal popularity were vastly greater than that of his opponent, was put on the defensive at the very outset of the campaign.

POLK AS A PROTECTIONIST

THE candidate and the main plank of the Democrats were pleasing to the South. To avoid the cry of sectionalism, and to win the Northwest, they added a demand for the "re-occupation" of Oregon. To assure victory, it remained to satisfy the Northern Democrats. These, in general, were offended at the rejection of Van

Buren, while many feared lest the domination of the southern Democrats would endanger the protective tariff under which the northern elements prospered. Clay, moreover, was vigorously exploiting the virtues of the American system, and, in particular, those of the Tariff of 1842. To counter the Whig campaign and to mollify the doubting Democrats of the North, Polk wrote a letter which was given wide publicity, and which, at the hands of his partisans, was dexterously interpreted to favor the principle of protection.



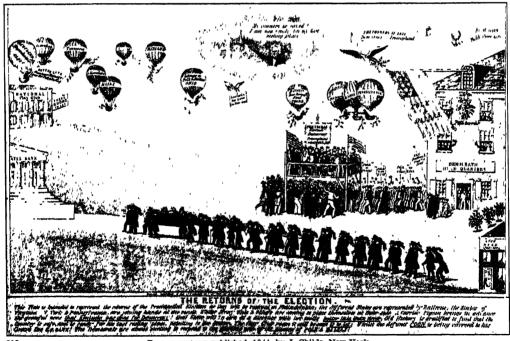
From a campaign cartoon in the New York Historical Somety



611 Great Whig Procession in New York, from The Illustrated London News, Nov. 24, 1844

WHIG ENTHUSIASM

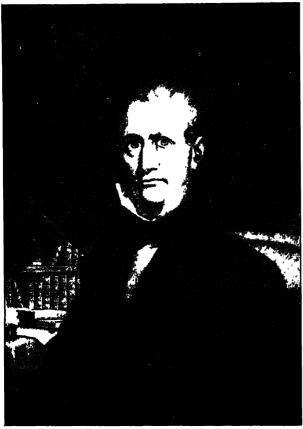
As the campaign developed, it seemed that the attitude of the people of New York State would decide the election. Here, where the antislavery Whigs were strong, Clay was at first the leading candidate. But as he began to hedge upon the issue of the annexation of Texas, his supporters became lukewarm. In the end, enough voted for Birney, candidate of the Liberty party, openly opposed to annexation, to swing the state into the Democratic column.



From a cartoon published, 1844, by J. Childs, New Yor.

POLK IS ELECTED

As the returns were received, Polk's victory became clear. He carried the Gulf states and the Northwest; Clay won in New England, while the middle and upper Southern States were divided. Though the electoral vote was one hundred and seventy to one hundred and five, Polk's popular plurality was only forty thousand.



513 James Gillespie Birney, 1792-1857, from a portrait from life, artist not known, courtesy of William J Farrington, Satatoga, Cal,

THE CANDIDATE OF THE LIBERTY PARTY

The campaign of 1844 saw the reappearance of the Liberty party with James Gillespie Birney as its candidate A figure in sharp contrast to that of William Lloyd Garrison, Birney was a Kentucky planter. With his father's slaves he had inherited his father's desire to do away with the institution of slavery. Before the publication of the first issue of The Liberator in 1831, Birney for some years had been a regular contributor to the American Colonization Society. In 1832-33 he traveled among his fellow planters in the Southwest in the interest of the Colonization Society. In 1834 he freed his own negroes. In 1830 Birney, who had been a recognized leader of Clay's party in the South, broke with the great Kentuckian because he would not lead a crusade to abolish slavery in Kentucky. Driven out of the South by the persecution of the slaveholding opponents, Birney established himself in Cincinnati, where he launched an antislavery paper of moderate tone. Yet Birney spoke with force and candor through the columns of his paper. "There will be no cessation of conflict until slavery shall be exterminated or liberty destroyed. Liberty and slavery cannot live in juxtaposition." He became the leader of the less radical abolitionists. He did not follow Garrison in his attack upon

the Constitution or in his policy of no political action. Birney believed that only through politics could civil war be averted. His followers, unsuccessful in securing recognition for their views by either political party, organized the Liberty party in 1840 and nominated Birney for the Presidency. He polled seven

thousand votes. In 1844 he was again put forward. This time his vote was sixty thousand. He is credited with drawing enough support from Clay in the critical state of New York to throw the electoral vote of that state, and with it the election, to Polk. The year after the election Birney was disabled by paralysis, caused by a fall from his horse, and from this time withdrew from active participation in public life. But he continued to contribute to the press, and the principle he stood for did not die.

THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON:

FRIDAY MORNING, NOV. 6, 1840.

Third Political Party.

We have yet to see one good argument advanced in favor of the third party movement. There is no renson whatever why we should oppose it, if we could perceive any thing good in it, near or remote. Standing alouf as we do from any direct participation in the politics of the country, we are quite sure that we occupy as disinterested and imparital a position, in respect to the political bearings of the anti-slavery cause, as do those who are striving to obtain, or who have no objections to receive, the loaves and fisher of office.' We have been careful to peruse the political lucubrations of the Emancipator, the Friend of Man, the Abolitionist, and some other papers friendly to the third party, but their logic and their declamation have alike fuled to make any impression upon us While we see nothing to alter our opinion, that it originated in selfishiness and ambition, and to prosecuted in the spirit of desperation against the most fearful odds, we have no doubt that there are some who support it from an honest belief that it will subserve the interests of the auti slavery cause.

It is worthy of remark that some of the most prom-

inent supporters of the movement have already been put in nomination for office—Garrit Smith, James G. Birney, Thomas Earle, Henry B. Stanton, John G. Winttner, &c. &c. It is hardly probable that they will be elected, seeing they are opposed by a large majority of the abolitionists in the United States, as well as the two great existing parties!

It is also worthy of remark, that almost all who go for a third party are either openly or secretly in favor of new organization—and new organization is not trustwo-thy, either morally or politically. It is an evil spirit, full of solf-seeking, and swayed by ambituous and sectarian motives. In New-England, it has made the new political movement a deriver resort to save it from an appreciate overthrow. To illustrate this point, we quote the following passage from the detected letter of Elizur Wright, Ir to Henry B Stanton, written one year ago.

One thing I know. Unless you do take such a step, [get up a third party,] our new organization here is a gene case. It has been, inter not, elocking-ly manual anged. Every thing has been made to turn upon the woman question.—The political has been left to fall but of sight. It won't do for we to start the national politics. But if the parent society does so, and not by our move, then we can take hold with all our inight—the non-roundants will have to be out upon as under true flag (!)—the confounded woman question will be forgotten—and we shall take a tiring position. You certainly see this. Take my solomn assurance that it is life and death south we. Make the move, and we will follow and lires.

New organization will find, in the sequel, that

THE OREGON QUESTION

Polk had been elected on an expansionist platform, and throughout his administration foreign policy was predomi-Tyler, anxious to carry through his program of annexation before leaving office, had persuaded the short session of Congress, meeting in December, 1844, to offer Texas acceptable terms of admission to the Union. Thus upon his mauguration Polk tound one of his main planks already adopted. He turned to the Oregon question The whole of this great country was claimed by both the United States and Great Britain Polk's first move was to offer a compromise that had been proposed earlier, namely, that of dividing the territory by the lorty-ninth parallel, the present international boundary. When England summarily rejected this, popular feeling in America became intense.

THE ACQUISITION OF OREGON

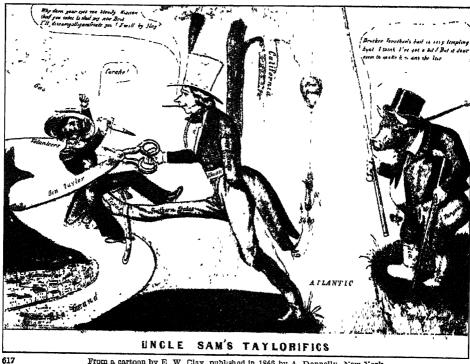
The expansionists within the country cued for war, unless England would cede American claims as far north as 54°40' Polk was firm. The moderate element hoped that England's repeal of the corn laws, which threw open her ports to American gram, would pacify the West. But the President was eager to settle the issue, and to settle it in America's



From a cartoon in Punch, 1845, probably by John Leech

favor He resterated his belief that the United States had valid claims to lands north of 49°, and suggested to Congress that it should take measures to effectuate them. England had watched these developments closely, and finally agreed to reconsider her earlier rejection of the compromise offer. In the summer of 1846 a treaty was signed which made the forty-ninth parallel the basis of division. The United States now, for the first time, held undisputed foothold upon the Pacific coast.





From a cartoon by E W Clay, published in 1846 by A Donnelly, New York

CONGRESS DECLARES WAR ON MEXICO

Polk was the more ready to accept the settlement of the Oregon line as trouble was brewing upon the southern border. Mexico had refused to recognize the independence of Texas and had protested against its annexation



to the United States. The southern boundary of Texas, moreover, was in dispute. These matters might have been arranged amicably had Polk and the expansionists not entertained ambitious dreams of a greater United States. Polk wished to secure California, an immense Mexican possession to the West. This Mexico refused to sell. Feeling along the border became strained. Near Matamoras, on the Rio Grande, the troops of the two countries came into conflict, and on May 11, 1846, the President recommended to Congress the adoption of a declaration of war, on the ground that "War exists, and notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it."

THE TREATY OF PEACE

After spirited resistance by the aroused Mexicans, the American troops under Taylor and Scott (see Vol. VI) made such inroads into the country that peace became inevitable. By this time the expansionists in the United States were calling for the annexation of the whole of Mexico. But Polk was content with the cession, in March, 1848, for fifteen million dollars, of more than five hundred thousand square miles of territory in California and the Southwest.

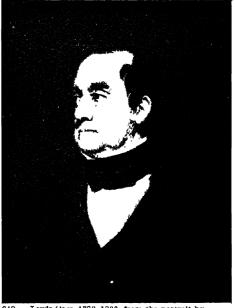
PARTY UNITY IS STRAINED

THESE accessions of territory quickly caused trouble. Immediately after the acquisition, if not, indeed, before it, arose the question that was to work such havoe. Should the new territories be slave or free? Here was an issue manifestly calling for announcement of principle. For the time, however, the politicians did their best to avoid giving an answer. While the country was debating Calhoun's doctrine of "Non-



620 David Wilmot, 1814-68, from a photograph taken while in congress, courtesy of Mrs. L. M. Dusinberre, Wellsbord, Ph.

interference," the Western idea of "squatter sovercignty" and the Wilmot Proviso, which sought to exclude slavery from the territory acquired from Mexico, the election of 1848 approached "The preservation party unity be-



619 Lewis Cass, 1782-1866, from the portrait by G. P. A. Healy, in the possession of Mrs M C Ledyard

came a problem of the greatest difficulty, taking the utmost skill of the politicians."— Fish, Development of American Nationality, p. 317. The Democrats, dodging the slavery issue, nominated Lewis Cass, a northerner who was popular in the South. Cass had been associated with General Harrison in a commission to treat with the Indians who had been hostile to the United States in the War of 1812. He had subsequently been superintendent of Indian Affairs and Secretary of War in Jackson's cabinet.

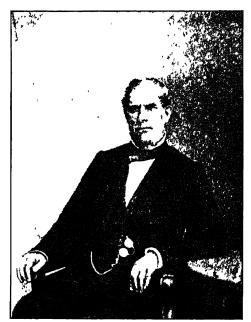
A CARTOON OF THE DAY

Tills was a transitional period in which the American people, not less than the politicians, were unsettled in their minds regarding many questions that affected the nation as a whole. The cartoonist has attempted to illustrate the discordant elements out of which in the process of time was to rise the one great issue destined to divide the country. Garrison, Calhoun, Wilmot and Greelev were actors in a drama whose climax.



From a cartoon published in 1850 by James Bailey, New York, in the Library of Congress

while it had to be deferred, was none the less inevitable. "Bubble, bubble, toil and trouble! Boil, Free Soil, the Union spoil; Come grief and moan, Peace be none, Till we divided be!"



622 Thurlow Weed, 1797-1882, from a photograph by Brady

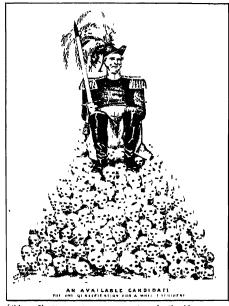
CLAY ON SLAVERY

CLAY had desired the Whig nomination; but again he had injured his chances by an unfortunate statement. In 1847, when the Mexican army was completely defeated, he had made a speech, declaring that there should be a generous peace, and insisting that the party should renounce any "wish or desire on our part to acquire any foreign territory whatever, for the purpose of propagating slavery, or of introducing slaves from the United States." Such frankness was objectionable to the party leaders, and Clay was set aside for a man whose views were not so well known

THE WHIG NOMINATION OF 1848

The Whigs also tried the policy of evading the slavery issue. As their nominee they selected, under the guidance of Thurlow Weed, General Taylor, the hero of the war, whom the Democratic administration had seemed to slight. As he was a southerner and a slaveholder, his popularity in the South seemed certain, while his military record was to carry him through the North The scheme of the party managers was discerned by Lowell in *The Biglow Papers*.

Another pint that influences the minds of sober jedges. Is that the Gin'ial hez n't gut tied hand an' foot with pledges, He hez n't told ye wut he is, an' so there ain't no knowin'. But wut he may turn out to be the best there is agoin'



623 From a contemporary cartoon in the New York Historical Society



From a Democratic cartoon, published in 1848 by H. R. Robinson, New York, in the New York Historical Society

THE FREE SOIL PARTY

Such evasion of the slavery issue by the major parties was displeasing to many in the North Since 1844 a faction of the Democrats in New York. known as the Barnburners, and followers of Van Buren, had been openly on the antislavery side. In the Democratic convention this faction had been slighted by the administration forces, in favor of the rival New York faction, the Hunkers. Now, under the influence of ardent antislav-



ery men, such as Benjamin Butler the elder, former law partner of Van Buren, a coalition was formed between the Barn-burners and the Liberty party. Van Buren was nominated for the Presidency, with Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts as running-mate. As the Free Soil party, the group entered the campaign "upon the national platform of freedom."

THE VICTORY OF THE WHIGS

DESPITE the efforts of both Whigs and Democrats, the slavery question was intruded into the campaign. The Democrats suffered as a result of the unpopularity of the Mexican war in certain sections of the North. The Whigs were aided by the prestige of the victor of Buena Vista (Vol. VI).

The split in the ranks of the New York Democrats proved fatal. In the election Taylor received a plurality of the popular votes, and one hundred and sixty-three of the two hundred and ninety electoral votes. By their opponents the election was hailed as a death-blow for the Democrats. More to the point, however, was the strength shown by the Free Soil party. Van Buren received nearly 300,000 votes—all from the free states of the North and Northwest. In New Hampshire and Ohio the Free Soilers elected Senators. In eleven



From a cartoon published by Abel & Durang, Philadelphia, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

states they held the balance between the old parties. Such results should have demonstrated to men of all political faiths that the vital issue of the day could not be much longer ignored with impunity. The politicians, however, preferred to give a less disconcerling interpretation to the election returns. To them it meant the downfall of the Democrats and the long-sought victory of the Whigs. This was a simple explanation, but satisfying to no one who examined the problems that faced the new administration.

CHAPTER XI

A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF

O further the alliance between the doctrine of state rights and the cause of slavery, Calhoun bent every effort. In every question that came before the government he saw something of concern to the slave-holding South. Almost every action and suggested action of the national government seemed to him to presage an irresistible conflict in which the supporters of slavery must choose between submission and secession. In this view he was not alone. Many in the North and the West saw what was impending and did their utmost to prevent its occurrence.

In the Compromise of 1850 they thought that the outbreak had been forestalled. The passage of the measures constituting that compromise was met with a sigh of relief from those who realized the danger that had been escaped. Having, however, avoided, as they

thought, that danger, they proceeded to consider slavery as a settled issue.

Had the slavery question not been so closely tied up with other pressing problems, the decision of 1850 might have endured. It was, however, not an isolated matter that could be dismissed so easily; rather, it permeated everything that required political consideration. Acquisition of new territory, establishment of territorial governments, admission to the Union of territories, treatment of the Indians, construction of transcontinental railroads — in each of these there lurked the political bogey so much feared by the politician of the day. The juncture between these problems and the slave question becomes obvious upon the slightest perusal of the numerous resolutions passed by state legislatures and mass meetings held in the 'fifties. This interweaving of numerous issues is well illustrated, for example, in a Resolve of the Connecticut Legislature, adopted in the spring of 1850:

"Resolved, That the integrity and permanence of American power on the Pacific Ocean, the increase of our commerce and wealth, the extension of our institutions, and the cause of human freedom on this continent, require the immediate admission of California into this Union, with her present Constitution, and the boundaries therein defined, without any reference to any other question or measure whatever."

Since the slavery issue was so involved with others, it not unnaturally cropped up anew in 1854. This time there were not at hand the men who had, by experience, become adept at "compromising." Webster, Clay and Calhoun were dead; their places were taken by men less skillful, more intransigent. The result was that the Kansas-Nebraska

decisions in no way laid the ghost of the slavery issue.

On the contrary, the issue became increasingly complicated not only by its economic, political, and sectional associations; but by the fact that it was, as analyzed by Jefferson and Lincoln, a race problem. The majority of the people in the Northwest were opposed to the entry into that section of the negro, either slave or free. In Illinois, for example, a series of anti-negro laws was passed, followed in 1853 by an act of the General Assembly of that State, the object of which was "to prevent the immigration of free negroes into the State." The law made it a misdemeanor for a negro or a mulatto, bond or free, to enter Illinois with the intention of taking up permanent residence.

TAYLOR OPPOSES THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY

PRESIDENT TAYLOR was the successful candidate of a party that in the campaign of 1848 had endeavored to evade the slavery issue. He was honest, independent, but without experience in statecraft or politics. He had been nominated as a man whose southern connections and military record would win the favor of all sections of the Whig party. The South hoped that he would lean toward her interests; but early in his administration he came to rely upon William H. Seward, antislavery Whig senator from New York. This bent became more pronounced with the exigency arising from the discovery of gold in California, which made it imperative to establish orderly government at once in the new Southwestern territories. Without waiting for Congressional action, Taylor advised California and New Mexico to form constitutions and to apply for admission to the Union. He hoped thus to dispose, at least in part, of the problem of slavery in the territories. In August, 1849, he announced that "The people of the North need have no apprehension of the further extension of slavery."



627 Zachary Taylor, 1784–1850, from the portrait by G. P. A. Healy, after Jaques Amans (1801–88), in the Corporan Gallery of Art, Washington

THE GROWTH OF ABOLITION

Anti-Slavery Almanac

WOMEN AT WORK IN THE FIELD

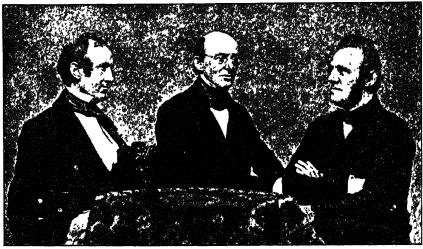
Mr Lemuel Sapington, a native, of Maryland, formerly a slave-trider, mor a repreciable cutren of Lancrator, Pt., in a letter dated January 21, 1839, speaking of slaves in the southern part of Virginia, says —

"Among the gangs, are often young women, who bring their children to the fields and lay them in a fence corner, while they are at work When a child is three west sold, a woman is considered in wusking order I have seen a woman, with her child strapped to her back, laboring the whole day, beade a man, perhaps the latter of the child, and he not being permitted to give her any assistance, immed him guider the whip "Re" I ransa Hawly, partor of the Baptast church, Colerbook, Ct., who "Those who are with child are driven to thout task till within a few "Those who are with child are driven to thout task till within a few days of the time of thour dilutery, and when the child as few weeks end, the mother must again go to the field. If it is far from her hit, she must task her babe with her. If the child ents, she cannot go to its retire, the says a little longer than the oversere thinks necessary, he commands the says a little longer than the oversered this necessary, he commands her says he had been a considered with the continuous states, and the longer than the oversered this necessary, he commands her says had been a considered with the continuous three such as a state of the continuous states and the continuous states. The same and the continuous states, as a title in shorm in the drive and lading others, who are not old thought triasy in the cabine with a few methods of the continuous states, as in the low them they get their the power as the continuous states. I never knew any place where the mothers fare the pousenous snakes. I never knew any place where the individual states of slavery when they get their short on their's voice. Another's, the mother same the plantation is represented with the beauties of slavery with the season to imprese his readers with the beauties of sl

SETTLEMENT was not to be such a simple affair. Sectional feeling had become more intense than in the carly days of the abolition societies. antislavery movement had increased vastly in importance and in its strength throughout the North and West. The days when abolitionists in this region were the subject of riotous assaults had passed as dislike for slavery spread. In this widespread hostility to the peculiar institution of the South lay a threat to the integrity of the nation. In this development such publications as the Anti-Slavery Almanac, among others, had a positive influence.

SCRIPTURAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, AND HISTORICAL VIEW OF SLAVERY. DAYS OF THE PATRIARCH ABRAHAM, TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY ADDRESSED TO THE RIGHT REV. ALONZO POTTER, D.D., MEMBER OF THE PROT EPISOPAL CHURCH, IN THE DISCUSS OF PRINCIPLANIA. JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, D.D., LL.D., CFourth Thousand. Meio-Work: W I POOLEY & CO . HARPER'S BUILDING, FRANKLIN SQUARE.

1/20 From the original in the possession of Matthew Page Andrews, Baltimore



630 Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, and George Thompson, an English antislavery advocate, from a daguerreotype taken about 1851, owned by the Garrison family

ABOLITIONIST LEADERS

GARRISON remained, as the antislavery movement grew in strength, its most radical leader. His Liberator continued its untiring attack upon the men of the South who owned and trafficked in human chattels. In the 'thirties George Thompson, a Scotsman (picture adjoining), who had been prominent in the British abolition movement, collaborated with Garrison. In 1835 Thompson was

quoted as saying in a public address that "Southern slaves ought, or at least had a right, to cut the throats of their masters." Wendell Phillips was scarcely second to Garrison in the vehemence of his attack upon slavery. In 1861, he placed on an honor-roll which included Cromwell and Washington the name of Toussaint L'Ouverture, who had led the great slave insurrection in Haiti at the opening of the nineteenth century which drove the French from that rich colony. With such men preaching the cause of human freedom in the North, the politicians faced almost insuperable obstacles in determining the national policy with regard to slavery.

(For slavery as a domestic institution see Volume III)

THE SLAVE TRADE

THE domestic slave trade was a feature of the peculiar institution of the South that roused the fiercest opposition in the North. Such an invoice as that of John W. Pittman made abolitionists by the score. Few northern women could read without being deeply stirred such sentiments as these which are expressed in the last paragraph of the invoice. "I did intend to leave Nancy child but she made such a damned fuss I had to let her take it I could of got fifty Dollars for so you must add forty Dollars to the above" To southern women this aspect of slavery was a sad but necessary accompaniment of an inevitable institution. They strove to reduce it to the smallest possible proportions. But amelioration was not abolition; and more than once the fanatics in the North capitalized such conduct as benevolent despotism endeavoring to disguise the inherent evil of human slavery.

An invoice of ten negroes sent this day to John B Williamson by Ges Fremer named of cost as for - low Sound Betsey Kackley
I have this day delivered the above named negrow costing encludeing, my expenses and their expenses five thousand three hundred of fifty dollars this May 20th 1835 - I show M. Dettinan John while but she made such a dammed full I have to let for total it of could of got pifty Dollars for so you must add forty Bollars to the above

BEECHER'S PARODY OF A SLAVE AUCTION

HENRY WARD BEECHER. perhaps the greatest preacher of his day, identified himself actively with the cause of anti-On June 1, slavery. 1856, he won a triumph. Before an audience that filled every inch of space m Plymouth Church he staged a demonstration of a slave auction. "The solemn, impressive silence of that vast Plymouth assemblage was absolutely painful as a young woman slowly ascended



From The Ladies Home Journal, Nov 1895, drawing by T de Thulstrup © Curtis Publishing Company, reproduced by permission

the stairs leading to the pulpit and sank into a chair by Mr. Beecher's side. Instantly assuming the look and manner of a slave auctioneer he called for bids. 'Look,' he exclaimed, 'at this marketable commodity human flesh and blood, like yourselves. You see the white blood of her father in her regular features and high, thoughtful brow. Who bids? You will have to pay extra for that white blood because it is supposed to give intelligence. Stand up, Sarah! Now look at her trim figure and her wavy hair! . . . She is a Christian woman — I mean, a praying nigger — and that makes her more valuable, because it insures her docility and



LIBERTY LIME. NEW ARRANGEMENT -- NIGHT AND DAY.

NEW ARRANGEMENT--NIGHT AND DAY.

The improved and splendid Locomotives, Clarkson and Lundy, with their trains brited up in the best sylved accommodation for passtagers, will not their regular traps driving the present season, between the best sylved to the fariarchal Domaion and Labory, who may wish to improve the fariarchal Domaion and Labory, who may wish to improve the facility or the sylved to the syl

Fassimile of advertisement of the Underground Railroad, from The Western Citizen, July 13, 1844

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

THE South had awakened to the threatened danger and jealously guarded her rights. In the North the Underground Railroad, with efficiency and expedition, aided fugitive slaves to escape to Canada. There were "stations" at regular intervals in the northern towns. especially in New York and the New England states, and many prominent men acted as "conductors." The southern people, in turn, held mass meetings at which such auctions were denounced. The cry of disunion was raised. From Mississippi a call was issued for a southern convention, to meet at Nashville in June, 1850, to deliberate upon mensures to be taken in the crisis.

obedience to your wishes. Servants, obey your masters! you know. She believes in that doctrine. How much for her? Will you allow this praying woman to be sent back to Richmond to meet the fate for which her father sold her?'" — Mrs. Henry BEECHER, in the Ladies Home Journal, Nov., 1896.



634 Lovi Comn, 1793-1877, reputed President of the Underground Railroad, from an engrav-ing by R. O'Brien, in the Friends Historical Society, Philadelphia

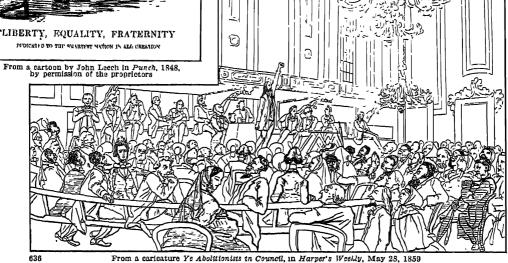
LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY

AN ENGLISH THRUST AT SLAVERY

Across the Atlantic, English artists satirized the "land of the free" in biting cartoons. In such a drawing as "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, dedicated to the smartest nation in all creation," is plainly expressed the attitude toward Americans of a considerable body of the English people.

NORTHERN RIDICULE OF ABOLITIONISTS

THE Abolitionists, as reformers are prone to do, went to extremes. Garrison advocated the abandonment of the Union if the slaves were not freed. Though more and more Northern people became hostile to slavery, the opposition to and ridicule of the radical Abolitionists continued.

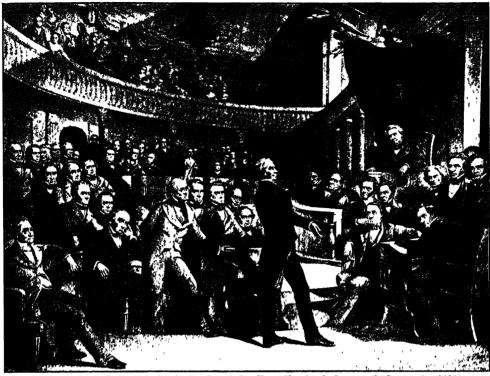


CLAY RETURNS TO THE SENATE

THE nation was confronted with a crisis in 1850 when California applied for admission to the Union as a free state. "The task of working out a compromise which should reconcile the various conflicting interests, and of securing its acceptance, fell to Henry Clay. It was the most difficult political task since the adoption of the Constitution. Just that line of agreement had to be drawn which would satisfy one section without causing repugnance in the other, for it was not enough to secure the passage of an act of Congress, but it was necessary to win for it the approval of a majority in both sections. . . . Clay's seventyfour years had been crowded with political experience, and he knew every pathway through the maze of national affairs. The fact that he had at last given up his presidential ambition, and that after eight years' absence he had returned to the Senate for the express purpose of bringing peace to his distracted country, gave him prestige with all his colleagues, while his feeble health added a rather pathetic interest to his efforts." — Fish, Development of American Nationality, pp. 322-23.



637 Henry Clay at seventy-one, from a daguerreotype, taken 1848, in Philadelphia, by Marcus A Root, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania



638 From an engraving by R Whitechurch after the painting Clay Addressing the Senate on the Compromise of 1850, by Peter F Rothermel (1817-95)

CLAY PLEADS FOR HIS COMPROMISE PLAN

On January 29, 1850, Clay presented his plan to the Senate. In the form of a series of resolutions, it purported to settle all of the controverted issues. California was to be admitted with her free-soil constitution; the other territories were to be organized without congressional dictation as to slavery therein. Congress was to enact a fugitive slave law that would adequately protect slave-owners; and the slave-trade within the District

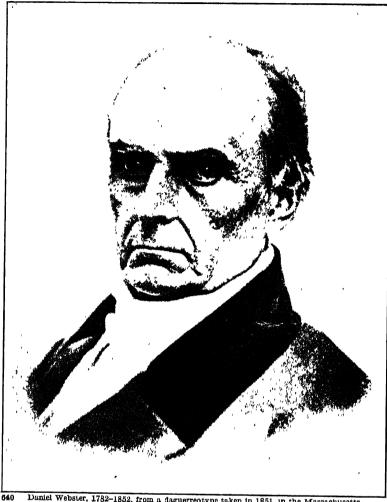
of Columbia was to be prohibited. A week later, the author of the measures, in a memorable speech, pleaded for them as a compromise honorable to both sections.

CALHOUN'S LAST SPEECH

On the fourth of March, Calhoun replied. He was so ill that his speech had to be read for him. But in his advocacy of the cause of the South he did not falter. He denounced the compromise as a betrayal of his section, as another indication of the dominance of the North in the nation's councils. He felt that one by one the cords of union were snapping. The nation could be saved only by constitutional readjustments which would restore the balance between the sections. "If you who represent the stronger portions," he urged upon the Northern senators, "cannot agree to settle them (i.e., the questions at issue between the two sections) on the broad principles of justice and duty, say so, and let the states we represent agree to separate and part in peace. If you are unwilling we should part in peace, tell us so, and we shall know what to do, when you reduce the question to submission or resistance. If you remain silent you then compel us to infer what you intend." This was Calhoun's last great act. Soon afterward, the leading statesman of the South was dead.



639 From a cartoon signed W. T. C., published in 1848 by H. R. Robinson, New York, in the New York Historical Society



Daniel Webster, 1782–1852, from a flaguerrectype taken in 1851, in the Massachusetts Historical Society

VOTERS, Read This!

EXTRACT FROM A

SPEECH DPLIVERED BY THE

Hon Daniel Webster, IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

"If the infernal Fanatics and Abolitionists ever get the power in their

hands, they will override the Constitution, set the Supreme Court at deflance, change and make Laws to suit themselves. They will lay violent hands on those who differ with them politically in opinion, or dare question their infallibility; bankrupt the country and finally deluge it with blood."

l From a handbill giving an extract from Webster's Seventh of March Speech, 1850, in the New York Historical Society

WEBSTER'S SEVENTH OF MARCH SPEECH

A FEW days later, the third great figure in the Senate rose to speak. Throughout the North, Webster was looked upon as the pilot under whom the storm of slavery could be weathered. The antislavery element now hoped that he would turn all his powers against the extension of slavery. But Webster valued the Union above all else; when it was in danger, all lesser matters must give way. So he declared for the compromise. His chief task was to conciliate the South. He admitted that the North had defaulted in its duty of returning fugitive slaves; he charged the abolitionists with conduct that was certain to arouse southern resentment, and, fearing secession, he asked the North to be fair, to accept the compromise. "To break up this great government! To dismember this great country! . . . No, sir! No, sir! There will be no secession. Gentlemen are not serious when they talk of secession." This "Seventh-of-March Speech" was approved by the more moderate people of the North. The radicals, however, were enraged. Webster was compared with Benedict Arnold, accused of bidding for southern support for the Presidency, and denounced in many public meetings.

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS

THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION.

SOUTHERN CONVENTION,

The following Presentle and To relations or re reported by the Commisce on Resistance, and at peed by the Commisce

Why, the designer assemble of from a portion of the reasons that a uniform, and a time a position of the cause of the filter brought in a together and of the right is black the efficient test represent any interior to the compart of uniform the compart of uniform.

We have economics not no rise or marked by anch distinctions of colors, and physical past manual qualities to have all the distinct large terminal points of the second and points of quality

The black residence from the constance from the national set them to desire control and unresidence from the factors of these control and the control and the

When the constitute on we adopted, these relations of maker and show to at every incaptive I, recognized and generated by that is, there were its words given who should inflation distribution for very relations or in the part and poster from well as some fits. And we will be some in the continuation of the confidence was in the fitself with the confidence was in the

It there is necessarily the property of the property of the compact of the property of the pro

Policies Universities to the segmentary party per proposed from the constituent on a few rand and the confiner relation in the confiner of the three Confiner relation in the confiner that the three Confiner relation in the confiner that is from the confiner relation and feeling the first the three confidence of the confiner that the confiner three confidence is the confiner three confiner three Postedon in classics or of the relation to the District of Columnia as to requisit the said and transfer and as a player of the Station to the forestimate of the confidence of the presentation of the confidence of the first property than the forestimate of the confidence of the first property than the forestimate of the confidence of the first property than the confidence of the confidence of the first property than the confidence of the confidence of the first property than the confidence of the confidence o

speciments and the control of the formation of the control of the

the issue. The 4 referral fracts prime in his within a f wysers at quirrel by treaty and by issumptions were, wast turk turk. This has be in their both owners, wast turk or not man at all and the like a firm and organity in all the sund registrality in all the sund registrality in all the sund registrality in all the sund registrality.

on the emission of the line some some supplements there is mented south and delines of commence of commence.

compared to their medical of the compared to the compared to the control of the compared to the control of the

sagginghed construction designed.
Restructions and problemens against the
electric and and problemens against the
electric and electric against the electric against the
electric against the electric against the
law selectric against the electric against the
electric against the electric against the electric against the
ele

not be it consider that it is a letter do our ditty no weath, propple of the not not in the notion of the notion o

the control of the co

The solution and all all regular gains and reincipal and the solution of the

of these out deput.

The tear is provided and interfere by the grown from the exact whose home a Philippera, in the Rich from the exact whose home a Philippera in the Rich from the exact whose he had a bottom from the exact who had a more found on the provided provided as the distribution of the exact with the highest the exact with the highest the exact with the exact who had a form the exact which is a fine of the exact which is the exact which is a fine that the exact which is the exact which is a fine that the exact which is the exact which is a fine that the exact which is the exact which which is the exact w

Four their be the consequences when the man, we have no process that are bloinling upon the first process. We have no process that are bloinling upon the "Fatter up to process." Make its order to per discussion where the consequence of the fatter to process the consequence of the fatter to process the consequence of the fatter to be a fatter to be a

over a standard.

Reserved from two tensor of the basers can
dense of rept I and and people at soverer gaend of the standard people at soleles, and on the
ideal I a vectors at can be resolved by the
source of ball or the result may be recorded by the
source of ball or the result may create when
the people and there.

Here I standard by the standard people and there.

visit or towars place have, being realized, by the Jasons to et al. al. Low Blooms Har all the Blooms Har all the Conference of Conference of

has the promising or a main many case beathered. The extraction whose offer teaching when the intermediate should be a solid state to make a main fact of the a solid state to make a main fact of the analysis of the contribution of the analysis of the contribution of the analysis of th

to be the data in is tour outsplace, as like Matrix sincernly to be reported to making the form a complete of the resolution of the data is sufficiently to be resoluted by the manifer of the form a sufficient part of the matrix of the data position of the data is the data position of the data in the data of the data

Ranford, Junt the Private at at this Lanterm is to remove to the firm and to put a fifth trayer a, persults and readintions to the favorations are healths observe the favorater in June to be total let it their respective Landstore at their ranford membring

CHAS. J. McDONALD, President. REUBEN CHAPMAN, Vice President.

E. G. EASTMAN, Necrotary.

Printed copy of the Preamble and Resolutions of the Southern Convention, held at Nashville, 1850, in the Library of Congress

JEFFERSON DAVIS ASPIRES TO SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP

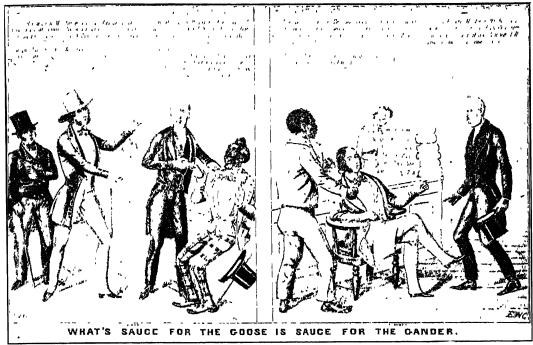
THE passing of Calhoun left the South without a national leader. Many southerners of a younger generation aspired to the position of the great South Carolinian. Among them was a Mississippi planter, Jefferson Davis. In 1845, when thirty-seven years of age, he married as his second wife Miss Varina Howell, a granddaughter of a former Governor of New Jersey. He had entered politics two years before. The year after his marriage he left his bride to take command of the Mississippi Rifles, the first regiment raise l in his state for service in the Mexican War. He was a member of the United States Senate during the eventful session in which the Compromise of 1850 was passed. He was a zealous advocate of state rights. He disapproved of the Compromise, resigned his seat and sought the office of Governor of his native state. He was unsuccessful in this candidacy, although by his personal popularity he reduced the Union majority from 7500 to 999. His defeat at the hands of Foote, who favored the measures, was evidence that a majority of his neighbors were determined to abide by the settlement which Congress had worked out.

THREATS OF SECESSION

WHILE the debates over the compromise had gone on in Congress there had been ominous developments in the South. Threats of secession were heard in many places. The southern people were resolved that their rights should be recognized A convention of delegates from the slave states assembled at Nashville in 1850 ostensibly to discuss commercial matters but actually to take preliminary steps to unite the section if developments should go against the South in Waslington. The convention caused copies of its resolutions to be forwarded "to the Governors of each of the slave-holding states of the Umon, to be laid before their respective Legislatures at their earliest assembling." It soon appeared that Unionists were in control, and in June the convention was adjourned to reassemble, in spite of the fact that Judge Sharkey, the Unionist president, refused to issue the call But the membership was so reduced that the convention did not dare do more than denounce the Compromise of 1850, reassert the right of secession, and recommend political noncooperation by the South in the national parties "until our constitutional rights are secured."



644 Jefferson Davis, 1808-89, at the age of thirty-seven, with his brite, Varina Howell, from a daguerreotype in the possession of their granddaughter, Mrs. George B Webb, Colorado Springs, Colorado



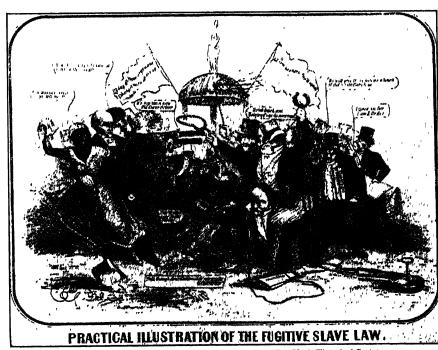
From a cartoon, 1851, by E W Clay in the New York Historical Society

NORTH AND SOUTH GRADUALLY ACCEPT THE COMPROMISE

Though the compromise was now upon the statute books, it was still to be accepted by the people North and South. In Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina, the irreconcilables were strong. Special state conventions were called to consider secession. Bit by bit, however, cooler counsels prevailed. In Georgia, leaders of both parties united behind the Compromise. In Mississippi, Jefferson Davis was defeated in his race for Governor by Foote, who favored the settlement.

RESISTANCE TO THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

In short, the South determined to refrain from overt action, provided the North lived up to the letter of the Compromise - particularly in respect to the fugitive slaves. In its determination to accept the Compromise, the South had the powerful support of Webster, upon whom was vented all the fury of the abolitionists. As cases of the rendition of escaped slaves began to occur, these people made it clear that they were prepared to forcibly resist the execution of the law - a palpable menace to the Union.



From a contemporary cartoon by E. W. Clay, in the New York Historical Society



From Gleason's Pictorial, Boston, May 3, 1851

NORTHERN ELOQUENCE IS POURED OUT AGAINST SLAVERY

From the pulpit the measure was denounced by Henry Ward Beecher as a violation of the law of God. Indeed, many eloquent men seized upon Seward's sensational assertion that there was "a higher law than the Constitution" to rouse the people to protect the fugitives from the South The speaker in the illustration was Wendell Phillips.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW GENERALLY ACCEPTED

SEWARD, on the floor of Congress, as the mouthpiece of the radicals of the North, had announced "We deem the principle

of the law for the recapture of fugitives, as thus expounded, unjust, unconstitutional and immoral, and thus, while patriotism withholds its approbation, the consciences of our people condemn it." The response from the North seems to accept his statement as a correct interpretation of its stand. Against this clamor more temperate men for a time raised their voices in vain. Webster spent his vast energies in a speaking tour in which he tried to appease the radicals and to point out the necessity for compliance with the compromise. Clay, Douglas, Rufus Choate, Buchanan and other political leaders assured the country that the

Fugitive Slave Law was constitutional and that it was the duty of the North to observe it to the letter. In his message to Congress in December, 1850, President Fillmore gave the law unequivocal support. Sentiment began to change, open opposition to decline. This was due in part to the persuasion of the leaders, in part to the Underground Railway, which furnished an effective means of evading the law.



649 From Punch, 1847, cartoon by Richard Doyle (1824-83), by permission of the proprietors



348 From the painting Fusitive Slaves Arriving at the Home of Levi Coffin by C W Jefferys (1869-), in the possession of the publishers

NATIONAL PRIDE AND BRITISH RIDICULE

Webster also utilized his office of Secretary of State to divert popular attention from domestic matters to foreign affairs. To a friend he wrote, in explanation of a somewhat aggressive note he had sent to Hulsemann, the Austrian representative, who had protested against the sending of an American agent to Hungary, then revolting from Austria, that he wished to "touch the national pride and make a man feel sheepish and look silly who should speak of disunion." This was relatively easy to do, for the jingoistic spirit of the 'forties was still prevalent. Yet many of the gibes directed at America dealt with the slavery question (see No. 635), so that the issue was kept before the public.

THE GADSDEN PURCHASE

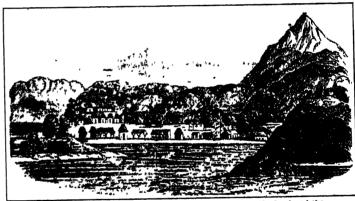
ONE of the major problems of the time was that of effectively linking up the states east of the Mississippi and the new territory on the Pacific coast — The dry western plains and the Rocky Mountains rendered this difficult. Engineers decided that the best routes for a transcontinental radroad lay to the South. To use them, however, would make it necessary to cross territory belonging to Mexico; and the turbulent state of affairs in that country gave little assurance of adequate protection. This difficulty was finally removed by the Gadsden

651 James Gadsden, 1788-1858, from the portrait by George Flagg (1816-97), courtesy of Mrs George S Holmes, Charleston, S (

Purchase of 1853, whereby the United States acquired the needed territory from northern Mexico. Thus, by peaceful methods, the United States gained a large territory for which the patrioteers supporting the doctrine of Manifest Destiny might have been persuaded to fight.

three lugar from land offronts the month of the Rea Grande as provided in the fifth article of the trusty of Justicle for the trusty of Justicle for the provided in the fifth article of the trusty of Justicle where the parallel of 31°47' morth latitude in few shore the parallel of 31°47' morth latitude in few source, thence deve west one hundred modes, thence south to the parallel of 31°30 north latitude, thence along the said fianable of 31°20' to the 111 th mendium of longs to west of Greenach, thence in a straight line to a pant on the beloved or over twenty english miles below the punction of the beloved or rivers, thence up the meddle of the sead or wer bolo was them up the meddle of the sead or wer bolo was thence up the meddle of the sead or were bolo was a line of the stand or between.

b50 Article 1 of the Gadsden Treaty with Mexico, Dec 30, 1853, from the engrossed copy in the Department of State, Washington



Tigre Island, off Honduras, a subject of dispute between England and the United States, after a sketch in the Illustrated London News, Aug 17, 1850

THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY

UNTIL the time when a transcontinental railroad should be something more than a dream, a more practicable plan was that of building a canal across the isthmus of Central America. At the time, most American commerce and travel from coast to coast passed over this area, and some steps had already been taken to protect American interests there. With the discovery of gold in California the situation took on even greater importance. It was now found that Great Britain was a rival. She had settlements of long standing, and special interests locally recognized, in Central America. Secretary Clayton, therefore, began negotiations with the British Minister resident at Washington; and in April, 1850, the two agreed to a treaty which provided that any canal which might be built should be neutralized and that neither party should "assume or exercise dominion over" any part of Central America.



653 John M Clayton, 1796–1856, from the portrait by H. C. Pratt in the State House, Dover, Del.



654 General Narciso Lopez, 1799-1851, from an engraving in Gleason's Puttorial, Sept 27, 1851

FILIBUSTERING IN CUBA

Or more widespread interest was the effort to annex Cuba. The expansionists had long looked covetously upon this island, which, indeed, was by many deemed essential to the protection of American navigation of the Mississippi With the resurgence of the slavery question, the southerners became particularly interested in the island. They especially disliked that part of the Compromise of 1850 which admitted California as a free state; and many regarded the acquisition of Cuba as a reason-

able compensation for this loss. Since 1848, the press had been filled with stories about Cuba, so that popular interest in the island was intense. In the succeeding years, three methods of acquisition were tried: pur-



655 From a cartoon in Punch, 1850, by permission of the proprietors

chase from Spain, conquest, and annexation after a Cuban revolution which was to be made successful by American aid. This last plan was, indeed, tried first. Various filt bustering expeditions, under the Cuban leader, General Narciso Lopez, were organized in the United States and dispatched to Cuba, only to meet with disaster.

ENGLAND AND THE CUBAN EPISODE

GREAT BRITAIN was at first amused by these American adventures. But as it appeared that the American Government was privy to them, she became disturbed, and in 1851 she ordered her

navy to prevent unauthorized landings in Cuba. In April of the following year, at the suggestion of the Spanish Government, England proposed a tripartite agreement, of which Great Britain. France and the United States should mutually renounce any purpose of annexing Cuba. Edward Everett, Webster's successor at the State Department, refused to enter into any such arrangement and issued a vigorous dispatch which roused American nationalism and momentarily diverted popular interest from the slavery issue.



THE POLICY OF IMPERIALISM

So successful was this move that for a time Democratic considered making leaders "Cuba and Canada" the slogan for the campaign of 1852. The plan was abandoned because the acquisition of Canada was chimerical, while to advocate that of Cuba alone might antagonize the anti-layery North. But after the election of 1852. the Pierce administration continued to agitate expansion. In his maugural address the President announced his policy: "It is not to be disguised that our attitude as a nation and our position on the globe render the acquisition of certain possessions not within our jurisdiction eminently important for our



From a contemporary cartoon in the New York Historical Society

protection." The whole affair reached its culmination in 1854. Under instructions from Washington, the American Ministers to England, France and Spain met at Osiend and there formulated a Cuban policy. The Ostend Manifesto declared that Cuba's position made its acquisition by the United States imperative. Should Spain refuse to sell, "then, by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power; and upon the very same principle that would justify an individual in tearing down the burning house of his neighbor if there were no other means of preventing the flames from destroying his own home" Such imperialism proved a boomerang; Marcy, Secretary of State, refused to act upon the policy so enunciated, domestic questions reabsorbed public attention.

A HUNGARIAN PATRIOT VISITS AMERICA

In addition to these and other diplomatic incidents, foreign affairs in one other way noticeably affected domestic politics. The unsettled state of Europe, signalized by the revolutionary outbreaks of 1830 and of 1848, led many people to emigrate to America. "From 1850 to 1860 the foreign-born population of the United States increased eighty-four per cent, and most of these newcomers settled in the states and territories of the North. There they naturally gravitated to the party that opposed slavery and stood for



The Arrival of Kossuth in New York, from Glegson's Pictorial, 1986, 27, 1851

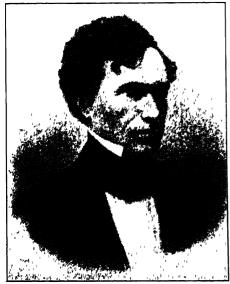
an indivisible Union; for they were unaccustomed to slavery in Europe, and many of them were veterans of wars for national unification. Moreover, they brought with them the traditions of a defiant and bitter republicanism "-A. M. Schlesinger, Political and Social History of the United States, p. 134. Louis Kossuth, exiled from Hungary for leading an insurrection, came to the United States in 1852 to procure aid for the establishment of Hungarian independence. He spoke English fluently and aroused great enthusiasm but the policy of non-interference in European politics prevailed and Kossuth returned home disappointed.



659 From a cartoon of the campaign of 1852, published by N Curriet, New York, in the New York Historical Society

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1852

The efforts of the political leaders to calm the country had met with a certain degree of success. People were prosperous and wished to avoid unsettling influences. As the election of 1852 approached, northern opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law subsided, and it was clear that both parties would accept the compromise acts as final. The Democrats, meeting at Baltimore on the first of June, and finding the ambitions of their leaders — such as Douglas, Cass and Buchanan — dangerous to party harmony, united upon a dark horse in the person of Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire. He was a man with a good military record, some eloquence, and no troublesome political record. The Whigs also found difficulty in selecting a candidate. Webster and Fillmore led the field, but both were unsatisfactory to the northern wing of the party which, under the leadership of Seward, was strenuously opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law. The southerners succeeded in getting a platform favoring the Compromise, and were then persuaded to accept as candidate General Winfield Scott, the military hero of the day. Thus, in a campaign in which the chief issue was that of holding to the Compromise of 1850, the Whigs attempted to please one section with their platform and the other section with their candidate.



660 Franklin Pierce, 1804–69, from a photograpi of a daguerreotype © L C Handy

THE ELECTION OF PIERCE

Such tactics met with a serious rebuff. Pierce, who was nearly everywhere considered a sincere supporter of the Compromise, was elected with two hundred and fifty-four electoral votes to forty-two for General Winfield Scott, the Whig candidate. In their attempt to please North and South, the Whigs pleased no one, "so that the settlement of the territorial question had been at the expense of one of the great national parties, which had constituted an important bond of union." — C. R. Fish, Development of American Nationality, p. 329. This, however, was not at the time discerned, for at the end of Fillmore's term "the quiet of the country in regard to the slavery question was more complete than it had been since 1830." — J. W. Bur-GESS, The Middle Period, pp. 380-81, and the new administration at once began its aggressive foreign policy with a view to guiding public attention into less divisive channels. fervently hope," said Pierce in his inaugural address, "that the question is at rest, and that no sectional or ambitious or fanatical excitement may again threaten the durability of our institutions or obscure the light of our prosperity."



AMERICA MOURNS THE DEATH OF CLAY AND WEBSTER

In the heat of the presidential campaign of 1852 the two greatest of the Whig leaders passed away. Clay died in Washington on the twenty-ninth of June. He pronounced upon himself a just judgment: "If anyone desires to know the leading and paramount object of my public life, the preservation of this Union will furnish him the key." In the following October, Webster died at his home in Marshfield, Massachusetts. The whole nation mourned the passing of these giants of the middle of the nineteenth century. For the Whig party in which for so many years they had been rival leaders their loss was irreparable. The presidential election of 1852 was the last in which the Whigs played any important part for the party was unable to agree upon a national policy toward slavery.





uneral Procession of Daniel Webster at Marshfield, Mass., from Gleason's Pictorial, Nov



664 From a contemporary Whig cartoon in the New York Historical Society



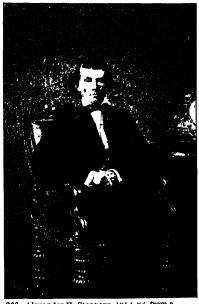
665 Robert Toombs, 1810-85, from a

TWO SOUTHERNERS DESERT THE WHIGS

In the election of 1852 an important shift had occurred in the politics of the South. Robert Toombs of Georgia and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia deserted the Whig party to join forces with the Democrats. This strengthened the political organization of the planters which was seeking to control the policies of the Democratic party, particularly on all questions involving southern This group had interests. selected Pierce for nomination and was to have easy access to the White House during his administration.

THE GROWTH OF SECTIONALISM

SECTIONAL feeling increased in the times of Pierce. It seemed to cling to every public question and to grow ever more menacing. The cartoon here shown well illustrates this tendency as it appeared in these unsettled days. The President, assuming a post of determined independence, is shown borne aloft by Linn Boyd of Kentucky, Speaker of the House. Thus is indicated the delicate union within the party of North and South; while Boyd's evident satisfaction pictures the pleasure of the South when it found Pierce favoring it in his cabinet appointments. Marcy, one of the cabinet men, stands on Boyd's left, lamenting the difficulties into which the administration's jungoistic foreign policy had brought them. Most portentous of trouble, however, is the appearance on the other hand of Stephen A. Douglas, with his Nebraska issue and his advocacy of squatter sovereignty in the territories. That was a program the adoption of which was to evoke bitterness throughout the country and split wide open the ranks of the national political parties.



666 Alexander H Stephens, 1812-83, from a photograph by Brady

JEFFERSON DAVIS, SECRETARY OF WAR

PRESIDENT PIERCE selected Jefferson Davis as his Secretary of War, an office which Davis discharged with great distinction and with real benefit to the nation. He organized engineer companies and sent them into the Rocky Mountains to explore several proposed routes for a transcontinental railroad. He enlarged the army and modernized its equipment. He revised the system of tactics, perfected the signal corps service and increased coast and frontier defenses. He appointed subordinates on merit and in defiance of party considerations. His record in the Mexican struggle and in the War Department



668 Jesse D Bright, 1812-75, from an engraving in Gleason's Pictorial, Mar 5, 1853

DOUGLAS ADVOCATES POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY

Douglas, Senator from Illinois, was the "Little Giant" of the Democrats of the Northwest He ardently believed in the Northwest and its future. With many others, he had refused to accept the dictum of the engineers that the most feasible route for a transcontinental railroad was in the South. A northern route, however,

gives point to the often expressed opinion that the great tragedy in his life was that he was elected president of the Southern Confederacy instead of being allowed, as he ardently desired, to assume a high command in the Confederate

army. While active in the work of his department he was one of a



87 Jefferson Davis as Secretary of War, from a miniature made by an English artist, in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs Gerald B Webb, Colorado Springs, Col

group composed, besides himself, of John Slidell of Louisiana and Jesse D. Bright of Indiana, which was the real power behind the Pierce administration.



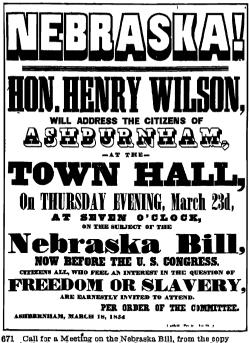
659 John Slidell, 1793–1871, from an engraving after a photograph by Brady, in *Hus per's* Weekly, Mar 27, 1858

was hampered by the absence of territorial government west of Missouri and Iowa; and organization there was opposed by the South, since under the terms of the Missouri Compromise the territories and states so established would be free soil. Douglas, as chairman of the Senate committee on territories, in the winter of 1853 hit upon a plan which he thought would do all that he desired for the West and would also promote his cherished ambition to be President. As a self-made man



O Stephen A Douglas, 1813-61, from a carte de visite by Fredricks, New York

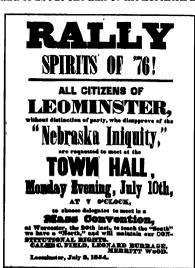
of the raw West, Douglas believed in the potency of local self-government to handle political questions. Upon this panacea he now staked his fortune and in January, 1854, he reported to the Senate his Nebraska Bill for the organization of the territory. The question of slavery was to be determined upon the principle of "squatter sovereignty," which he renamed popular sovereignty. The people of the territories should decide for themselves whether or not they would have slavery. This, he thought, would remove the vexed issue from national politics, would win southern support — for under this scheme the South could still hope for territorial extension of slavery — and would throw open the new lands for westward expansion



Call for a Meeting on the Nebraska Bill, from the copy in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

DOUGLAS ERECTS TWO NEW TERRITORIES

Douglas soon found that his measure was not altogether pleasing to the South. He therefore amended it to provide for the erection of two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, with the fortieth parallel as the dividing line. southern supporters hoped to be able to win Kansas for slavery. In this form the bill passed, by the vote of the southern members and of about one half of the northern Democrats.



73 Call for a Meeting on the "Nebraska Iniquity," from the copy in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass

POPULAR REACTION TO THE NEBRASKA BILL

Thus suddenly was reopened the question which all had hoped would prove to have been settled by the Compromise of 1850 The debate in the Schate was bitter. Throughout the North, Douglas was the object of attack and execration.

Dec 11 And be it further exacted Shal a delegate to the Souse of Deformalations of the United States, to serve for the time of two years, when shall be a colorer of the United States, may be elected by the colors qualified to elect mounters of the legislative as semble, who shall be entitled to the same rights and preveleges as are wereised and supped by the delegates from the weeral other Servitories of the United States to the sand House of Representatives, but the delegate first elected shall held his real only . during the learn of the bongress to which he shall be decled the first Eleclion shall be held at such time and places, and be conducted in such man mer, as the governor shall append and derect, and at all subsequent elections the lemes, places, and manner of holding theelections, shall be foreperibed bylaw The person having the greatest mumber of votes shall be deelared by the governor to be duly lected, and a certifical theres shall be given accordingly That the constitution, and all lower the Undedwood les which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect with out the eighth rection of the not preparatery to the admission of Messour into the Union, approved March sich, ughlein hundred and livenly, which, being means island with the prenaple of mon-intervention by longress with statury in the states and Arrelories, as recognized by the liquitation of eighter hundred and fifty, commenty called the compromise measures, is hereby declared moheralive and void , il being the true intent and meaning & this act not lo legislate slavery into any derritory or state, nor to include it therefrom , but to leave the fleofile thereof perfectly free to form and reques late theer donustic sustilieles is we their own way, subject only to the come stelection of the United States Fronted, That hothered herein contained shall be construed to revive or had in force any law or begulation which may have wested prior to the act of suth March , ughteen hundred . and timely, either protecting, establishing, prohibiting, or abolishing sta-

672 Section 14 of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of May 30, 1854, repealing the Missouri Compromise of 1820, from the engressed copy in the State Department, Washington

THE BIRTH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

THE Nebraska Bill completely disrupted party lines, in Congress and out. Even before its passage, the congressional campaign of 1854 had begun. The Whig party dropped from view; the Democrats in the North found little in common with those in the South; while new parties, notably the Republican, emerged. The result of the elections showed sectionalism more prevalent than before. In many parts of the North the candidates who favored "popular sovereignty" went down to defeat before men opposed to the extension of slavery, in the South those who espoused Calhoun's doctrine that the Constitution kept all territories open to slavery were favored. The Congress which assembled in December, 1855, was deadlocked for two months over the selection of a speaker, until by compromise the Republican candidate, Nathaniel P. Banks, was named. The political leaders who regretted that Douglas had reopened the provocative issue found themselves forced to take sides or to endanger their political future.

EMIGRATION TO KANSAS

MEANWHILE the country was weighing the merits of Douglas' scheme of local option. On all sides it was soon recognized that there would be no slavery in Nebraska. But Kansas lay just west of Missouri, and its climate seemed favorable to slave culture. That region, therefore, became the scene of bitter sectional rivalry Emigrants from the South and from the North were aided by local partisans in their journey to the West. The South was first in the field, for many Missourians moved across the line into Kansas early in the summer of 1854. But the North possessed larger resources, human and material, and great organizing ability. At Worcester, Massachusetts, there was formed, under Eli Thayer and others, the New England Emigrant Aid Society. Thousands of free-state settlers went out under the guidance of such agencies. This subsidized emigration from the North caused deep resentment in the South. The planters, coupling this with northern refusal to accept the Fugitive Slave Law, came to feel that the North was unwilling to abide by decisions of the National Congress. The northerners responded with equally vigorous assertions that slavery was to be kept out of the new territory, at all costs and in preservation of the fundamental principles of American liberty.



674 Eli Thayer, 1819-99, from the portrait by E. R. Walte in the City Hall. Worcester, Mass.

"BORDER RUFFIANS"

Two groups in Kansas soon came into conflict. The slavery advocates in Missouri took precautions to ensure their victory. March 30, 1855, was fixed as the day for the election of the first territorial legislature. On that morning there appeared at the polls in eastern Kansas "an unkempt, sun-dried, blatant, picturesque mob of five thousand men with guns upon their shoulders, revolvers stuffing their belts, bowie-knives protruding from their boot-tops, and generous rations of whiskey in their wagons." - S. T. L. Robinson, Kansas, p 27. These were "border ruffians" from western Missouri, and with the aid of their votes the legislature which met in July at Pawnee was strongly pro-slavery in sentiment. It adopted for Kansas the Missouri code of laws and drafted a state constitution. Meanwhile armed immigrants from the North were pouring into Kansas to win the territory for freedom.



From an engraving by John Rogers after a drawing Missourians Going to Kansas to Vote, by F. O. C. Darlay

FREE STAT

All persons who are favorable to a uniou of effort, and a permanent organization of the Free State elements of Kansas Territory, and who wish to secure upon the broadest platform the co-operation of all who agree apon thus poust, are rested to meet at their several places of holding elections, in their respective districts on the 25th of August, instant, at one o'clock, P. M, and appoint five districts on the 25th of August, instant, at one o'clock, P. M, and appoint five districts to each representative to which they were contined in the 1 regulative. Normally who shall more in general Corrections at

Big Springs, Wednesday, Sept. 5th '55,

¹⁰ Do clock A. H., for the purpose of adopting a Platform upon which all may are furmoniously who profer Freedom to Slavery The nomination of a Delagate to Congress, will also come up before the General Convention. Let no sectional or party sense district or pervisit the perfect co-operation of Free State mon. Union and harmony are absoluted pre-shavory party are fully and affectually organized. No just nor miner issues divide them. And to constand against them successful without produces and harmony of actions we are cortain to fail. Let every man them do has duty and we are certain of victory. All Free State man, without distinction, are earneady requested to take immediate and officitive steps to insure a full and correct call in the Territory. United we stand, divided we fall.
State Party of the Executive Committee of the Free State Party of the Territory of Kansau, as per resolution of the Mass Couver.

J K GOODIN, Sec'v

C. ROBINSON, Chairman.

Herald of Freedom Pron

Call for a Free State Convention in Kansas, August 1855, from the copy in the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka

had earlier employed Their plan was to hold a territorial convention for the purpose of framing a free-state

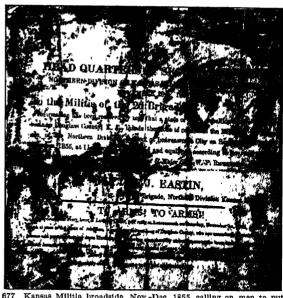
constitution with which they would go directly to Congress asking admission to the Union. Thus. while ignoring the pro-slave legislature, the free-soil men could justify themselves under the doctrine of popular sovereignty.

THE KANSAS DEADLOCK

THE plan of the free-state men was executed in the autumn of 1855, resulting in a convention at Topcka in October. This convention drew up a free-state constitution, which was submitted for popular ratification, preparatory to submission to Congress, in December. The pro-slavery men abstained from voting, with the result that the charter was overwhelmingly approved. In January, 1856, elections under this constitution were held, and Dr. Robinson was chosen Governor. By this time, however, armed conflict between the two factions had broken out, and the deadlocked Congress, far from being rid of the slavery question, was presented with the issue in an especially acute form.

FREE STATE CONVENTION

THE national administration seemed inclined to recognize this packed legislature as the legitimate Government of the territory. But the freesoil settlers at once set on foot an undertaking designed to overcome the advantage held by the pro-slavery party. Under the guidance of Dr. Charles Robinson of Fitchburg. Massachusetts-aprominent Forty-niner and a leader in the New England Emigrant Aid Socicty - they adopted the tactics that California

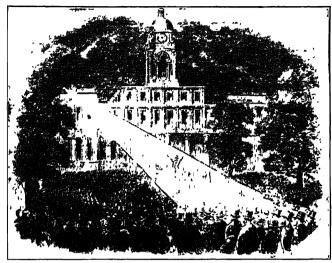


7 Kansas Militia broadside, Nov-Drc 1855, calling on men to put down rebellion, from the copy in the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka



THE KNOW-NOTHING PARTY

WITH such uncertainty and confusion in Congress, the people turned to the election of 1856. The Compromise of 1850, and its abrogation in 1854, had wrought havoc with established party organization and policy. This worked to the advantage of the newly formed American party, built up around a secret society whose members were called Know-Nothings because when questioned concerning the mysteries of the order they denied all knowledge of them. The party was, in fact, primarily anti-alien and anti-Catholic, the members took oath to support for public office only American-born Protestants. This prejudice against the foreigner, stimulated by the growing immigration of the 'forties and 'fifties, had been sporadically



679 Torchlight Meeting of Know-Nothings at New York, from the Illustrated
London News. Nov 24, 1855

expressed for some years. In the elections of 1854–55 the Know-Nothings carried Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Kentucky and California; and accordingly they looked to the election of 1856 with high hopes.



680 From a campaign poster of the "American" or "Know-Nothing" party, in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass

BUCHANAN NOMINATED BY THE DEMOCRATS

THE Democrats tried hard to present an appearance of harmony. Since

THE KNOW-NOTHING CANDIDATES

MEETING in convention at Philadelphia in February, 1856, the Know-Nothings, or the American party, found sectionalism intruding even into their organization. Indeed, after angry debate, most of the antislavery delegates withdrew, leaving the southern wing in control. With a platform that attempted to divert attention from the slavery question by crying up the foreign peril, the party went into the campaign with Fillmore and Donelson as its candidates.



581 From a contemporary cartoon published by Currier & Ives, New York, in the New York Historical Society

the Douglas principle of popular sovereignty was to be their major plank, it was expected that either the Little Giant or Pierce would be the nominee. But the North so opposed the proceedings in Kansas that the leaders were passed over for a man less closely connected with recent domestic events. As Minister to England, James Buchanan had been abroad during the more trying times. His availability was enhanced because his name was linked with that aggressive foreign policy which had been employed to distract the country from internal troubles. (See No. 657.) Acceptable to the South, he could be supported also by the conservative elements of the North.

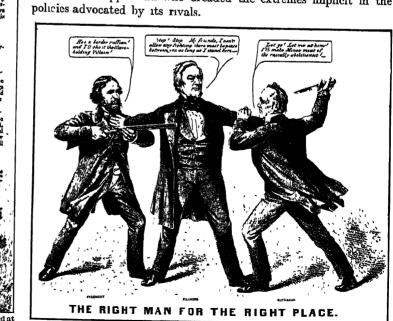


682 From a contemporary Democratic cartoon published by Currier & Ives, original in the Library of Congress

THE PARTY OF THE REFORMERS

THE Whig party, practically defunct, contented itself with endorsing the candidates of the American party. There was thus need for a party which would stand foursquare against the Democrats and the extension of slavery. This need was filled by the Republican party, which had grown with surprising rapidity since 1854. To it had thronged a miscellany of malcontents, a fact of which its rivals made the most "It got its programme from the Free-Soilers, whom it bodily absorbed, its radical and aggressive spirit from the abolitionists, whom it received without

liking, its liberal views upon constitutional questions from the Whigs, who constituted both in numbers and in influence its commanding clement, and its popular impulse from the Democrats, who did not leave behind them, when they joined it, their faith in their old party ideals " - Woodrow Wilson, Division and Reunion, p. 188. In spite of such heterogeneity, the party showed remarkable solidarity Assembling in Philadelphia on the anniversary of Bunker Hill, the delegates, passing over the more prominent leaders - such as Chase of Ohio and Seward of New York - selected John C. Fremont of California, a young man little known in politics, but with a well-advertised record as an explorer of the Far West. The platform vigorously denounced the pro-slavery and jingoistic activity of recent years The cartoon below pictures the early hopes of the new Republican party that its middle-of-the-road platform would draw to its support all who dreaded the extremes implicit in the policies advocated by its rivals.



From a contemporary cartoon in the New York Historical Society

GREAT EXCITEMENT!

Arrival in this City of

THE NONDESCRIPT!

WOOLLY HORSE

And will be exhibited

ONCE IN A WHILE,

At the Hut, corner of Anylum and High Streets, until Nov.
4th, provious to taking its departure for Salt River.

Nature seems to have exhausted all her ingenuity in the production of this

WONDERFUL AND ASTONISING ANIMAL,

He is a complex, made up of the Elephant, Dev., Horse, Jackes, Baffalo, Canale, Calf, and Agephant, Dev., Horse, I seeker, Baffalo, Canale, Calf, and Agephant, Dev. Horse, it is the full girst of the Born. Has a negro head, about it is the form. He was a negro head, about for head, and feet like an alophant. A fine black warder (WOLL covers his head and place and a said) beaused to the highest kind of politoral ongosition for shape jump. Neutralists and Philical Analoguarises any fight his anticodests are but extract x-rows in Natural History. Philosophers Fro Love Sin (4), Beannett, and others have laboyed hard to give nome scientific diagnosis of this truit.

WONDERFUL ANIMAL,

But no two of them agree as to his srigin, religion, climneter and habits. He is indisputably, and andoubledly,

Nature's First and Last of his Species.

He will be calibited only in the exeming, as first is the only time when he exhibits he wenderful attempth of lungs and hube. He essented during the day a remateur and theory ettle, appearedly receiving his energies for his extra optiment experience during the night.

A full and accumule description of his habits, religions, & will be staborately given by Rev. H. W. URD BEECKHERS, commanders of the "Mally Rifles," who was instrumented its his capture, and is not breasting the supposed the New Enghand Wates, exhibiting this NURDEN MET Radius in all his carrieus feats of

GROUND AND LOFTY TUMBLING.

He will ophifel mernel "farent Arlein in History in Humans in onese is made the met their distinct ment made and the fare from the farent fare farent farent

CAUTION

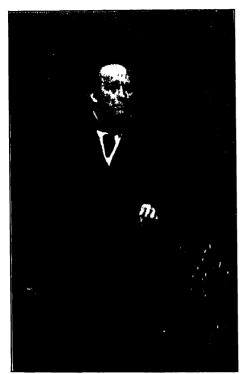
The managers of this active-coloury bondsourly, here bound that a similar simulation of party distillant of theory—his test local to party building that is present on the his. He manufacts is a minimal in the minimal in the minimal has a minimal being discoursed by Proc. Laws of the minimal his in course presentable, and then he may be made a minimal test and the minimal has been discoursed by Proc. Laws of the minimal has be

ESILK STOCKING OF THE CHARLE

683 Poster on the new Republican Party, printed at Hartford, Conn , in the New York Historical Society



From a contemporary Democratic carteon published by Currier & Ives, New York, in the New York Historical Society



383 Horace Greeley, 1811–72, from a photograph by Brady

A JIBE AT THE REPUBLICANS

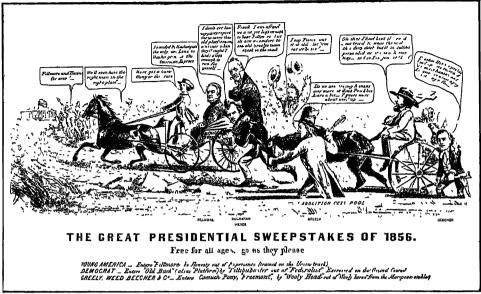
THE Republicans launched a campaign that in vigor and spectacle resembled that of 1840. With "Bleeding Kansas"

as their cry, they appealed, through the agency of newspaper editors such as Horace Greeley of the New York Tribune, James Gordon Bennett of the New York Herald, Henry J. Raymond of the New York Times, and General J. Watson Webb of the Courier and Enquirer, New York, to the northerners' dread lest "Buchancers" pand their domain of slavery. In the cartoon Greeley, with his brother editors, Bennett and



687 James Gordon Bennett, 1795-1872, from a contemporary caricature in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

Raymond, is seen astride the "woolly horse" of the new Union party. (See No. 683.) Fremont is caricatured as an incompetent who was being misled by his over-enthusiastic guides.



From a contemporary cartoon published by Currier & Ives, New York, in possession of the publishers

REFORMERS HANDICAP REPUBLICAN POPULARITY

In particular, the opposition played upon the widespread dislike for the abolitionists as a means of discrediting the Republicans. The eccentric personalities of the reformers, their extravagant acts and still more extravagant words were a heavy burden for the new party to carry.

SECTIONALISM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

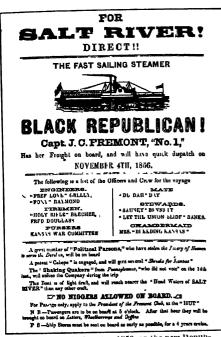
As the campaign developed, it appeared that the Republicans were too sectional in their appeal and not sufficiently organized to carry the country. Buchanan gained many adherents who had become alarmed by the apparent radicalism of the Fremont followers. Fillmore took occasion to announce that Fremont's election would endanger the Union. In the South, it need hardly be said, "black republicanism" was identified by many with all the "isms" in the dictionary.



689 From a contemporary cartoon published by Currier & Ives, New York, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,

RIDICULE OF RADICALS MARKS THE CAMPAIGN

THE poster "For Salt River" admirably shows the spirit of the opposition to the new Republican party and the attacks which were made upon it. Henry Ward Beecher gained his sobriquet from an episode early in the migration to Kansas. At a meeting for the encouragement of emigration he subscribed for a rifle to be presented to a prospective



From a satirical poster, 1856, on the new Republican party, in the New York Historical Society

settler. Thereafter equipping emigrants "Beecher's Bibles" was common. Fred Douglass, one of the "stokers" of the Fremont ship, was perhaps the most remarkable negro of his time. For two decades before the Civil War he was an



690 Frederick Douglass, 1817-95, from a photograph by Warren, Boston

effective advocate of abolition. Banks, referred to as a "steward," was to become Governor of Massachusetts and one of the prominent "political generals" who fought on the Federal side in the sectional struggle. "Foxy" Raymond and "Sauney" Bennett were editors.

THE ELECTION GOES TO THE DEMOCRATS

THE contest was rather close. Buchanan received one hundred and seventy-four electoral votes to one hundred and fourteen for Fremont, while Fillmore received eight from Maryland. The Democrats had had a close call; and the size of the Republican vote gave the old-line leaders cause to worry for the future.



From a contemporary cartoon published by Currier & Ives, New York, in the New York Historical Society

693 James Buchanan, 1791-1868, from a photograph

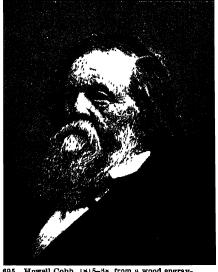
BUCHANAN AND HIS CABINET

BUCHANAN had been selected as the candidate of the party because he was "regular" and because he was in favor with the South. When in office he surrounded himself with men of like views. The cabinet, which was confirmed by the Senate on March 6, included Howell Cobb at the Treasury, Floyd as Secretary of War, Thompson at the Interior Department, Isaac Toucey as Secretary of the Navy, and Brown at the head of the Post Office, most of them from slave states. At the head of the group he placed Lewis Cass of Michigan, with whose aid he hoped to continue emphasis upon diplomation successes in order to quiet the country.



A SOUTHERNER HEADS THE TREASURY

HOWELL COBB, who held such an important position in President Buchanan's political family, had long been a striking figure in southern politics He was a Georgian. He had entered Congress as a Democrat in 1843 and served by successive reëlections till 1851, distinguishing himself as a debater. He had sided with President Jackson in his stand on the question of nullification in South Carolina Believing ardently in the extension of slavery, he had efficiently supported Polk's administration. When the Compromise of 1850 had been agreed upon, he became one of its stanch supporters as a Union Democrat. On the issue of the Compromise he was elected Governor of Georgia by a large majority. In 1860, when the struggle between the sections came to a head, he abandoned the cause of the Union to become a leader of the secession movement. He was president of the convention of the seceded states which framed the constitution of the Confederacy. During Buchanan's administration he was an efficient secretary and one of the most important of the President's political advisers.



695 Howell Cobb, 1815-58, from a wood engrav-ing after a photograph

CHARLES SUMNER ATTACKED IN THE SENATE

On May 22, 1856, Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts, made a bitter and vituperative speech on the question of Kansas. In the course of the address he attacked Senator Butler of South Carolina. "The Senator from South Carolina has read many books of chivalry, and believes himself a chivalrous knight, with sentiments of honor and courage. Of course he has chosen a mistress to whom he has made his vows, and who, though ugly to others, is always lovely to him, though polluted in the sight of the world, is chaste in his sight. I mean the harlot Slavery Let her be impeached in character, or any proposition be made to shut her out from the extension of her wantonness, and no extravagance of manner or hardihood of assertion is then too great for the Senator" "When Sumner concluded, the gathering storm broke forth. Cass of Michigan, after saying

FRIDAY, MAY 23, 1856.

THE LATEST MEWS.

BY MAGNETIC AND PRINTING TELEGRAPHS.

Assault on Senator Sumner In the Senate Chamber

WASHINGTON, May 22, 1856
About half past one after the Senate adjourned, Col
Preston S. Brooks, M C, of South Carolina, approached
Schator Summer, who was sitting in his seat, and said to

Mr Summer, I have road your speach against South Carolina, and have road it carolully, deliberaciely and dispassionately, in which you have libralled my State and sindered my white baired old relative, Senator Butter, who is absent, and I have come to pussel you for it

Col Brooks then struck Senator Sumner with his case some dozen blows over the head. Mr Sumner at first showed fight, but was overpowered Senator Crittenden and others interfered and separated them.

Mr Ketth, of South Carolina, did not interfere, only to keep persons off.

Senator Toombs declared that it was the proper place to have chastised Mr. Sumner

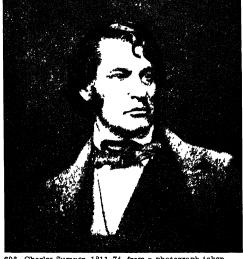
The affair is regretted by all

The stick used was gutta percha, about an inch in diameter, and hollow, which was broken up like a pipe-

About a dozen Senators and many strangers happened to be in the chamber at the moment of the fight. Sum ner, I learn, it badly whipped The city is considerably excited, and crowds everywhere are discussing the last item. Summer cried—"I'm most dead! oh! I'm most dead!" After Summer fell between two desks, his own having been overturned, he isy bleeding, and cried out—"I am almost dead—almost dead!"

897 From the New York Herald, May 23, 1856

Michigan, after saying that he had listened to the address with equal surprise and regret,



696 Charles Sumner, 1811–74, from a photograph taken when he was forty-five, in the Harvard College Library

characterized it as 'the most un-American and unpatriotic that ever grated on the ears of the members of that high body'... Two days later Sumner was sitting alone at his desk in the Senate chamber after adjournment when Preston Brooks, a nephew of Senator Butler and a member of the lower House, entered and accosted him with the statement that he had read Sumner's speech twice and that it was a libel on South Carolina and a kinsman of his. Thereupon Brooks followed his words by striking Sumner on the head with a cane. Though the Senator was dazed and blinded by the unexpected attack, his assailant rained blow after blow until he had broken the cane and Sumner lay prostrate and bleeding at his feet. Everywhere throughout the South, in the public press, in legislative halls, in public meetings, Brooks was hailed as a hero." — Jesse Macy, The Anti-Slavery ('rusade, pp. 175-76. Brooks, before the attack, had pressed Sumner to apologize. Though Sumner's physician soon after the affray reported him capable of

performing his duties, he undertook a journey around the world as an invalid while still retaining his office.



98 Dred Scott, from a portrait from life by Lour Schultze in the Missouri Historical Society

THE DRED SCOTT DECISION

Any hopes Buchanan may have entertained that the slavery issue could be evaded were dashed by a decision of the Supreme Court handed down two days after his inauguration. Dred Scott was a slave who had been carried by his master into the free state of Illinois and the territory of Minnesota, free soil under the Missouri Compromise. Subsequently he had voluntarily returned to Missouri. A test case then had been started to determine whether Scott's residence in free areas had made him permanently a freedman. In his decision Chief Justice Taney determined that negroes could not be citizens of the United States, and hence could not, under the conditions of the present case, sue in the federal courts.



699 Chief Justice Roger B Taney, 1777-1864, from the portrait by G P. A Healy in the United States Supreme Court, Washington

TANEY ACCUSED OF FAVORING THE SOUTH

Nor content with thus disposing of the matter, Taney went on to declare that even though Scott could properly bring suit in the courts, he had not gained freedom by residence in free territory because the Compromise of 1820 was unconstitutional. This was true, it was held, because the Constitution recognized slaves as property, of which Congress could with due process of law deprive no one decision of the Supreme Court has caused more public discussion. The South applauded it as opening all national territory to slavery, and thus nullifying the legal arguments of the northerners. The latter were bitter in their criticism of the court, and pointed out that Justices Curtis and McLean had dissented from its judgment, and that Taney had gone out of his way to give aid and comfort to the slave section The passage in Taney's decision that aroused most unfavorable comment was that in which he said that the negroes "had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order . . . so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

REPUBLICANS GROW BITTER OVER "BLEEDING KANSAS"

THE cartoon, "Liberty the Fair Maid of Kansas in the Hands of the Border Ruffians," shows the bitterness of the Republicans, who charged the Democratic administration with inflicting unspeakable suffering and barbaric cruelties upon the people of Kansas.





of From a cartoon in Punch, Nov 8, 1856, by permission of the proprietors

ENGLAND SYMPATHIZES WITH THE SOUTH

ENGLISH observers watched the developments of events in the United States with growing concern. They saw two hostile

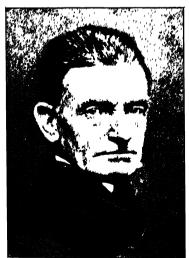


702 From a cartoon in Punch, Sept 27, 1856, by permission of the proprietors

civilizations emerging in the republic across the Atlantic. British sentiment began to clarify. Punch's cartoon, "The Dis-United States" should be compared with that of "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality," published eight years previous. (See No. 635.) In the earlier drawing the jibe is at America, in the latter the negro appears in the rôle of ignorant destroyer. Not without significance is the contrast in figures representing the North and South. The uncouth northern farmer is the Yankee democrat who had been so often ridiculed in England. The southerner is a gentleman. The contrast is an early expression of the sympathy of the British upper classes with the South in spite of the fact that the southern aristocracy was based on slavery.

CIVIL WAR IN KANSAS

The Dred Scott decision was a challenge to the Republican party. If the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional and if the slave owner could take his property anywhere in the national domain, the platform of the Republican party, demanding no further extension of slavery in the territories, was unconstitutional. The decision only served to strengthen the determination of the antislavery forces of the North. Some months before the decision was handed down, civil war had broken out in Kansas In May, 1856, Lawrence, the center of the Free Soil party, had been attacked by a pro-slavery force from the eastern end

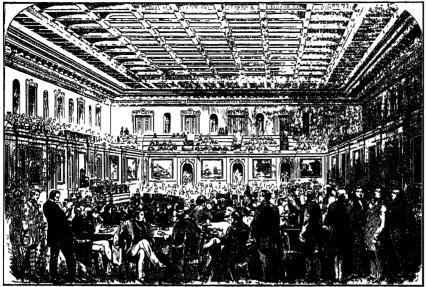


703 John Brown, 1800–59, from a photograph taken in 1855, in the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka

of the territory and sacked. In reprisal for some lives lost by the antislavery people, John Brown led a band of men in a series of coldblooded murders of slavery sympathizers at Dutch Henry's Crossing on the Pottawattomic. This affair marked the appearance upon the national stage of the fanatic who was destined to aid materially in bringing the North and South to war. Yet such was the temper of the times that men of honor and standing in the North applauded Brown for his massacres, gave him money and held meetings in his honor. His is one of the many puzzling personalities in the drama of slavery and abolitionism.



704 John Brown, from a photograph



705 The Hall of Representatives, with the members in session, from Harper's Weekly, Feb 5, 1858

THE REVOLT OF DOUGLAS

In December, 1857, Buchanan's first Congress assembled There was excitement from the opening of the session because the Kansas question had reached a crisis. chanan had sent the unwilling Robert J. Walker to Kansas as Governor He had called an election for a constitutional convention. Again the Missourians had come over the border and had filled the ballot boxes with proslavery votes The Lecompton constitution.

guaranteeing the slave owners in Kansas possession of their property, was the result. The Free State men, who greatly outnumbered their opponents, had demanded that the constitution be submitted to a fair vote of the people, as provided for in Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Act. The convention had refused. Walker had appealed to the President to compel submission. Buchanan had declined and Walker had resigned. When Congress assembled in December, one of the most dramatic battles in our legislative history was pending. Buchanan recommended admission under the pro-slavery constitution and intimated that Democrats who refused to follow him would receive no mercy from the administration. All eyes were upon the

Senator from Illmois. In the most effective speech of his life Douglas denounced the President and led a secession of the northwestern Democrats from the dominant party of the South. After a prolonged and acrimonious debate a compromise was reached. Kansas was to be admitted when the Lecompton constitution was approved by a popular vote. If the vote were favorable, Kansas was to receive large grants of public lands within her borders; if unfavorable, admission to the Union was to await a substantial increase in population. Despite this weighting of the scales, the Kansans rejected the constitution by a vote of eleven thousand to eighteen hundred.

LINCOLN RIDING THE CIRCUIT

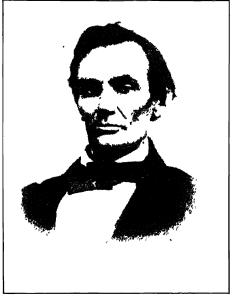
SHORTLY after the "revolt of Douglas," an inconspicuous Illinois lawyer suddenly became a national figure. In 1858 Douglas sought redection to his seat in the Senate. The Republicans of Illinois pitted against him a man known and respected throughout the state for his character and his political ability. Douglas looked upon Lincoln as an antagonist who would force him to his best efforts. The ensuing campaign was destined to become the most famous fight for a Senatorial seat in American history.



708 From Collier's Weekly, Feb 13, 1909, after a drawing by Rollin Kirby (1874—), courtesy of P F. Collier & Son Compan

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1809-65

LINCOLN opened the campaign with a carefully prepared speech, at the Republican State Convention, meeting in Springfield, Illmois, June 16, 1858. He began by saying that the country was in the fifth year since the adoption of Douglas' policy of "popular sovereignty" which was to put an end to the slavery agitation Far from being ended, agitation had steadily increased "In my opinion," said Lincoln, "it will not cease until a crisis has been reached and passed. A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South." This bold pronouncement excited the fears of Lincoln's timid triends and laid him open to the conventional attacks of the supporters of slavery. Lincoln, however, never lowered his lofty tone of opposition to slavery.



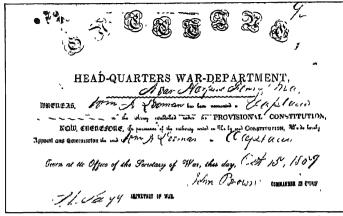
707 Lincoln at forty-nine, from an ambitotype taken the day after the debate with Douglas at Galesburg, Ill., Oct. 7, 1858, courtesy of F. R. Jelliffe, Galesburg

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

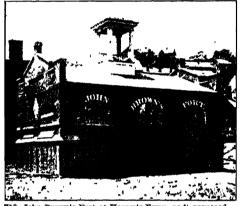
A SERIES of debates between the two candidates was arranged. In the course of this famous interchange, Lincoln showed, first, that Douglas would not serve the Republicans, since his principle of squatter sovereignty was an insecure basis for the establishment of free-soil states; second, that Douglas was no longer a fit candidate for the southern Democrats, for he forced Douglas, in the debate at Freeport, to quibble on the effect of the Dred Scott case until the South labelled him "heretic." Douglas won the seat in the Senate, but at the expense of his chances for the Presidency in 1860.



Lincoln's Debate with Douglas at Charleston Ill., from J. F. Newton, *Lincoln and Herndon*, courtesy of The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa



709 Commission issued by John Brown and his Secretary of War Kagy, reproduced by courtesy of Mrs Augustine J Todd



710 John Brown's Fort at Harper's Ferry, as it appeared some years after the raid © Rau Studios, Inc

JOHN BROWN'S RAID

In October, 1859, the country was startled by news of a night attack on the Government arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. John Brown believed that the time had come to rouse the slaves to rebel and throw off their shackles. His plan was that of a madman. With a handful of followers he surprised and captured the arsenal which was to provide the arms for the slave insurrection. He then called upon the slaves to rise against their masters. Before midnight the village was patroled by his armed men, six of whom had been ordered to

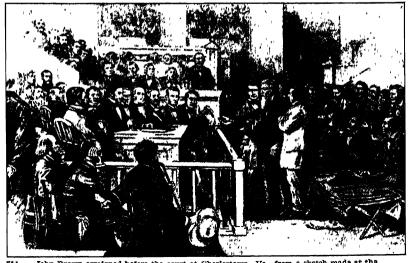
bring in a number of neighboring planters with their slaves. He had seized several leading citizens as hostages, but had allowed a railway train to pass through the town northward, and this of course carried the news. Governor Wise of Virginia promptly sent the state militia to the scene. Colonel Robert E. Lee led a small force of United States troops against the disturbers of the peace. The slaves did not rise. Brown and his band were surrounded in a little building called the engine house, and were shot down one by one. Brown refused to surrender and when some of his men aimed at passers-by he said: "Don't shoot! That man is unarmed." Then Brown was captured, though not until he had been badly wounded. A thrill of horror ran through the slave states as the people of the South pictured to themselves what the result would have been had Brown succeeded in

starting an insurrection of the negroes In the North, Brown was widely acclaimed a hero. When such a deed could arouse such different emotions, there could be no doubting that the Union was in danger.

THE TRIAL OF JOHN BROWN

Brown's trial aroused great excitement in both North and South. It followed speedily upon his capture. Able counsel was furnished him and his case received fair handling. But the result was never in doubt. On

the last day of October, 1859, he was convicted of treason, of advising slaves and others to rebel, and of murder in the first degree. He was sentenced to be hanged on Friday, the second of December. Strong pressure was brought to bear on Governor Wise of Virginia to commute the sentence. Even his life was threatened. To the threats and appeals Wise replied: "I am warned that hanging will make him a martyr. Ah! Will it? Why? The obvious answer to that question shows me above everything else the necessity for hanging him."



711 John Brown arraigned before the court at Charlestown, Va , from a sketch made at the time by James E. Taylor

THE AFTERMATH OF THE RAID

THE southern people demanded the execution of Brown as a just punishment of a hemous crime. Emerson called him "that new saint, than whom none purer or more brave was ever led by love of men into conflict and death." Men in both sections, however, tried to minimize the significance of Harper's Ferry. Thus, a southern correspondent for Harper's Weekly wrote of the trial "Here, in all probability, is an end of old John Brown - saint or sinner, martyr or murderer, famous or infamous, as the case may be We may yet all have to acknowledge that we owe him for one good turn: with desperate hand he has blown up the whole magazine of abolition pyrotechnics - pray God there may not be a cracker or a squib remain unburned! Brethren of the North, when hereafter any man shall attempt to profane your rostrums or your pulpits with incendiary abuse and revilings against any section of our common country, I charge you smite 712 him on the mouth — with the word Harper's Ferry."



From a cartoon in Harper's Weekly, Nov 26, 1859

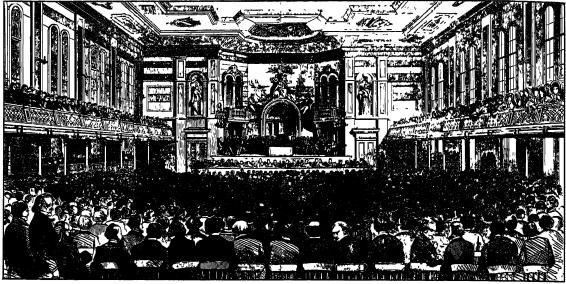
FALL

713 A Union Meeting outside the New York Academy of Music, Dec 19, 1859, from Harper's Weekly, Jan. 7, 1860

UNION MEETINGS IN THE NORTH

In the North huge meetings were held to laud the Union and urge its preservation. The very enthusiasm shown at these meetings, like the hidden warning in the writings of the southerner, indicate the tenseness of public feeling. The Congress which assembled shortly after John Brown's execution spent its time in tossing defiance from one side to the other and back again. Senator Grimes of Iowa wrote his wife: "The members on both sides are mostly armed with deadly weapons, and it is said that the friends of each are armed in the galleries." Throughout the country militia companies were forming and military exhibitions came to be of common occurrence. Such demonstrations and conduct of this kind were at bottom very different from the rough and ready methods customary in American politics. There was now a tenseness of feeling that expressed dread of an impending crisis.

VIII-21



The Democratic Convention at Charleston, S. C., from Harper's Weekly, April 28, 1860

THE SPLIT IN THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

SUCH was the spirit in which the parties approached the election of 1860. The Democratic convention met at Charleston, South Carolina, in April. Douglas was the recognized leader of the northern branch of the party; but in February, the southerners had, in the form of resolutions presented in Congress by Jefferson Davis, tested his sympathy for the extreme pro-slavery view and found him wanting. When, therefore, a majority at Charleston voted to stand by the Douglas doctrine enunciated at Freeport, the delegates from seven slave states withdrew.



716 Meeting of the Southern Seceders at St Andrew's Hall, Charleston, April 30, 1860, from Harper's Weekly, May 12, 1860



715 William L Yancey, 1814-63, from an engraving after a daguerrotype

SECEDERS CHEER FOR A SOUTHERN REPUBLIC

THE break-up of the Charleston convention was a dramatic event. William L. Yancey, who as radical advocate of secession had been the counterpart in the South of William Lloyd Garrison in the North, led the Alabama delegation from the hall. One after another, other delegates followed after speeches of explanation. That night the seceders and their friends held a jubilee and

marched about the streets with a band. Yancey addressed crowds wild with excitement, cheering for a southern republic. The rupture of the Democratic party meant that an important bond holding the North and South together had snapped.

TWO DEMOCRATS ARE NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT

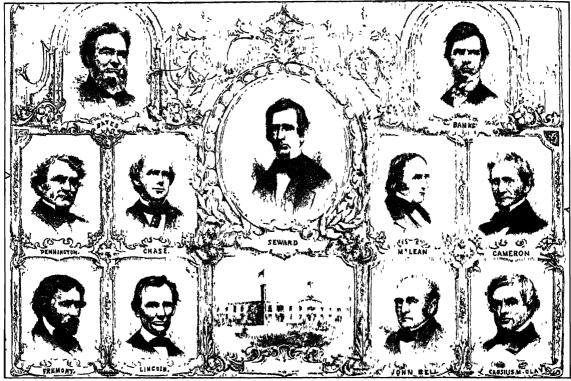
EACH wing of the Democratic party put a candidate into The southerners advanced John C Breckinridge of Kentucky as their standard-bearer. To Breckinridge went the support of the Buchanan administration. Breckinridge stood on a platform which declared "That the government of a territory . . . is provisional and temporary; and during its existence, all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the territory, without their rights, either of person or of property, being destroyed or impaired by congressional legislation" and "that it is the duty of the Federal government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends." Meanwhile, the northern rump at the Charleston convention of the party became deadlocked. standing firmly by his well-known doctrine of popular sovereignty, was the leading candidate for the presidential nomination, but he could not muster supporters in number equal to two thirds of the original full membership of the convention. So the body adjourned to Baltimore, where, through a change in the rules for nominating candidates, Douglas was chosen over the opposition of the Buchanan administration.



John C Breckinridge, 1821–75, from a photograph by Brady



From a cartoon published in 1860 by Currier & Ives, New York, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania



Candidates for the Republican Nomination in 1860, from photographs by Brady in Harper's Weekly, May 12, 1860

ABRAHAM LINCOLN NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT

The Republicans met at Chicago in May, in the new "wigwam" built by local political clubs for the purpose. The party leaders realized that a man of moderate, but decisive, views was desirable, one, moreover, who would undermine Douglas' strength in the Northwest. Seward of New York was the most prominent candidate. In 1850 he had spoken of a "higher law" than the Constitution, in 1858 he had told the North that it was engaged in an "irrepressible conflict" that must make the nation all slave or all free.

"The Republicans had no division among themselves upon doctrine. Such division as existed was due to the ordinary rivalry of political leaders. In the opinion of all his enemies and of most Americans, Seward was the Republican man of the hour. During much of 1859 he had discreetly withdrawn from the country and had left to his partisans the conduct of his campaign, which seems to have been going well when he returned in the midst of the turmoil following the death of John Brown. Nevertheless, he was disturbed over his prospects, for he found that in many minds both North and South he was looked upon as the ultimate cause of all the turmoil. His famous speech on the 'irrepressible conflict' was everywhere quoted as an exultant prophecy of these terrible latter days. It was long the custom to deny Seward any good motive in a speech which he now delivered, just as it was to dony Webster any good motive for his famous 7th of March speech. . . . Both men were seeking the Presidency; both, we may fairly believe, were shocked by the turmoil of political currents; each tried oiling the waters, and in the attempt each ruined his candidacy. Seward's speech in condemnation of John Brown in February, 1860, was an appeal to the conservative North against the radical North and to many of his followers it seemed a change of front. It certainly gained him no new friends and it lost him some old ones so that his star as presidential candidate began its decline. The first ballot in the Republican convention surprised the country. Of the votes, two hundred and thirty-three were necessary for a choice. Seward had only one hundred and seventy-three and one half. Next to him, with one hundred and two votes, stood none of the leading candidates, but the comparatively obscure Lincoln. A gap of more than fifty votes separated Lincoln from Cameron, Chase and Bates. On the second ballot, Seward gained eleven votes while Lincoln gained seventy-nine. The enemies of Seward, finding it impossible to combine on any of the conspicuous candidates, were moving toward Lincoln, the man with the fewest enemies. The third ballot gave Lincoln the nomination." — NATHANIEL W. STEPHENSON, Abraham Lincoln and the Union, The Chronicles of America Series, Vol. 29, pp. 75-6, New Haven, 1920.



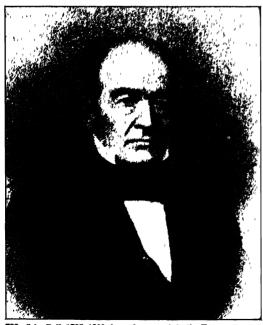


720 David Davis, 1815-86 @ L C Handy

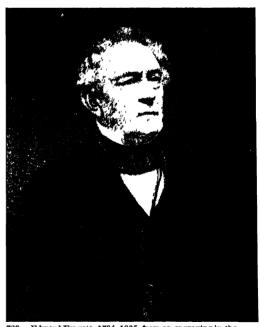
The Republican Nominating Convention, 1860, from Harper's Weekly, May 19, 1860

WHAT CAUSED LINCOLN'S NOMINATION

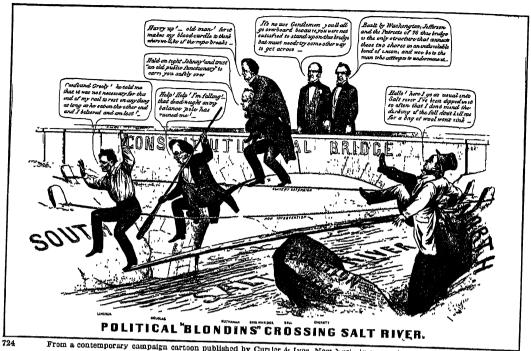
SEWARD'S February speech had, in short, led too many northerners to see in him a compromising character unfitted for the strenuous days ahead. The choice, therefore, fell upon Lincoln. This result was brought about in part by the able management of David Davis, Lincoln's aide at Chicago, and in part because the little that was known in the East about Lincoln gave him the reputation of being a determined opponent of slavery. A fourth convention was held early in May, at Baltimore, composed of men who hoped to be able to cling to the historic order of things. As the Constitutional Union party, they adopted a platform declaring for "no political principle other than the Constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws." The candidates were John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts. The convention was composed, for the most part, of highly respectable, middle-aged and elderly men who, alarmed at the bitterness of the sectional controversy, had met with the idea of saving the imperiled Union.



722 John Bell, 1797–1869, from the portrait in the Tennessee State Library, courtesy of the Tennessee Historical Society



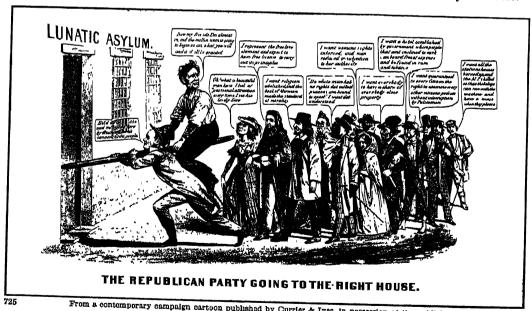
723 Edward Everett, 1794–1855, from an engraving in the collection of the Bostonian Society. Boston



From a contemporary campaign cartoon published by Currier & Ives, New York, in possession of the publishers

A CRITICAL CAMPAIGN

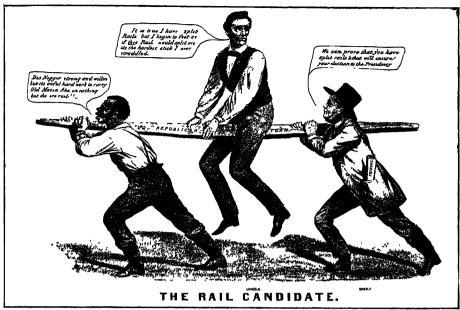
The ensuing campaign was exciting. Many felt that momentous changes were impending. The timid, shrinking from the extremes of the Republican and Democratic platforms, found apparent security in the program of the Bell-Everetts, as representing a moderate course to which all could safely subscribe.



From a contemporary campaign cartoon published by Currier & Ives, in possession of the publishers

RIDICULE OF THE REPUBLICANS

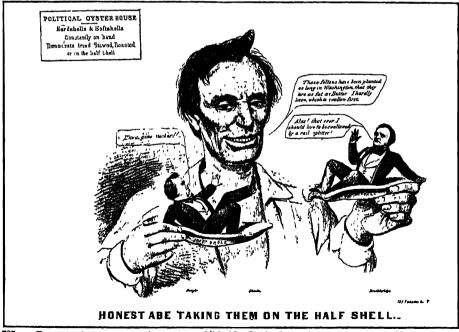
AGAINST the Republican party and its candidates were revived the accusations that had been made in 1856. Its rivals held it up to the people as composed of a variegated and ill-assorted group of freethinkers, held together by the liberal but vague promises of Greeley in his Tribune, and by glittering generalities from the candidate. The cartoon represents the Republican procession on its way to the lunatic asylum.



726 From a contemporary campaign cartoon published by Currier & Ives, in possession of the publishers

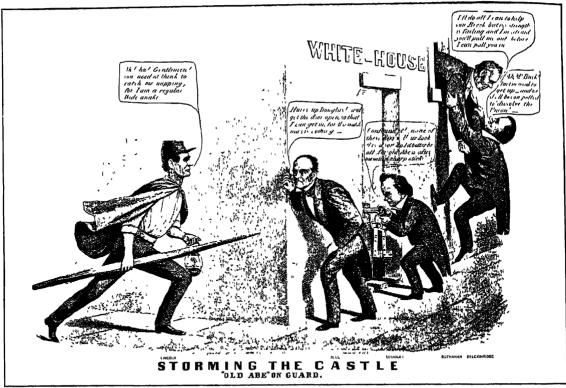
THE REPUBLICANS ARE ACCUSED OF STRADDLING

In the North the Republicans were fighting the field, in the South they made little headway — In Pennsylvania they stressed the desirability of a protective tariff; in urban communities they advocated "Free Homes for the Homeless"; while they eagerly sought the foreign vote. So varied were the types of appeal that their opponents contended that the party was quibbling and straddling issues



727 From a contemporary campaign cartoon published by Currier & Ives, in possession of the publishers

LINCOLN POPULAR WITH THE YOUNG VOTER AND THE LABORING CLASS LINCOLN, however, proved a popular candidate with the young men and with the laboring class. The latter was easily aroused to favor a man of the people whose election would mean a house-cleaning at the capitol.



From a contemporary campaign cartoon published by Currier & Ives, in possession of the publishers

A REPUBLICAN VIEW OF THE CONTEST

AND as the campaign developed in the North, it began to be perceived that Lincoln's personality and his principles were greater assets than the schemes of his rivals. The superficial traits of the former backwoodsman were gradually forgotten, as the courage, integrity and broad humanity of the candidate became more and more evident to all. The Democrats, moreover, found their leaders pulling in opposite directions, to the destruction of all hopes for victory.



REPUBLICAN TACTICS

FROM the outset of the campaign the split in the Democratic party was looked upon by political wiseacres as the decisive factor in the contest Douglas made a brilliant fight took the stump and campaigned throughout the North. His motive seems to have been not so much hope of election in 1860 as a desire to maintain the enthusiasm and discipline of his party against the next presidential campaign when he hoped that the northern and southern factions could be brought together The Republicans, taking every advantage of their tactical opportunity, organized their followers into "Wide Awake Clubs."

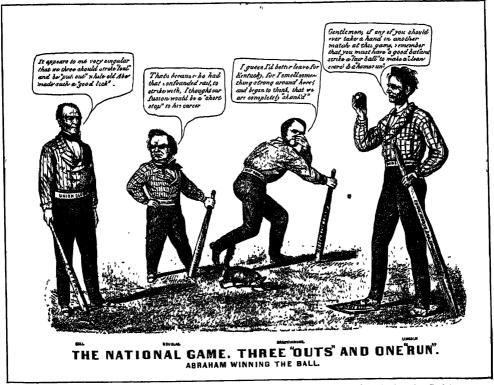


Procession of "Wide Awakes" at New York, Oct 3, 1860, from Harper's Weekly,

The "Wide Awakes" culivened many a night in the autumn of 1860 with their torch-light processions. They marched, not only in great cities like New York but in small country towns, creating enthusiasm for Lincoln and conviction of Republican victory.

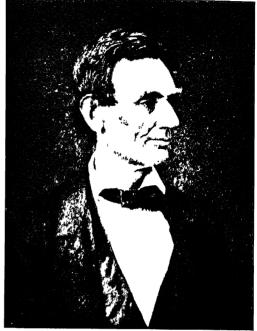
DOUGLAS PLEADS FOR THE UNION

Toward the end of the struggle, Douglas, frightened by secession talk in the South, abandoned his campaign in the North and made a tour in the slave states in a last-minute endeavor to swing that section from Breckin-ridge to Bell, who was pledged to maintain the Union. This meant the surrender of his own region to the Republicans, and an abandonment of his own hopes of election. He pleaded with the South not to secede in the event of Lincoln's election.



From a contemporary campaign cartoon published by Currier & Ives, in the American Antiquarian Society





732

From photographs of Lincoln taken by Hesler in June 1860, at Springfield, Ill

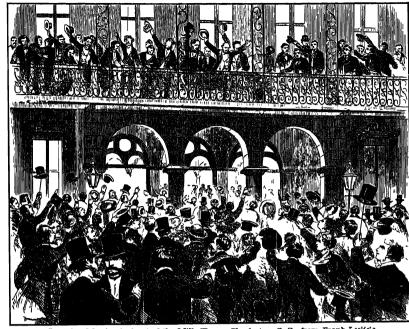
ABRAHAM LINCOLN ELECTED

THE election showed clearly the political separation between North and South. Lincoln carried the North solidly, except for New Jersey. Breckinridge the South. In the border states, where sentiment was divided, the vote was split between the conservative candidates, Bell and Douglas. "Northern radicalism won the North, Southern radicalism won the South, and the middle region was for inaction with regard to slavery." — С. R. Fish, Development of American Nationality, p. 358. The extreme partisans of slavery did not even wait for the election of Lincoln before they began to make active preparations for insurrection.



SOUTH CAROLINA SECEDES

AIDED by a divided opposition, the Republicans had won the Presidency. they failed to secure a majority in either House of Congress. The more temperate men, therefore, hoped that the final break between the sections could be averted. "But the psychology of the situation played inevitably into the hands of the extrem-Twenty-five years of increasing sectional bitterness had caused the two branches of the American people to lose faith in each other." --A. M. Schlesinger, Political and Social History of the United States, p. 170. In South Carolina, where the radicals



Secession Meeting in front of the Mills House, Charleston, S. C., from Frank Lestie's Illustrated Newspaper, Dec. 1, 1860

were stronger than elsewhere in the South, the Governor had told the legislature, on November 5, that if Lincoln were elected, a state convention would be summoned, similar to that of 1788, to consider the advisability of secession. On December 17, therefore, the convention met at Charleston, and three days later it

The short of sheets to be excellent.

The short of sheets to be excellent.

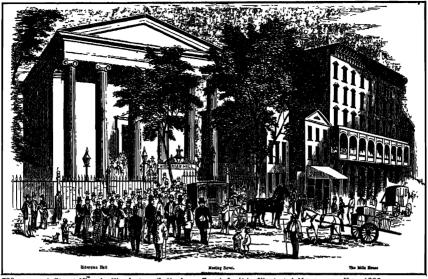
The short of sheets to be excellent to be excellen

Facsimile of the South Carolina Ordinance of Spession, in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

unanimously repealed the act of 1788 ratifying the Constitution and dissolved the "union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America." Commissioners were dispatched to Washington to settle questions concerning the division of national property in the state and of the national debt, and to other slave states to win their cooperation.



736 Robert Barnwell Rhett, 1800-76, framer of the Ordinance of Secession, courtesy of A. Burnet Rhett, Charleston



A Street View in Charleston, S. C., from Frank Leylie's Illustrated Newspaper, Dec. 1860.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFEDERACY

In these states there was division of opinion, not as to the constitutionality of secession, but as to its present expediency. In Georgia, in particular, the struggle was close. Alexander Stephens counseled delay, declaring that Lincoln could do nothing "unless backed by power in Congress," and in Congress he would not have a majority. Opposed to Stephens was Robert Toombs, a leading "fire-eater" of the South In the end Toombs was victorious, and on January 19 Georgia seceded. Before the first of February, seven other Gulf states followed. On the fourth, delegates met at Montgomery to form a southern confederation, and on the eighth they adopted a provisional constitution, expressly sanctioning slavery, and elected Jefferson Davis and Alexander Stephens provisional president and vice-president.

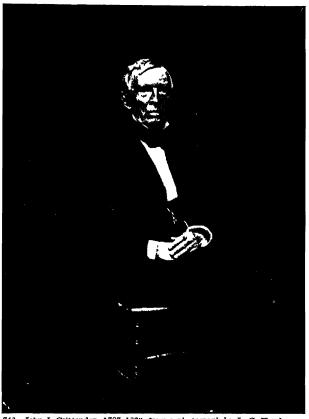


BUCHANAN UNWILLING TO COERCE SECEDING STATES

RESPONSIBILITY for meeting these developments fell upon Buchanan and the Congress which assembled in December, 1860. Buchanan, by nature timid, feared that forceful measures would throw fuel upon flames which, if left alone, might expire for lack of encouragement. In his message, therefore, while declaring secession unconstitutional, he stated that he believed the National Government had no right to coerce a state Congress was left to deal with the crisis without executive guidance. Once more it attempted compromise. Under the lead of Senator Crittenden of Kentucky, various plans to placate the slave states were debated, without avaıl.

FORT SUMTER LEADS TO A STATE OF WAR

MEANWHILE, South Carolina had bestirred herself to actions that threatened to force the Government's hand. In Charleston harbor lay Fort Sumter, occupied by Federal troops under Major Anderson. After much urging, the President dispatched the Star of the West with military supplies and provisions to the aid of the fort. Upon her arrival in the harbor, on January 9, Confederate batteries opened fire. Igno-



740 John J. Crittenden, 1787-1863, from a photograph by L C Handy

rant of the plans of his superiors, Major Anderson was not prepared to aid the vessel, which returned to New York. Though confronted with a casus belli, Buchanan failed to act. Effective management of the situation remained a problem to be faced by the new President, who took office on March 4, 1861.



NOTES ON THE PICTURES

- Another portrait, after an original by Van Dyck, is in Vol. I, p. 211.
- 2 The Cotton portrait by Smibert is in Vol. I, p. 213.
- This rare volume came from the press of Hezekiah Usher.
- 5. According to the record, there were four commissioners to negotiate with Berkeley. The picture shows but three
- Lely, born in Westphaha, studied in Holland, then painted in England under the patronage of Charles I. He became eminent as the portraitist in England of celebrities of his time.
- A portrait of Clarendon after Gerard Soest is in Vol. I, p. 264.
- 13. There has been controversy as to whether the Connecticut charter in the State Library is the original or whether the original is the one in the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford. The charter was executed in duplicate May 10, 1662, the one that was first scaled being the original. The claim is made for the Historical Society's possession that it bears internal evidence of being the original in that it has the words "per fine five pounds" written on it, which do not appear on the State Library's historical duplicate.
- Picture an imaginary conception of a custom of which few details have been handed down.
- 16. By a Virginia-born artist and illustrator of ability who was known for conscientious work; architectural details open to criticism.
- 18. Pyle's fanciful picture is valuable as expressing the spirit of an occasion of which few details are known. Artist known for his close study of American history and of period costume. For other examples of his work see Vol. I.
- 22. The order-in-council and the proclamation were printed together as a four-page leaflet.
- 28. Original in the Old South Church, Boston.
- 29. Sec 18
- 31. The Charter Oak was destroyed in a hurricane in August, 1856. Charles De Wolf Brownell was known as one of the Connecticut valley painters. His painting, formerly owned by ex-Governor Jewell, is framed in wood sawed from the tree. Poems have been written about this tree, among them the lines of Mrs. L. H. Sigourney:

Out laughed that hoary Oak, and op'd Its bosom's secret cell, And brought the entrusted trausure forth Which it had guarded well

- 35. Drawn probably by W L. Shepperd. See 16.
- 37. Statue erected in memory of Leisler, who as Governor of New York in 1689 bought land now the site of New Rochelle as a place of refuge for persecuted Huguenots.
- An earlier portrait is in Vol. XII, section on Graphic Arts, p. 225.
- A discussion on this broadside, by some regarded also as a newspaper, appears in Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vol. 9, p. 421.
- 44. The Board of Trade met first at the Palace of Whitchall after its appointment in 1696, occupying at first temporary and then permanent quarters probably located in the neighborhood of the other offices east or south of the ban-After the fire of 1698 which queting hall destroyed part of the central portion of the palace, the board moved to the reconstructed Cock-pit. The new office was the home of the board for seventeen years, and was situated just inside of the Holbein gateway to the right and consequently a little south of where the portico of Dover House is to-day. The Secretaries of State had their offices prior to 1761 in Whitehall, at first before the fire in the old palace and afterwards in the Cock-pit on the ground floor facing the street.
- 50. Charles Bridges, an English artist, was in Virginia from 1730 to 1750 Many portraits formerly attributed to Sir Godfrey Kneller were painted by Bridges. He made portraits of the family of William Byrd, who recommended him to Gov. Spotswood as "worthy to be the 'sergeant painter' of Virginia."
- 55. In this picture the workman, Dennis Lawrence, who built the State House, is talking with Andrew Hamilton, deputy-Governor, and the figure in the background is Dr. John Kearsley, member of the committee.
- William Cogswell, 1819–1903, a portrait painter chiefly self-taught.
- 72. The dismembered snake device is believed to have been designed and cut by Benjamin Franklin, having appeared first in his paper, The Fennsylvania Gazette, on May 9, 1754, following an account of the capture of Captain Trent's men, wherein Franklin refers to the "disunited state of the colonies." This was just before Franklin left for Albeny to present his plan for a union to the Congress of the Colonies. The snake device was reproduced the following week (May 13, 1754) in the New York Gazette

- as shown, and continued in use for twenty years thereafter among the colonies.
- 75, 76, 77. Only known original of a Writ of Assist-
- Another portrait of Otis by Blackburn is in Vol XI, p 51.
- 80. Portrait painted in England after Bernard's return from America
- 96. For an exhaustive account of the Patrick Henry miniature and other Henry portraits see C. H Hart, Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, Vol. 26, 1913.
- 99 The Virgmia Resolutions, as here printed, differ in phraseology, but not materially in substance, from Henry's original draft. One of the resolutions as adopted does not appear in the published version.
- 108. British political caricatures of the eighteenth century were done by free-lance draftsmen and sold to London publishers who issued them on separate sheets. They were purchased not only by individuals, but by publishers of books and magazines to illustrate the text on Colonial affairs. T. Bowles was one of the principal publishers of such "penny" caricatures which were referred to as "humorous prints." Few were signed They were sometimes accompanied by doggerel verse, and in general were anti-ministerial in tone and essentially coarse in conception. See 113, 170, 176, 205.
- 113. A contemporary version of this rare caricature has the following explanation: "The Hero of this Print is the gentle Mr. Stamper, who is carrying to the Family Vault his favourite Child, in a Coffin, Miss Ame-stamp, about 12 Months old. Anti-Sejanus, who reads the Burial Service, is the first in the Procession. --After him follow Two Pillars of the Law, supporting Two Black Flags: on which are the usual Stamps, consisting of the White Rose united with the Thistle, supposed to have been originally contrived on the Tenth of June. The expressive Motto of Semper eadem is preserved: but the Price of the Stamp is changed to Three Farthings, which the Budget explains: and the small Numbers, which are pointed at, are too contemptible to deserve Notice by the Majority. The Chief Mourner, Sejanus, follows Mr. Stamper. Then Two remarkable Personages, the celebrated Weaver and Lord Gawkee: after them Jemmy Twitcher, with his Friend and Partner, Lord II--. Two B——s conclude the Procession. Upon the Fore Ground are two large Bales of Black Cloth and Stamps returned from America."
- For other Copley portraits, see 148, 157, 207, 247, 254, 443, also Vol. XII.
- 122. Fictitious portrait typical of several other portraits of Revolutionary leaders that appeared in England to satisfy public curiosity

- regarding men and affairs in the colonies. See paper by C H. Hart, Frauds in Historical Portraiture, Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1915, pp 87-99.
- 128. Augustus Charles Pugin, famous as an authority on English architecture of the time, supplied the architectural details and Rowlandson, the English carreaturist, the figures.
- 130. Original of the illustration was by Hubert François Gravelot, a noted French illustrator of late eighteenth-century books
- 134. Paul Revere (1735-1818) worked as a copperplate engraver, die-sinker, silversmith, and founder of church bells. He is reputed to have been a rapid engraver. The Boston Massacre (No. 148) is lus most noted work in this line. See also Vol. XII, No. 372.
- 141. This caricature, according to James Parton, Carreature and other Come Art, New York, 1877, has been attributed to Benjamin Franklin, who was living in London at the time and writing anonymous articles in favor of the American cause. In this issue of The Political Register is an unsigned article criticizing Britain's treatment of the Colonies, followed by the King's speech referring to the Crown's possible loss of the American Colonies through their "disobedience."
- 145. Imaginary reconstruction, correct in spirit, by a painter of "patriotic" subjects for popular consumption.
- 117. By a painter of American history known for careful study of period costume and historical detail For other examples of his work see Vols. I and VI.
- 148. See 134. The original of the "Massacre" is now believed to have been drawn by Henry Pelham, J. S. Copley's half-brother.
- 149. For other Copley portraits, see 121, 157, 443, also Vol. XII.
- 152. See 31.
- 164. By a leading American mural painter. For other examples of his work see Vols. I and XII.
- 167. François Godefroy and Nicolas Ponce were French artists who in 1783-84 issued a collection of sixteen engravings of which this was one. The series was called the First French Book on the United States of America.
- 168, 169. These caricatures are two of a series executed in mezzotint and issued in 1774-75 by the London publishers Sayre & Bennett referring to the Boston Port Bill. They are attributed by R. T. H. Halsey to Phillip Dawe, an English artist who studied with Hogarth and had much of his clever humor. Dawe is credited also with the caricatures 179, 199, 200, 211. They show remarkable knowledge of colonial politics of the day and are pro-American in tone. Their effect and probably their purpose was to satirize the

policies of the British government For further discussion of them see R. T. H. Halsey, Boston Port Bill, published in 1904 by the Groller Club. New York.

- 170. See 108.
- 176. See 108.
- 177. This caricature was undoubtedly copied by Paul Revere from an original under the same title which appeared in *The London Magazine*, April 1774, two months before it appeared in the Royal American Magazine.
- 178. The first American edition of this pamphlet was printed in 1774 at Williamsburg, Va. Jefferson's own copy is in the Library of Congress.
- 179. See 168.
- 185. See 18.
- 188. Matteson, a prolific painter of pictures on American history whose "popular" appeal has done much to perpetuate false or exaggerated notions of events. See Vol XI, p 37.
- 190. Deland, a Philadelphia painter of the modern historical school, whose work is characterized by conscientious endeavor to reconstruct history from close study of essential facts.
- 199, 200. See 168
- 205, 208. See 108
- 211. See 168
- 218. See 18.
- 219. This engraving is after an allegorical picture by West, which represents Britannia receiving under her mantle, supported by Justice and Religion, a group of American loyalists, among them Sir William Pepperell, Benjamin Franklin's son and Governor William Franklin of New Jersey.
- 229. Ferris, a pupil under French masters, has painted fifty or more canvases, now in Independence Hall, on American history. They are marked by rich color effects and deep sentimental feeling, and reveal close study of colonial and revolutionary costume.
- 230. Pine's picture is useful for the authenticity of his portraits. He came from England in 1784 to Philadelphia, where he met some of the signers. In 1785 he spent three weeks at Mt. Vernon, painting a portrait of Washington
- 231. This is Jefferson's original rough draft of the Declaration and is so marked by him in the margin of the fourth sheet. The draft contains on sheet one, two verbal changes, one each by Franklin and John Adams; on sheet two, one by Adams and one by Franklin; on sheet three, two by Franklin, and on sheet four, one by Franklin. J. C. Fitzpatrick, in The Spirit of the Revolution, 1924, says Franklin should have been credited with eleven changes. The interlineations, excisions and substitutions seen in the original draft, notably in the third and fourth sheets, indicate

- the vigorous editing the document received at the hands of Congress The last sheet was considerably altered, liberal deletions and revisions being made in the text as written by Jefferson This is indicated by the note in the margin, end of the third line of the draft, "a different phraseology inserted" Jefferson in his Notes, in speaking of these changes, says. "The idea that we had friends in England worth keeping terms with still haunted the minds of many. For this reason those passages which conveyed censures on the people of England were struck out, lest they should give them offense. The clause too, reprobating the enslaving the inhabitants of Africa was struck out - in compliance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who on the contrary still wished to continuc it. Our northern brethren also I believe felt a little tender under those censures: for the their people have very few slaves themselves yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others"
- 235. Trumbull wrote to Jefferson that this picture contained forty-seven portraits, thirty-six of which Trumbull had painted from life, including all the signers who were living in 1791 He began to paint the picture in 1787 while in Europe. Two of the portraits he had painted from memory and nine he had copied from portraits done by others. Jefferson is shown in the group that drew up the Declaration. Trumbull's painting has no historical value as a true representation of the event. His effort was rather toward giving to posterity a picture containing actual portraits of the men whose names were attached to the immortal document. (In two cases, John Dickinson and Thomas Willing of Pennsylvania, the portraits are not of signers.) Trumbull spent much time in preparation. The stiffness and formal appearance of the signers betray the handicap the artist gave himself when he essayed this noble but inartistic conception. The picture had to run the gauntlet of mild criticism not long after its completion in 1824. Edmund Randolph referred sarcastically to the display of Congressional "legs," and Greenough, the sculptor, replied pointing out that this applied only to the legs of ten members. The architectural details of the chamber in which the Declaration was signed are different in Pine's and Trumbull's pictures; Pine's version (No. 230) is the more correct.
- 238. Portrait painted while Paine was in England, location not known
- 240. The statue was pulled down on July 9, 1776, just after the Declaration of Independence had been first read in New York. The head

of the statue was preserved by Loyalists, while the lead body was taken to Litchfield, Conn, and there molded by patriotic ladies into bullets to be used against the King's troops. The artist Johannes A. Oertel, 1823–1909, painted the picture in 1852, and it was published as a steel engraving. Oertel produced many religious pictures, including the Rock of Ages which became a popular "chromo."

- 247 See 108.
- 254 Sec 108.
- 262 This and similar pictures helped, perhaps designedly, to influence French public opinion to support the American alliance and in this sense were propaganda
- 267, 268 These obviously French cartoons were dated Boston, 1778, probably in derision of the British
- 271. The cartoon gives possibly the earliest representation of Brother Jonathan.
- 272, 273 See 108.
- 275, 276 See 108
- 279, 280, 282. See 108.
- 283. West gave as a reason for not finishing this picture that he had no portrait of the British Commissioner, who died without leaving a likeness.
- 291. The artist made pencil studies at the scenes of Franklin's life in America before painting a series of murals for the Franklin Union, shown in this chapter.
- 300. The original portrait of Franklin by Chamberlin was formerly in the possession of Joshua Bates, 1788-1864, an American financier of the firm of Barring Brothers & Co., London. It passed to his grandson, Victor Vander Weyer, of London. A copy by C. D. Leshe is in the Harvard University collection.
- 301. Benjamin Wilson succeeded Hogarth in 1761 as "Sergeant Painter" of England. He painted George III and the Queen in 1776.
- 305. Schuessele, born in Alsace, studied in Paris under Delaroche and painted this picture in Philadelphia in 1856, later other pictures on American history which were engraved as large prints by John Sartain.
- 306. This Franklin letter to Strahan was not sent.
- 310 This portrait was made by Charles Nicolas Cochin the younger, who belonged to a famous French family of artists
- 314. Baron André Edouard Jolly, born at Brussels in 1799, was a Belgian officer, who painted historical and genre pictures about 1835-40. Mirzbach cites him as an art patron and amateur painter.
- 315. In the cartoon the group of figures representing the four quarters of the Earth—Europe impersonated by D'Alembert, Asia by Catherine II of Russia, Africa by Prince Orinoco, America by Benjamin Franklin—

are being warned to desist from paying homage to Voltaire by the winged and blindfolded figure of Prejudice and Ignorance. On Voltaire's tomb an inscription reads:

In this sad and fatal tomb rests the shadow of Voltaire, Weep, ye Beaux Arts, you no longer have a Father—and the Universe has lost its Torch

Voltaire and Franklin had met amid great enthusiasm in Paris in 1778, just after the conclusion of the treaty between France and America. Voltaire died a few months later.

- 317. Andreas Stottrup, 1754-1812, a German portrait painter and engraver.
- 327. Another portrait of Morris by Gilbert Stuart will be found in Vol. VI.
- 348. Pinckney had this portrait painted by Stuart when he was on a visit to England. The original remained in the Pinckney family for a long time. In recent years it was obtained by Charles Henry Hart for Alexander S Cochran, who deposited it in Philipse Manor Hall.
- 350. The background of the picture is inaccurate; the portraits on the wall are a nineteenth century addition "The scene is Philadelphia, Washington is in the chair behind a table on a low dais. To the right foreground are Madison, with cloak on arm, and Alexander Hamilton, standing Farther back near Washington stands Jefferson talking to another delegate whose back is turned. In the group of four men standing to the left in the foreground, the characteristic face of Benjamin Franklin gives a familiar look. His unpowdered hair hangs loose about his neck"—Brochure issued by the State of Wisconsin
- 357. Charles B J. Fevret de St. Memin, artist of the French nobility, came to America in 1793 to escape persecution. He engraved seven hundred portraits of prominent Americans from 1796 to 1810, working south from New York through Washington to South Carolina.
- 365 For Gilbert Stuart as a portrait painter, see Vol XII.
- 366. See 230.
- 371. Regarding this portrait, Washington wrote to Joseph Reed: "Mr. Campbell whom I never saw to my knowledge, has made a very formidable figure of the commander-in-chief, giving him sufficient portion of terror in his countenance" According to C. H. Hart, Frauds in Historical Portraiture, Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1915, pp. 87-99, as many as 147 fictitious portraits of Washington are known.
- 372. Artist's paintings on American history show careful and conscientious renderings of events marked by intelligence and insight.
- 373. The artist was elected an N.A. in 1848. He studied at Paris, Rome and Dusseldorf, and

executed several historical canvases of note According to Washington Irving, the members of Congress "were seated and covered as representatives of the sovereignty of the Union" Trumbull's painting of the same event is in the Yale School of the Fine Arts. (See Vol. I, No. 400)

378. See 372.

- 380 Original painted for reproduction as a steel plate to satisfy the demand for popular prints on American history.
- 381. See 147.
- 382. See 188.
- 383 Washington lived in this house on Franklin Square only until March, 1790, when he moved into the Macomb mansion, on the site of the present No 39 Broadway
- 384. Of this portrait Trumbull in his Reminiscences says. "I represented him in full uniform, standing by a white horse, leaning his arm upon the saddle, in the background, a view of Broadway in ruins, as it then was, the old fort at the termination, British ships and boats leaving the shore, with the last of the officers and troops of the evacuating army, and Staten Island in the distance. Every part of the detail of the dress, horse, furniture, etc., as well as the scenery was accurately copied from the real objects."
- 387. See 229.
- 391. See 357.
- 396. Peter Lacour, a French artist (1745-1814). For other engravings by Doolittle see Vols. VI and XII.
- 400. Sharples, an English painter in pastel, made many crayon portraits in America between 1796 and 1811. See Notes on the Pictures, Vol. I, p. 310
- 409. Portrait was painted a few months after Hamilton's death. Trumbull's memorandum of Dec. 22, 1804, says: "Did a whole-length portrait of General Hamilton for the City, from Cerracchi's bust." The bust by Joseph Cerracchi was modeled in 1794, when Hamilton was thirty-seven years old
- 410. The famous "Talleyrand miniature" was made in France after Hamilton's death, from an original crayon drawing done by James Sharples, when Hamilton was about forty years of age. Talleyrand had admired the Sharples portrait and he took it from the wall of the Hamilton home when he made his adicux on sailing for France. After Hamilton's untimely death Mrs. Hamilton wrote to Talleyrand, asking for the portrait. Before he returned it, Talleyrand had the French artist Chartres make two miniature copies, one of which he sent to the Hamilton family with the original drawing.
- 421. Daniel Huntington, painter of portraits and historical pictures, was twice president of the

- National Academy. For estimate of his work see Vol XII. "On Friday evening, May 29th, (1780) Mrs. Washington held her first 'levee' which was attended by the fashionable society of New York. She afterwards held a reception every Friday evening from eight until ten o'clock. These 'levees' were arranged on the plan of the English and French drawing rooms, visitors entitled to the privilege by reason of official or social position, came without special invitation. Full dress was required of all. President Washington usually attended."—Irving, Life of Washington
- 427. The cartoon represents the secretary of the Boston Constitutional party reading the compact, with its wretched spelling, to the members.
- 433. Trumbull's miniatures of celebrities of the day, to the number of 56, are in the Yale School of the Fine Arts.
- 444. Sec 400.
- 451. Eliphalet F. Andrews, an Ohio artist born in 1835, studied in Europe and later painted portraits in Washington.
- 456. This crude caricature is one of the earliest attempts to visualize Brother Jonathan
- 458. This portrait is said to have been painted by Stuart in 1824 when Webster was forty-two years old.
- 471. See 357.
- 480. See 357.
- 500. Charles Bird King, 1785-1862, studied in London, painted in Philadelphia and Washington Many of his pictures are in the Redwood Library, Newport, R. I, and several at Harvard University.
- 506. Charles, born in Scotland, came to America and designed, engraved and published caricatures in the English manner. This is one of two in which Washington appears.
- 508. Sec 506.
- 509. Brother Jonathan and Master Jonathan were appellations given by English cartoonists successively to the young republic of the United States. "Brother Jonathan" is said to have referred originally to Jonathan Trumbull, Governor of Connecticut during the Revolution. Washington used to say, "We must consult Brother Jonathan," and it became a cognomen for the people John Doyle used "Brother Jonathan" in Punch in 1847, "Master Jonathan" appeared in Punch in 1850 (see No. 656). The Lantern, New York, in 1852 had several cartoons drawn by Frank Bellew of the figure of Jonathan in high hat and striped trousers. Thomas Nast in Harper's Weekly took over Bellew's conception, added whiskers and put stars on the vest of Jonathan, making the famous Uncle Sam that has been the model of most cartoonists since Nast's day. (For Uncle Sam, see also Vol IX.)

- 511, 512. See 506.
- 514. Madame Plantou painted historical pictures and miniatures in Washington and Philadelphia about 1820 to 1825.
- 521 Vanderlyn (see his *Columbus*, Vol I, No 203) after his return from abroad painted portraits with considerable success
- 522. Krimmel (see also Vol. XII) was Germanborn and painted in Philadelphia The picture contains portraits of local politicians of the day. Dunlap speaks of its composition as "masterly," and the figures as "beautifully drawn"
- 535. A good example of the rude beginnings of American caricature in which less emphasis is laid upon the draftsmanship than upon the coarse jests and witless text inscribed in the "balloons"
- 536. Samuel Finley Breese Morse was an inventor (see Vol V) as well as an artist. While first President of the National Academy of Design, he invented the electric telegraph, which Congress utilized in a line between Baltimore and Washington in 1844. (See also Vol XII)
- 542 Ralph E W. Earl, 1786-1837, married a niece of Andrew Jackson and while living at the Hermitage, made several portraits of the General.
- 545. See 433.
- 548. See 536.
- 549. The painting is said to contain one hundred and thirty portraits
- Jeffreys a successful illustrator and close student of American history. See also Vol III.
- 551. Edward W. Clay, engraver and lithographer, gained fame as a prolific caricaturist of the period 1820 to 1845, first through his conception of Rats Leaving a Falling House. Clay had served as a midshipman in the navy and later studied art in Europe. His work is not always initialed, and many cartoons of the Jackson period and later are undoubtedly by his hand. See also 562, 570, 582, 609, 616, 617.
- 562 See 551.
- 584. The cuts, sometimes cleverly drawn, in the Anti-Slavery Almanac undoubtedly had an influence in shaping public opinion against

- the South, especially in farming communities of the North and Middle West.
- 588. See 551.
- 592 Catlin painted portraits before he devoted himself to depicting the American Indian. (See Vol. I.)
- 609. Sec 551.
- 616. Sec 551.
- 627. Amans, portrait painter of New Orleans, has left no record of his life except some creditable portraits.
- 628. Rothermel, a Philadelphia painter who did several other pictures of the "patriotic" school — Patrick Henry, Gettysburg, etc. This picture was extensively distributed as a large framing print. Portraits may be identified of Calhoun, Webster, Douglas, Benton and other national figures of the day.
- 645, 646. Sec 551.
- 648. Sec 550.
- 656. Sec 509.
- 659. From 1832 to 1857 Nathaniel Currier of New York issued "colored engravings" or "chromos" illustrating current history, rural and sporting scenes and personalities. In 1857 he took as partner James Merritt Ives, and under the firm name of Currier & Ives, copyrighted prints, many in color, appeared from May 6, 1857. These are now acknowledged to be an important record of American history during these years, especially for the Civil War period. Some of the productions of Currier & Ives are fine examples of this form of art. Among the artists who made the designs were George Inness, the painter; J. II. Bufford, lithographer; Louis Maurer, cartoonist, J. M. Ives; Mrs. F. F. Palmer, who specialized in rural scenes; Charles Parsons, painter and illustrator for Harper's; A. F. Tait, J. Cameron, and G. H. Durrie. The prints were issued as separate sheets, and buyers used them for publication or for posting in shops and homes. Of some of the more successful issues of the Civil War period as many as 50,000 prints were sold. (See also Vol. XII, p. 310.)
- 681, 685, 688, 689. See 659.
- 724, 725, 729, 731, 734. See 659.

Titles of books under author are in italics, titles of illustrations under producer are in quotation marks

ABOLITIONISTS See Antislaveiv Ackermann, Rudolph, Microcosm of London, 61 Acts of Trade, first, 10, under Restoration, 11. Randolph and enforcement, 15, enforcing act (1696), 23, violations. 24, 64, 71, enumerated articles, 32, Molasses Act (1733), 32. restriction on colonial manufacture, 32, writs of assistance, 39, Grenville and enforcement, 42, Sugar Act (1764), 42, Townshend Acts, 57, 67, 68, Board of Commissioners at Boston, mobbed, 63, 64, and independent United States, 151 Adams, Charles Francis, vice-presidential candidacy, 281 Adams, Henry, on Buri, 211. Adams, John, on Otis' writs of assistance speech, 10. on Otis' Vindication, 41; Continental Congress, 87, autographs, 91, 128, 148, on irregular government, 104, and independence, committee, 106, 107, treaty of peace, 127, 128, on Franklin, 141, and Massachusetts constitution, 149, and commercial treaty, 151; and Washington's appointment to command, 163, Vicepresident, 177, 178; on Ellsworth, 179, Davila, 189, election as President, 196, portraits, 196, and factions, 196; and France, 197, 198, 200, and Sedition Act, 201; midnight judges, 207. Adams, John Quincy, peace negotiations, 230, 231, autograph, 230, in Cabinet, 232, Spanish negotiations, 235, and Monroe Doctrine, 236, election as President, 238, 239, portrait, 240, character, 240, campaign of 1828. defeat, 240-242, and Texas, 262, and gag rules, 263 Adams, Samuel, instructions to representatives, 43, portraits, 58, as radical leader, 58, 72, Circular Letter, 59, and non-importation, 63, and Boston Massacre, 69, Committees of Correspondence, 72, 77, and tea, 74, 75, Continental Congress, 87; autograph, 91, and independence, 106, constitutional convention, 149, and Shays' Rebellion, 151, and Federal Convention, 153, and Ratification, 156 "Adams and Liberty," 240 Adet, Pierre Auguste, portrait, 197; as Minister, 197 Administration, during American Revolution, 146; first federal departments, 180 See also Governors, Government, Imperialism; Presidency Admiralty, piracy trials, 24, and Stamp Act, 44 Agriculture, as main occupation, 129, effect of American Revolution, 129 Alabama, admission, 233. Albany (N Y) Institute, material from, 191 Albany Plan, 36, 135 Alexander, Francis, "Prudence Crandall," 259. Alexander, James, Zenger affair, 33, 34 Alien and Sedition Acts, 200, 201; enforcement, 201, reaction, 202. Alıx, P. M., "Benjamin Franklin," 139. Allegiance, Washington's oath, 112. Almanacs, Poor Richard's, 131, 134, Anti-Masonic, 250, Abolitionist, 260, 283; campaign of 1840, 267.

"Alternative of Williamsburg," 93.

Amans, Jaques, "Zachary Taylor," 283.

Alton, Ill., Lovejov riot, 260

Amendments, attempted to Articles of Confederation, 151. first to Federal Constitution, 156, 182, proposal by a state, 238 American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, material from. 8, 24, 63, 217, 218, 222, 224, 225, 256, 261, 300, 303, 305, 323, 325 American Anti-Slavery Almanac, 261 American Anti-Slavery Society, cartoons, 261, 263 American Colonization Society, 257 American Numismatic Society, New York, material from, 14, 264 American party Sec Know-Nothing American Philosophical Society, founders, 50, 134 American Revolution, causes, 2, 3, 38, 130; social and political effect, 3, 129, as civil war, 3, writs of assistance as arbitrary acts, 39, 40, right of taxation, 40, 41; Parson's Cause and contract theory, 41, Grenville's policy, 42, colonial taxation and representation, 42, 43, Stamp Act incident, 44-56, Declaratory Act, 56, Townshend Acts and Massachusetts Circular Letter, non-importation, 56-59, 63-66, 71, Dickinson and S Adams as types, 57, 58, 72, royal policy of coercion. British opposition to it, 66, 67; Boston Massacre, 69, irritating incidents, 69, 71, 72, development of de facto government, 72, 77, 84, 86, 93, 95, 104, tea incident, 73-78, British attitude and Coercive Acts, 79-82, 163, effect of Coercive Acts, 82-86, policy of resistance, Suffolk Resolves, 89, 94, 95, 97; British military error; 94, and European affairs, 94, 99, 115-117, 191, 192, struggle, 94, 112, England and forcible reduction, 95, 100, outbreak, 98, rebellion, 100, attack on Charleston, 102, siege of Boston, 103, New York-New Jersey campaign, 112, 113, Paine's Crisis, 113, Philadelphia campaign, 114; Dutch trade and aid, 119, British response to European war, 123, 124, significance of rural community, 129; effect on landed estates, 129; Franklin's services in England, 136, 137; navy, 145; finances, 146, 147; Washington as commander-inchief, 164, 165 See also Army, Continental Congress; French alliance, Independence, Loyalists, Peace of 1783, Reconciliation, Union. American system, 274 "American Twins," 311. Ames, Ezra, "Gouverneur Morris," 153, "George Clinton," 158, "Edmond Charles Genet," 191. Ames, Fisher, in Congress, 178, speech on Jay Treaty, 194, portrait, 194, as partisan, 201; and secession, 211.

Andria Doria, U.S.S., instructions, 145
Andros, Sir Edmund, overthrow, 17, 19, character, 17; as
Governor of New England, 17, 18; portrait, 17;
William III and, 20.
Annapolis, Congress at, Washington's resignation of commission, 165
Annapolis Convention, 152.

Anderson, Alexander, "Death of the Embargo," 228.

Andrews, Charles M, on private control of colonies, 1

Anderson, Robert, Fort Sumter, 327

Andrews, E. F, "Benjamin Stoddert," 199.

Annexations, Louisiana Purchase, 209-211, 235, Florida, 235, Texas, 277, from Mexico, 278, Gadsden Purchase, 293, plans for Cuban, 294, 295

Anti-Masonic Almanac, material from, 250

Anti-Masonry, rise, 249, 250, campaign of 1832, 250, 251

Antislavery, earlier movements, map of "streams," 257, Lundy, 257, American Colonization Society, 257, Garrison and the Liberator, 258, opposition to Garrisoman Abolitionists, 259, 260, reaction on negroes, 260, propaganda, 261, 283, denied use of mails, 262, gag rules against petitions, 263, Liberty party, 276, Free Soil party, 281, growth, 283, abolitionist leaders, 284, Beecher's slave auction, 285, northern ridicule of abolitionists, 286, influence of immigration, 295 See also Fugitive slaves

"Arbiter of Europe," 115

Anstoriacy, and colonial autonomy, 2, colonial Virginia governing, 2, 12, effect of American Revolution, 3, 129, accusation of Federalist, 172, 188

Army, American, creation, 100; recruiting, 104; and War of 1812, 226

Army, Butish, policy of colonial establishment, 42; billeting, 57, in Boston, Massacre, 69

Ashburnham, Mass, anti-Nebraska meeting, 300

Ashburton, Lord, portrait, 272, negotiations, autograph, 272

Ashburton Treaty, 272

Ashley Cooper, Anthony, Carolina grant, 11

Assemblies, character of colonial, 2, and Governors and financial control, 25-30, 40, 41, suspension of New York, 57

Association of 1774, adoption by Congress, 91; opposition and defense, 92, ratification and enforcement, 93; Restraining Act by Pathament, 96, 97.

Assumption of state debts, 184 "Available Candidate," 280

BAUON, Nathaniel, rebellion, 7, 13, 14, autograph, 13. Bacon's Rebellion, 7, 13, 14

Baltimore, and tea, 76

Baltimore City Library, material from, 269

Bancroft, George, on Hutchinson, 70, on North and reconciliation, 116, United States, 116

Bank of the United States, Hamilton's report and act for first, 185, expires, 226, second, 231, building, 248, western opposition, 248, recharter controversy, 249, as issue, 249, 251, removal of deposits, 251, 252, Senate's censure of Jackson, 252, 253; destruction and panic, 255, Van Buren on controversy, 265; Whig projects to reestablish, 271

Banking, Massachusetts land bank, 30; Morris' plan, 147. See also Bank of the United States

Banks, Nathaniel P, Speaker, 300; career, 307, portrait,

Barbé-Marbois, François de, Louisiana treaty, autograph, 210.

Baruburners, 281.

Barré, Isaac, protest on Stamp Act, 45, 46; portrait, 45; and tea episode, 79; and peace, 125

Bartlett, W II, "United States Bank," 248

Bassett, John S, on tea tax, 68, United States, 68.

Bassett, Richard. Annapolis Convention, autograph, 152.

Bastille, storming, 188

Bates, Edward, portrait, 318, candidacy, 318.

Bayard, James, peace negotiations, 230, 231, autograph, 230.

Beaumarchais, Pierre Augustin Caron de, portrait, 118, and supplies for Americans, 118

Beecher, Henry Ward, parody of a slave auction, 285, on fugitive slave law, 292, Beecher's Bibles, 307

Beecher, Mrs Henry Ward, on husband's parody of slave auction, 285

Beecher's Bibles, 307.

Belcher, Jonathan, as Governor, 30

Bell, John, portraits, 318, 319, presidential candidacy, 319, 320, 323, 324

"Belligerant Plempo's," 126

Bellingham, Richard, policy, 15

Bellomont, Earl of, and Kidd, 24, proclamation against Sabbath-breaking, 24, death, 25

Bennett, James Gordon, in campaign of 1856, 305, calicature, 305

Bennett, Richard, commissioner in Virginia, 9.

Benson, Egbert, Annapolis Convention, autograph, 152.

Benton, Thomas II, and the Bank, 249, and expunging resolutions, 253, character, 253, portrait, 253, bullionist, 256

Berkeley, Sir William, and Puritan commissioners, 9, return, 12, and Bacon's Rebellion, 13, 14.

Berlin Decree, 214

Bernard, Sir Francis, contest with Assembly, 40, 41; portrait, 41, as Governor, 63, and Circular Letter, 63, 64, and troops, 69, recalled, 70.

Beirien, John M, in cabinet, 243

Bible, as Puritan code, 8, justification of slavery, 263

Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack, material from, 64

Biddle, Nicholas, Bank controversy, 249, 251, 252, portrait, 249

Bill of rights, in constitutions, 149, amendments to Federal Constitution, 182

Billeting Act, New York opposition, 57; of 1774, 80

Buney, James G, portrait, 276, and antislavery, 276; candidacy, 276

Bitter, Karl, "Signing the Louisiana Treaty," 210.

Blackburn, Joseph, "James Otis," 39.

Blair, Francis P, and Jackson, 243, and Bank, 251

Blair, John, federal justice, 181.

Bland, Richard, and Stamp Act, 47.

Blathwayt, William, Board of Trade, 22; and Spotswood, 26. Blennerhassett, Harman, estate, and Burr, 212, 213, portrait, 213

Blennerhassett's Island, view, 212.

Blockade, virtual British, of American coast, 214; decrees and Orders-in-Council, 214, of War of 1812, 228.

Board of Trade and Plantations, purpose and activity, 22, 23, 28, view of offices, 23; and imperialism, 62.

Body of Liberties of Massachusetts, 8.

Bohm, Max, "New England Town Meeting," 9.

Border Ruffians, 301.

Borglum, Solon H, "Jacob Leisler," 20.

Boston, Province House, 29; Old State House, 29, 30; instructions to representatives (1764), 43, non-importation movement, 50, 63, 66, Stamp Act mob, 52, Board of Commissioners of Customs, mobbed, 63, and troops, Massacre, 69; Committee of Correspondence, 72, and tea, 73–75, 77, Old South, 74; port closed, reaction, 80, 82–84; self government, 84; siege, songs on evacuation, 103, reception of Declaration of Independence, 111; Franklin's birthplace, 132

Boston Athenaum, material from, 250.

Boston Gazette, material from, 59, 63

Boston Massacre, 69; Warren's oration, 98.

Boston Museum of Fine Arts, material from, 39, 58, 73, 98, 162, 180, 225.

Boston Port Bill, 80, 82, 83. Boston Post Boy, material from, 46 Boston Public Library, material from, 64 Boston Tea Party, 73-75 Bostonian Society, material from, 39, 319 "Bostonians in Distress," 84 "Bostonians paying the Exciseman," 78 Botetourt, Lord, and Assembly, 65. ist, 101 Boudinot, Elias, in Congress, 178

Boucher, Jonathan, portrait, 101, Letters, 101, as Loyal-

Boundaries, colonial disputes, 28, southwestern, Spanish treaty, 195, northeastern, 272

Bounties, on colonial trade, 48

Bowdom, James, constitutional convention, 149, proclamation on Shays' Rebellion, 152

Bowdoin Museum of Fine Arts, material from, 153, 206

Bowen, J T, "Log Cabin Politicians," 268

Bowers, Claude G, on Jefferson as party leader, 204; Jefferson and Hamilton, 204.

Boyd, Linn, Speaker, 298.

Braddock's Defeat, proclamation for fast, 37

Bradford, William, letters to, 146

Bradstreet, Simon, English mission, 14, 15, portrait, 15, and revolt against Andros, 19, ad interim Governor, 19 Branch, John, in Cabinet, 243

Breckinridge, John, Kentucky Resolutions, 202

Breckinridge, John C, presidential candidacy, 317, 320-324, portrait, 317

Bridges, Charles, "Alexander Spotswood," 26

Bridgewater, Earl of, Board of Trade, 22

Bright, Jesse D, political power under Pierce, 299; portrait, 299

British debts, and Jay's negotiations, 193

British Museum, London, material from, 13, 23

Brooks, Preston S, assault on Sumner, 309.

Brother Jonathan, 122.

Brown, John, Gaspé affair, 71

Brown, John, in Kansas, 311, portraits, 311, Harper's Ferry raid, 314, 315.

Brown, Mather, "Thomas Jefferson," 205.

Brownell, Charles D, "Charter Oak," 18; "Attack on the Gaspé," 71.

Bryan, George, Stamp Act Congress, 47 Bryant, William Cullen, Embargo, 220.

Bryant and Gay, United States, 20.

Buchanan, James, and Fugitive Slave Law, 292; Ostend Manifesto, 295; presidential candidacy and election, 303, portrait, 308, cabinet, 308, and Kansas, 312, and secession, 327.

"Buck taking the Pol," 307.

Buffords, J H, "Franklin's Birthplace," 132.

Bulwer, Sir Henry, negotiations, 293

Bunker Hill, British cartoon, 99.

Burgess, John W, on Jackson, 242, Muldle Period, 242, 296, on subsidence of slavery agitation, 296

Burgoyne, John, surrender, political effect, 116

Burke, Edmund, and coercion, 81; and conciliation, 96; and peace, 125; Reflections on the French Revolution, 189.

Burnet, William, as Governor, 30 Burns' Coffee House, New York, view, 50

Burr, Aaron, candidacy, 204, 205, portrait, 211; career and character, 211, Federalist intrigue, 211, 212; Hamilton duel, 212, conspiracy, 212, 213, trial, 213.

Burr Conspiracy, 212.

Bush-Hill, view, 129.

Bute, John Stuart, Earl of, burned in effigy, 51; and George III, 60, 61; portrait, 61; policy, 100.

Butler, Andrew P., Sumner's speech on, 309 Butler, Benjamin, and Free Soil party, 281.

Cabinet, origin, 160, members of first, 176, 180, Jefferson's, 207. Monroe's, 232, Jackson's, 243, 246, 247; Buchanan's, 308

Cabot, George, and secession, 211, Hartford Convention,

Calhoun, John C, portraits, 223, 244, in Congress, 223, and war, 224, in Cabinet, 232; and Jackson, 243, 244, 246, presidential ambition, 244, Exposition, 244, state rights theory, Disquisition on Government, 244, and Hayne's speech, 245, and Jackson's Union toast, 246, and campaign of 1832, 251, on federal patronage, 253, and sub-treasury, 256, and abolitionist mail, 262, and campaign of 1844, 274, and slavery and state rights, 282, on Compromise of 1850, 287, death, 287

California, annexation, 278, admission problem, 283, 287,

Callet, Antoine, "Comte de Vergennes," 117

Cameron, Simon, portrait, 318

Camm, John, Parson's Cause, 41

Campbell, Alexander, "George Washington," 164

Canada, and American Revolution, 97, 102, War of 1812, 227, "Cuba and Canada," 295

Canning, George, and Monroe Doctrine, 235

Canterbury, Conn., Prudence Crandall's school, 259.

Canton, China, view of foreign factories, 151

"Capability and Availability," 296

Cape St Vincent, naval fight, 124

Capitol, Washington, material from, 110, view, 312, interior view, 239.

Capitols, colonial, 29.

Carleton, Sir Guy, and Canadian attitude, 97, 102

Carolina, grant, 11.

Caron de Beaumarchais. See Beaumarchais

Carpenter's Hall, interior, 87, material from, 88

Carr, Dabney, Committee of Correspondence, 72 Carroll, John, commissioner to Canada, 102

Cass, Lewis, portrait, 279, candidacy, 279, 281, on

Sumner's speech, 309

Castlereagh, Lord, and Henry letters, 224.

Catlin, George, "William Henry Harrison," 266.

Caucus, congressional, 196, opposition, 237, 238, in 1824,

Chamberlin, Mason, "Israel Mauduit," 70, "Benjamin Franklin," 136

Chapman, F A, "Raising the Liberty Pole," 68.

Charles II of England, and colonies, 11, 12, 14

Charles, William, "Present State of Our Country," 226; "Cock Fight," 227; "Brother Jonathan's Cordial," 227, "Hartford Convention," 228, "Bruin becomes Mediator," 229.

Charleston, Ill , Lincoln-Douglas debate, 313

Charleston, S. C., and tea, 76; cartoon on British attack (1776), 102, destruction of abolitionist mail, 262, Democratic conventions, 316, 317, secession convention, 325, view, 326.

Charter Oak, 18

Charters, Connecticut and Rhode Island, 12, revocation of Massachusetts, 15, second Massachusetts, 21, 22, Massachusetts explanatory, 30.

Chase, Salmon P, and Compromise of 1850, 289, portrait, 318, candidacy in 1860, 318

Chase, Samuel, impeachment, 208, portrait, 208.

Chatham, Earl of See Pitt, William

Chesapeake, U.S.S., Leopard affan, 215.

Cheves, Langdon, in Congress, 223, portrait, 223.

Chicago, Republican convention, 318, 319. China, early American trade, 151 Choate, Rufus, and Fugitive Slave Act, 291 Choiseul, Duc de, portrait, 117, and English colonies, 117 Christ Church, Oxford, material from, 40 Church of England, Andros and, in Boston, 17, Parson's Cause in Virginia, 41 Churches, Old South, Boston, 74 Cipriani, J B, "Jonathan Mayhew," 55 Circular Letter of Massachusetts, 62, 63 Civil service, Tenure of Office Act, 238, 253 Civil War, Fort Sumter, 327 Claiborne, William, commissioner in Virginia, 9 Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of, policy, 11, Carolina grant, 11, portrait, 11 Clark, Abraham, Annapolis Convention, autograph, 152 Clarkson, M A, Abolition, 257 Clay, Cassius M, portrait, 318 Clay, Edward W., Anti-Jackson cartoons, 246, 251, "Bank-Oh's Ghost," 255, "Philadelphia Fashions," 260, "Black and White Slaves," 263, "Great American Steeple Chase," 274, "Ultimatum on the Oregon Question," 277, "Uncle Sam's Taylorifics," 278, "Sauce for the Goose," 291, "Fugitive Slave Law," 291 Clay, Henry, portraits, 223, 286, 297, in Congress. 223, Speaker, 224, peace negotiations, 230, 231, autograph, 230, candidacy (1824), 238, 239, (1832), 251, (1840), 266, 267, (1844), 273-276, (1848), 280, and Adams, 239, 240; as politician, 246, compromise tariff, 248, bank controversy, 249, and removal of deposits, 252, American Colonization Society, 257; and slavery, 264, in campaign of 1840, 269, Whig measures and Tyler, 271, and Texas, 273, 275; as protectionist, 277, on Mexican War and slavery, 280, Compromise of 1850. 286, death, funeral, 296 Clayton, John M, portrait, 293, Bulwer negotiations, 293 Clinton, DeWitt, portrait, 226, candidacy, 226 Clinton, George, on reconciliation, 123, election as Governor, 148, and Ratification, 158, portrait, 158 Clinton, Sir Henry, and reconciliation, 123 Clymer, George, autograph, 147, Federal Convention, 153 Cobb, Howell in Cabinet, 308, career, 308; portrait, 308. Cochin, Charles N, "Benajamin Franklin," 139 Coffin, Levi, portrait, 285, Underground Railroad, 285, 292 Coffin Hand Bill, 241.

Cogswell, William, "Andrew Hamilton," 34.

Cohens vs Virginia, 233

Colden, Cadwallader, portrait, 50, career, 50, Stamp Act mob, 51

Collection Complete de la Révolution Française, 188, 189 Colonial agents, use, 70.

Colonial Office, London, material from, 19.

"Colonies Reduced," 67

Columbian Centinel, on passing of Federalists, 203.

Columbian Magazine, material from, 167

Commerce, policy of Restoration, 11, imperial policy and colonial, 15, 45, Board of Trade, 23, piracy, Kidd, 24, bounties, 45, non-intercourse movements, 48, 50, Dutch, during American Revolution, 119; effort for British treaty, 128, 151, effect of independence, early Oriental, 151 See also Acts of Trade, Isthmian transit; Neutral trade, Non-importation, Railroads; Slave trade.

"Commissioners' Interview with Congress," 123

Committees of Correspondence, origin, 38, proposed intercolonial (1764), 43, local, 72; intercolonial, and Union, 72, 77. Common law, in colonies, 7, 34

Commonwealth and Protectorate, and colonies, 9, commercial policy, 10

Compromise of 1850, acceptance and finality, 282, 291, 296, Clay and task, provisions and speeches, 287, 288 passage, 288

Concord, Mass See Lexington and Concord.

Confederate States, formation, 326

Confederation, inadequacy, 4, resolution for, 106, problem and basis, 144, results, 144, drafting of Articles, 147, problem of ratification, 148, working, finances, 150, 151, and national domain, 150, attempt to amend, 151, economic disturbances, 151, 175, localism, 175; Washington on weakness, 166, end, 177

Congress, (1) Washington's address, 170, organization, task and personnel, 178, tariff, 179, executive departments, 180, judiciary, 181, constitutional amendments, 182, accomplishments, 182, first book of acts, 182; debt, 183, 184, bank, 185, Senate chamber, 203, (2) Hamilton's report on manufactures, 185, excise, 186, (3) and British seizures, 193, (4) Jay Treaty, 194, (5) and France, 197-199, Alien and Sedition Acts, 200, 201, Lyon-Griswold affair, 201, (6) Judiciary Act, 207, (7) Randolph as leader, 207, repeal of Judiciary Act, 207, (8) Chase impeachment, 208. (9) non-importation, 215, (10) embargo and nonintercourse, 216, 221, (11) Macon's Bill, 222; (12) new leaders, war spurt, 223, 224, embargo, 225, declaration of war, 225, 226, (14) bank, 231, (16) Missouri Compromise, 234, (18) presidential election, 239, (20) tariff, 241, (21) Webster-Hayne debate, 245, (22) tanil and force acts, 248; bank, 249, (23) Senate's censure of Jackson, 252, 253, and expunging of censure, 253, (24) gag rule, 263, (25) Clay's slavery speech, 261, (26) sub-treasury, 263, (27) Tyler and Whig measures, 271, (28) Texas, 277, (31) Compromise of 1850, 286-289, (33) Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 299, 300; (34) Speaker contest, 300, Sumner-Brooks affair, 309; (35) Kansas, 312, (36) attempted compromise, 327.

"Congressional Pugilists," 201.
Connecticut, charter, 12, and Andros, 18, restoration of charter, 19, New York boundary, 28; and Continental Congress, 86, cession of western claim, 150; Ratification, 156, embargo resolutions, 219, 220, and War of 1812, 228, 229, on admission of California, 282. Connecticut Courant, 48

Connecticut State Archives, Hartford, material from, 219 Connecticut State Library, Hartford, material from, 12, 18. Constellation, USS, 199.

Constitution, U.S.S., 199

Constitutional Courant, 37.

Constitutional Union party, 319.

Constitutions, state, 4, 148, 149

Continental Congress, call, appointment of Massachusetts delegates, 85; Virginia's sanction and delegates, 86; modes of appointing delegates, 86, personnel, 87; first hall, 87; opening, first prayer, 87; conservatives, Galloway's plan, 88; Henry's declaration of Americanism, 88; specimen printed minutes and journal, 89, 90, and Suffolk Resolves, 89, petition and declaration of rights, Pitt's praise, 90, Association of no trade with England, 91, 92, value of first meeting, 91; creates army, 100; second petition, 100; and Canada, 102; and organization of government, assumed functions, 104, 145, flights, cartoon, 113, 114; and Richard Price, 115; and foreign relations, 117, 118, 145, 146; and finances, 146, 147; ineptitude, 146, 147, Washington in, 163; Washington's resignation of command, 165. See

also Confederation; French alliance, Independence, Reconciliation

Continental Journal, on Gérard, 146

Contract theory, Henry's presentation, 44

Cooke, Elisha, speakership, 30

Cooper, Samuel, on troops in Boston, 69

Cooper, William, autographs, 72, 82

Copley, John S, "Sir Francis Bernard," 40, "Samuel Adams," 58, "Thomas Hutchinson," 70, "John Hancock," 73, "Joseph Warren," 98, "John Adams," 196

"Corbut," cartoons, 121

Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, material from, 157, 207, 213, 223, 239, 283

Cornbury, Lord, as Governor, commission, 25.

Corné, M. F, "Canton Factories", 151

Cornell University Library, material from, 259.

Cosby, William, as Governor, Zenger affair, 33

Cotton, John, portrait, 8, and government, 8.

Cotton, John, Stamp Act Congress, 47.

Council, position of Massachusetts, 29.

Council of Safety, proclamation by New York, 148

Coxe, Tench, Annapolis Convention, autograph, 152.

Crackfardı, "Foot-Race," 239

Crafts, W A, Proneers in Settlements of America, 13, 19

Cranch, William, Report of Cases, 233

Crandall, Prudence, negro school, 259, portrait, 259

Crane, Stephen, Continental Congress, 87

Crawford, William H, in Cabinet, 232, candidacy, 238, 239, poitrait, 238.

Crittenden, John J, and compromise, 327, portrait, 327. Cromwell, Oliver, and colonies, 9; commercial policy, 10. Crown, struggle under Stuarts, 1

Cruger, John, and Stamp Act mob, 51

Cuba, effort to annex, filibustering, 294, Ostend Manifesto, 295

Curtis, B. R., Dred Scott dissent, 310

Cushing, Thomas, in Assembly, 63, Continental Congress, 87, autograph, 91.

Cushing, William, federal justice, 181

DANCE-HOLLAND, Nathaniel, "Lord North," 66 Dane, Nathan, portrait, 150, Northwest Ordinance, 150

Danforth, Thomas, and Andros, 19
Darley, F. O C, "Boston and Stamp Act," 45; "Jay
burned in Effigy," 194, "Missourians going to Kansas,"
301

Dartmouth, Lord, on Association of 1774, 92

Dartmouth College case, 233.

Davis, David, portrait, 319, and nomination of Lincoln,

Davis, Jefferson, as southern leader, 289, 290, career, 290, 299, portraits, 290, 299; political power as Secretary of War, 299, pro-slavery resolutions, 316, President of

Confederate States, 326, 327. Dawes, William, ride, 98

Deane, Silas, Continental Congress, 87; portrait, 117, agent at Paris, 117, 118, 120; instructions, 118; treaty of alliance, autograph, 120.

Dearborn, Henry, in Cabinet, 207.

Debts, act for recovery of colonial, 32

Declaration of Rights, by Continental Congress, 90; Virginia, 106, New Hampshire, 149

Declaration of the People of Virginia (1676), 13.

Declaratory Act, 56.

Dehart, John, Continental Congress, 87.

DeLancey, James, Zenger trial, 34

DeLand, Clyde O., "Patrick Henry in Congress," 88.

Delaware, and Massachusetts Circular Letter, 64, and Continental Congress, 86; and independence, 107; Ratification, 156.

Delaware State House, Dover, material from, 293.

Delpech, Jacques M, "Beaumarchais," 118.

Democracy, as frontier development, 4, significance of Bacon's Rebellion, 13, 14, Jeffersonian, 187, 188, Jacksonian, 237

Democratic clubs, 173, 190, 193.

Democratic party, foreign policy, 265; split over slavery, 316, 317. See also Elections, Politics, Republican-Democratic

"Democratic Platform," 303

Department of State, material from, 128, 154, 155, 179, 181, 184, 193, 195, 199, 200, 201, 210, 216, 230, 231, 233, 235, 247, 248, 272, 293, 300.

Deplorable State of New England, 16

Deposit, right at New Orleans, 195

Dickinson, John, on colonial rights, 3, Stamp Act Congress, 47, poitrait, 57, policy, Letters from a Farmer, 57; Liberty Song, 64, Continental Congress, 87, and independence, 196, Articles of Confederation, 147; Annapolis Convention, autograph, 152

Dinwiddie, Robert, as Governor, 26, portrait, 26.

"Dissolution of Parliament," 82.

District of Columbia. See Federal capital.

"Dis-United States," 311

Dodd, William E, on Democratic convention (1844), 273, Expansion and Conflict, 273

Dominion of New England, organization, 16, Andros' rule, 17, 18, enlargement, 18, scal, 18, overthrow, 19. Donelson, Andrew J, vice-presidential candidacy, 303

Doolittle, Amos, "Federal Hall," 177.

Douglas, Stephen A, and Fugitive Slave Act, 292, cartoon on, 298, portiait, 299, Kansas-Nebraska Bill, motive, 299, and Buchanan's Kansas policy, 312; Lincoln debates, 312, 313; candidacy in 1860, 316, 317, 320–324.

Douglass, Frederick, and antislavery, 307, portrait, 307. "Downfall of Mother Bank," 251.

Doyle, Richard, "Land of Liberty," 292

Delta Camuel A Old Landmarks 00

Drake, Samuel A, Old Landmarks, 29

Dred Scott Case, result, 282, 309-311; Douglas and, 313.
 Duane, James, portrait, 88, Continental Congress, conservatism, 88, career, 88

Duché, Jacob, prayer in Congress, 87.

Dudingston, William, Gaspé affair, 71

Dudley, Joseph, portrait, 16, as ruler of New England, 16, as Governor of Massachusetts, 30.

Dulany, Daniel, portrait, 53; career, 53, Considerations on Taxes, 53

Dunmore, Lord, and Burgesses, 86.

Dunsmore, John W, "Washington leaving Christ Church," 164, "Washington Receiving Notice of Election," 167; "Washington leaving Mt. Vernon," 176.

Durand, Asher B., "James Madison," 218.

Du Simitiere, Pierre, "Silas Deane," 117.

Dwight, Theodore, Hartford Convention, 228.

Dwight, Timothy, on Jeffersonian victory, 205. Dyer, Eliphalet, Continental Congress, 87.

EARL, R E. W, "Andrew Jackson," 242.

Earl, Ralph, "Roger Sherman," 153
Earlom, Richard, "Thomas Pownall," 67.

East Florida, province, 41.

East India Company, and colonial trade, 73.

East Indies, American trade, 193.

Eaton, Mrs J. H, 246.

Echo, cartoon, 201.

Edenton, N. C, woman's club, 93.

Edes and Gill, North American Almanack, facsimile, 65.

Egmont, Justus van, "Algernon Sidney," 110

Elections, first presidential, 177, of 1792, 171, of 1796, 196, of 1800, 203, 204, of 1804, 214, of 1808, 217, 218, of 1812, 226; of 1816, 232, scene, 232, of 1824, 238, 239, of 1828, 240, of 1832, 250, 251, of 1836, 254, of 1840, 266-270, of 1844, 273-276, of 1848, 279-281, of 1852, 296; of 1856, 303-307, of 1860 Democratic conventions and split, 316, 317, Republican aspirants and convention, 318, 319; Constitutional Union party, 319; campaign, cartoons, 320-323, result, 324.

Ellicott, Andrew, planning Washington, 184

Ellsworth, Oliver, in Senate, 178, career, 179, portrait, 179, Judiciary Act, 181.

Embargo, of 1794, 193, policy and act (1807), 216, controversy, 213-221, song, 216, repeal, 221; wartime, 225, 228.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo, on John Brown, 315.

Endicott, John, policy, 15.

England, political contest under Stuarts, 1

English colonies, as private estates, 1, character of government, 1; social development, 1; attitude toward mother country, 7. See also American Revolution; Commerce, Finances; Government, Imperialism

Erskine, David, as Minister, 222

European Magazine, material from, 70, 197.

Everett, Edward, and Cuba, 294, vice-presidential candidacy, 319, portrait, 319.

Expansion. See Annexations.

FEDERAL CAPITAL, New York, 167-170, 177, 178, Philadelphia, 171, 184, 203, compromise on location of permanent, 184

Federal Constitution, purpose, 4; preamble, 154, signing, 154, last page and signatures, 155, as framework, 176, interpretation and political division, 175, 185, Republican broad construction, 231, Marshall's interpretation, 233 See also Amendments, Federal Convention; Ratification, Union

Federal Convention, Annapolis Convention and call, 152, financial impulse, 152, meeting, personnel, 153, problems and solution, 153-155; Washington's influence and opinion, 154, 155, 166 See also Ratification.

Federalist, material from, 159.

Federalist party, rise and fall, 5; beginning, 173, 175, 187, influence of French Revolution, satire, 189, 190; factions, 196, Alien and Sedition Acts, 200, 201, overthrow, 203, secession threats, 211, Burr intrigue, 211, 212, and neutral-trade controversy, 215, 217-220, 222; and Henry, 224; and declaration of war, 225; and War of 1812, 225, 226. See also Elections; Politics.

Ferris, J. L. G., "Building Cradle of Liberty," 28, "Writing the Declaration of Independence," 107; "Washington's Second Inauguration," 171

Fifty-four Forty or Fight, 265

Filibustering, in Cuba, 294

Fillmore, Millard, becomes President, 289; and Compromise of 1850, 289, 292, candidacy in 1856, 303-307

Finances, control of colonial, 25-30, 40, 41; French loan, interest scrip, 122; of American Revolution, 146, 147; of Confederation, 150, and call of Federal Convention, 152; of War of 1812, 225, 226, panic of 1837, 255; sub-treasury, 256 See also Banking; Public debt; Tariff, Taxation.

Fire, Franklin and organized fighting, 134.

Fish, Carl R, on Polk, 273; American Nationality, 273, 279, 286, 296, 324, on Democrats and territorial slavery,

279, on Clay and Compromise of 1850, 286, on campaign of 1852, 296, on election of 1860, 324

Fisheries, in treaty of peace, 127, and treaty of Ghent, 230

Flagg, George, "James Gadsden," 293

Fletcher, Benjamin, removed, 24, and frontier, 28.

Fletcher vs Peck, 233

"Flight of Congress," 114

Florida, cession, 235.

Floyd, John B, in Cabinet, 308

Floyd, William, Continental Congress, 87

Folsom, Nathaniel, Continental Congress, 87, autograph, 91

Fontaine, "Duc de Choiseul," 117.

Foote, Henry S, election as Governor, 290

Forbes, Lizzie, "Blennerhassett's Island," 212

Force Act, 248.

Foreign relations, Continental Congress and institution, 145, 146, office, 146, Washington on, 173, Logan Act, 199, Monroe Doctrine, 235, militant nationalism, 265; as a quieter of slavery agitation, 292. See also Commerce, countries and wars by name

Forestier, Adolphe, "Signing the Treaty of Ghent," 231.

Fort Allen, building, 135.

Fort Sumter, crisis, 327.

Fox, Charles James, attitude, 114, 116, portrait, 114, and peace, 125, North coalition, 128.

"Fox Without a Tail," 326

France, and American Revolution, 94, 99, 115-117, 120, and Cuba, 294 See also "French" titles, Napoleon I

Franklin, Benjamin, Albany Plan, 36, 135; and Stamp Act, 44, 137, warning to Lord North, 97, commission to Canada, 102, and Declaration of Independence, 107. 138, commissioner to Paris, instructions, 118, position and diplomacy there, 119, 131, 139, autographs, 120. 128, 138, treaty of peace, 127, 128, 142; worth, qualities, and services, 131, wisdom in Poor Richard, 131, 134, birthplace, 132, ancestry, 132, training, 132; printer and journalist, press, 133, librarian, 133, scientist and public improvement, 134; public services, 135; manuscripts, 135, 138, first visit to England, 136, portraits, 136, 139, 142, 143, bust, 136, medal, 136, as American representative in England, 136, public examinations, 137, 139, and English friends, Strahan letter, 138, in Congress, 138; house at Passy, 140, return, final public services, 142, and slavery, 142, 257, funeral procession, 142, fame, 143; grave, 143

Franklin, State of, 150

Franklın Umon, Boston, material from, 132–135, 137, 138, 140

Fraser, Charles, "Langdon Cheves," 223.

Free negroes, attitude toward, 260.

Freeport doctrme, 313.

Free Soil party, 281.

Fremont, John C., presidential candidacy, 304-307, portrait, 318.

French alliance, France and revenge, 117, first agents at Paris, 117, secret aid, Beaumarchais, 118, Franklin as commissioner, instructions, 118, Franklin's position and diplomacy, 119, 131, 139, 140; treaties, 120, 140; reception, 121; French purpose, 121, funds from France, 122, and peace negotiations, 126, 127, Gérard as minister, 146, and neutrality (1793), 191.

French-American War, X Y Z Mission, 197, 198; prepara-

tions, 198; naval war, 199; treaty, 200.

French and Indian War, political effect, 2, 62; colonies and finances, 26; Albany Congress, 36, fast proclamation, 37; Washington in, 163.

French Directory, and American envoys, 197, 198, and

French Revolution, and American Revolution, 129, influence on American politics, 175, 188-190, storming of the Bastille, 188, execution of Louis XVI, 189, arguments, 189, Genêt's mission, American neutrality, 191-193, Monroe as Minister, 197.

Freneau, Philip, National Gazette, partisanship, 171, 187,

Friends Historical Society, Philadelphia, material from, 285

Frontier, and democracy, 4, 237, 238, Bacon's Rebellion, 13, colonial expansion, 26, 28; Proclamation of 1763, 62, Quebec Act, 80, and federal excise, 186, and navigation of the Mississippi, 195, Burr Conspiracy, 212, and the Bank, 248

Frontier posts, and Jay's negotiations, 193

Frothingham, Richard, on ideas of Declaration of Independence, 110, Rise of the Republic, 110

Fry, W T, "Isaac Barré," 45

Fugitive slaves, Underground Railroad, 285, act of 1850, 289, resistance and support of act, 291.

GABRIEL, Ralph H., on development of American politics,

Gadsden, Christopher, Stamp Act Congress, 47, Continental Congress, 87

Gadsden, James, portrait, 293: Mexican negotiations, 293. Gadsden Purchase, 293.

Gag rules, 263

Gage, Thomas, troops in Boston, 69; Governor, 80, and operation of Coercive Acts, 85; Concord, 98.

Gaine, Hugh, and Stamp Act, 51.

Gallatin, Albert, and Alien Act, 200; and Lyon, 201; Secretary of the Treasury, 207; career, 207, portrait, 207, and war, 226; peace negotiations, 230, 231; autograph, 230.

Galloway, Joseph, Continental Congress, reconciliation plan, 88.

Gardiner, J. S. J., Remarks on the Jacobiniad, 190

Garrison, William Lloyd, portraits, 258, 284; as abolitionist, 258, 259, 284, 286, and political antislavery, 276

Gaspé affair, 71, 72.

Gavard, Charles, Gallerie Historique, 117.

Gazette of the United States, 142, 192, as organ, 187.

General Harrison's Log Cabin March, 268

Genêt, Edmond Charles, as Minister, 191, 192, portrait, 191.

Genrus of Universal Emancipation, 256.

George III of England, attitude of colonies, 38, 60, colonial statues, 55, 111; and Pitt, 53, and Massachusetts Circular Letter, 59, 64; portraits, 60; coronation, 60, policy, influence of Bute, 60, 61, control over Parliament, 62, and Lord North, 66; and coercion of colonies, 67, 80, 95, 97, 100, and tea tax, 68, proclaims rebellion, 100, and peace, 125.

Georgia, and Massachusetts Circular Letter, 64, and nonimportation, 71, and Continental Congress, 86, Ratification, 156; and secession, 326

Gérard, Conrad Alexandre, treaty of alliance, autograph, 120, portrait, 146, as French Minister, 146.

Gérard, François P, "Talleyrand," 197.

Gerry, Elbridge, and Ratification, 156; portrait, 156, in Congress, 178, X Y Z Mission, 198, vice-presidency,

Ghent, treaty of, 230, 231. Gibbons vs. Ogden, 233.

Gleason's Pictorial, 292, 294, 295, 297, 299. Godefroy, François, "Boston Mob," 77 Godoy, Manuel de, American treaty, 195 Gordon, Patrick, as Governor, 27; portrait, 27 Gore, Christopher, portrait, 194, negotiations, 194 Government, character of colonial, 1, defacto, of American Revolution, 72, 77, 84, 86, 93, 95, 104, Continental Congress and organization, 145-147 See also Administration, Imperialism; Judiciary, Legislation, Local

government, Politics; State governments, Union Governors, colonial, English policy as to powers, 24, 25, commissions and instructions, 25, character, 25, controversies with Assemblies, salaries, 25-30, 40, 41; as Crown's representatives, duties, 26, absentee, 26

Granger, Gideon, Postmaster-General, 207 Gravelot, Hubert F, "House of Commons," 62 "Great American Buck Hunt," 306.

Great Awakening, 38

Great Britain, and trade of United States, 151, Jay Treaty, 193, and Spanish-America, 235, 236, Ashburton Treaty, 272, Oregon, 277, and slavery question, 286, 292, Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 293, and Cuba, 294, sympathy with South, 311. See also American Revolution, English colonies; Impressment; Neutral trade, War of

"Great Financier," 55.

"Great Match at Baltimore," 317.

"Great Presidential Sweepstakes," 306.

"Greedy Boy," 278.

Greeley, Horace, in campaign of 1840, Log Cabin, 267, 268, portrait, 305, in campaign of 1856, 305; in campaign of 1860, 320.

Green, Duff, and Calhoun, 244.

Greene, Evarts B, on Franklin, 142; Foundations of American Nationality, 142.

Grenville, George, colonial policy, 42, 44, portrait, 42; cartoon on, 52, and Stamp Act, 53, 54, resigns, 53.

Grey, Earl, and Franklin portrait, 136

Grimes, James W., on sectionalism in Congress, 315. Griswold, Roger, Lyon affair, 201, and secession, 211. Grundy, Felix, in Congress, 223, portrait, 223. Guadalupe-Hidalgo, treaty of, 278.

HALL, William, "Log Cabin Politicians," 268. Halsey, R T II., Boston Port Bill, 78.

Hamilton, Alexander, Full Vindication of Congress, 92; and Union, 144, 182, in Congress, 150; suggests a convention, 152, Annapolis Convention, 152; autograph, 152, Federal Convention, 153; Federalist, 159; New York Ratification Convention, 159, political policy and machine, 176, 187, portraits, 180, 183, 186, Sccretary of the Treasury, 180; later career and character, 183; financial policy and measures, 183-185; and constitutional interpretation, 185, report on manufactures, 185; opposition to policy, 186; and Whisky Rebellion, 186, and neutrality, Pacificus letters, 191, and Jay Treaty, 194, and Adams, 196; on Alien and Sedition Acts, 201; and election of Jefferson, 205, on Jefferson, 205, Burr duel, death, 212.

Hamilton, Andrew, career, 34; Zenger trial, 34; portrait, 34.

Hamilton, William, view of Bush-Hill, 129.

Hancock, John, in Assembly, 63; Liberty mob, 64, portrait, 73, career and policy, 73, Provincial Congress, 95; autographs, 118, 146, constitutional convention, 149; and ratification, 156

Hanover Courthouse, Va, Parson's Cause, 41, view, 41. Hard Times Token, 264.

188

74, 75.

Journal, 257.

Douglas debates, 312, 313

Harding, Chester, "John Randolph," 207, "John Quincy Hunkers, 281 Adams," 240 Huntington, Daniel, "Lady Washington's Reception." Harlow, Ralph V, on Shays' Rebellion, 152, Growth of "Hurly-Burly Pot," 279 the United States, 152 Hutchinson, Thomas, on Dudley, 16, mobbed, 52, 55: Harper's Ferry raid, 314, aftermath, 315 Harrington, James, portrait, 110, Oceana and Declaration of Independence, 110 Harrison, Robert H, and justiceship, 181 Harrison, William Henry, candidacy in 1836, 254, in 1840, Hyde, Edward See Clarendon election, 266-270; portrait, 266, death, 271. Harrison Almanac, broadside, 267. "ILL turns to him who wishes ill," 120 Hart, Joel T, "Henry Clay," 297. Illinois, constitution and admission, Hartford Convention, 228, 229 Illinois State Historical Society, material from, 234, Hartford Times, on Whig candidate (1840), 268 Hartley, David, treaty of peace, autograph, 128 Harvard College Library, material from, 309 Harvard University, material from, 150, 194, 196. Hatch, Nathaniel, writ of assistance, 39. Hawley, Joseph, in Assembly, 63 Hayne, Robert Y, Webster debate, 245; portrait, 245. Hayne, Robert 1, Webster acouste, 240, pointait, 240. Healy, G P A, "Webster's Reply to Hayne," 245, "John Tyler," 271, "Lord Ashburton," 272, "Daniel Webster," 272, "Lewis Cass," 279; "Zachary Taylor," 283, "Roger B Taney," 310 Henry, Patrick, Parson's Cause, 41, portrait, 46, Stamp Act speech and resolutions, manuscript, 46, 47, Committee of Correspondence, 72, Continental Congress, policy there, 87, 88, 163; and Federal Convention, 153, and Ratification, 157 Henry letters, 224 Hermitage, view, 242 Herter, Albert, "Signing of the Constitution," 154. Herter Looms, "Trial of Peter Zenger," 34 Hickel, Karl A, "Charles James Fox," 114. Hill, Isaac, and Jackson, 243 Hillsborough, Lord, and Massachusetts Circular Letter. 59, 64 Hinckley, Thomas, Narrative of Proceedings, 18. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, material from, 27, 34, 60, 75, 130, 143, 190, 227, 232, 246, 264, 281, 286, 306, 317. Hoare, William, "William Pitt," 53. Hollis, Thomas, Memoirs, 55. Holy Alliance, 235. "Honest Abe taking them on the Half Shell," 321 Hopkins, Stephen, Rights of Colonics examined, 43, and Gaspé affair, 72, Continental Congress, 87. Hopkinson, Francis, autograph, 145 Hornet, USS., Peacock fight, 227. Houdon, Jean A, "Benjamin Franklin," 136, "George Washington," 166. House of Commons, view, 62 House of Lords, view, 61

House of Representatives, views of old and new chambers,

Houston, William Charles, Annapolis Convention, auto-

Howard, George E., on The Association, 91, Preliminaries

Howe, Lord, and reconciliation, 112; proclamation of

Howe, Sir William, campaigns, 112-114; proclamation of

239, 312.

graph, 152.

amnesty, 113

amnesty, 113

Hülsemann letter, 292.

of Revolution, 91.

Houses, Jackson's home, 242

Hugo, Victor, "House at Passy," 140.

Humble Petition and Address, 11.

Hume, David, and Franklin, 136.

Immigration, and slavery 295, and Know-Nothing party, 303. Impeachment, of judges, 208. Imperialism, policy of Restoration, 12, Dominion of New England, 16, Board of Trade, 22, 23, divided authority over colonies, 23, importance of New York in policy, 25; conciliatory policy, 28; royal vetoes, 31, growth of parliamentary action, 32, and colonial rights, 38, Grenville's policy, 42, policy after 1760, 62, and American Revolution, 130 Sec also Acts of Trade Impressment, controversy, 193, 215, and peace terms, 230 Independence, causes of movement, 3, significant actions in early colonial history, 13-15, lack of desire, 37, desire denied, 38, 163, Mansfield's prophecy, 59, Otis' hint, 64, George III's accusation, 67, resistance and, 94, Paine and propaganda, 94, growth of policy, problems. 104, 106, resolution for, 106, 107, drafting and adoption of Declaration, 107, Jefferson's draft, 107, 108; signing Declaration, 110, 138, sources of ideas of Declaration, 110; Signers, 111, reception and effect, 111. Independence Hall, Philadelphia, material from, 28, 57, 107, 117, 146, 153, 157, 171, 180, 196, 197; designer, 33, view, 106; Congress meets in, 106. Independent Chronicle, material from, 157. Independent Gazetteer, material from, 156. Indiana, admission, 233. Indiana State Library, material from, 269. Indians, depredations and Bacon's Rebellien, 13, 14, Proclamation of 1763, 62. Ingersoll, Jared, and Sons of Liberty, 46. Ingham, Samuel D., in Cabinet, 243. Ingoldsby, Richard, and Leisler, 20. Inman, Henry, "Martin Van Buren," 243, "William Wirt," 250. Internal improvements, Madison and policy, 231. Interstate commerce, federal power, 233. Intolerable Acts, 38, 80-82, 163; operation, 83-85. Iredell, James, federal justice, 181. Iroquois Indians, political importance, 25. Isthmian transit, problem of control, Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 293. Jackson, Andrew, New Orleans, 229; in Florida, 235, 246; character of rule, 237, 253; candidacy in 1824, 238, 239; campaign in 1828, election, 240-242; portraits, 242, character, 242, gentleman farmer, home, 242; Cabinet, 243, 246, 247; kitchen cabinet, 243, and Calhoun, 244, 246; and nullification, Union teast, 246-248, autograph, 247, Bank veto, 249; reëlection, 251; removal of the deposits, 251, 252; Senate's censure, 252, 253; and Van Buren's candidacy, 254; and sub-treasury, 256; on Thompson, 259; and Texas, 282.

and Council, 63, and Boston Massacre, 69, portrait,

70, career and character, 70, recalled, 70, and tea.

233,

Lincoln-

Jacobiniad, 190.

James II of England, portrait, 11, policy as duke, 11, and Mather, 20

Jameson, J F, on colonial society, 2, on social effect of American Revolution, 130, American Revolution, 130. Jamestown, Va, Bacon's burning, 14.

Janson, Charles W, Stranger in America, 165

Jarvis, John W, "John Marshall," 208, "Death of the Embargo," 228

Jay, John, Continental Congress, 87, conservatism, 88, 106, treaty of peace, 127, 128, autograph, 128, Address on the Constitution, 158, Federalist, 159, Chief Justice, 181, portraits, 181, 193, British treaty, 193, 194, and antislavery, 257.

Jay Treaty, 193; opposition and support, 194, results, 194, Spain and France and, 195, 197

Jefferson, Thomas, Committee of Correspondence, 72, Summary View of Rights, 83, and independence, drafting Declaration, 107-110, in Congress, 150, and Ratification, 157, political policy and machine, 176, 187; portraits, 180, 205, 206, Secretary of State, 180, compromise on assumption and capital, 184, and bank, 185; and policy toward France, 191-193, Vice-president, 196, and Lyon, 201, on Alien and Sedition Acts, Kentucky Resolutions, 202, as party leader, 204, and economic conditions, 204; election as President, 205; personality, 205, 206, inaugural, political creed, 206; advisers, 207; and Marshall, 208, 213, and Louisiana, 209, 210, and Burr Conspiracy, 213; reelection, 214, and neutral-trade controversy, policy and measures, 215-217, 221, and Madison's administration, 218, on relations with England, manuscript, 235, and antislavery, 257.

Jefferys, Charles W , "Andros and Connecticut Charter," 18; "Trial of Aaron Burr," 213; "Jackson's Union Toast," 246, "Fugitive Slaves at Levi Coffin's," 292 John Carter Brown Library, Providence, material from, 47. Johnson, Richard M, vice-presidential candidacy, 254. Johnson, William Samuel, on colonial attitude (1771), 71. Jolly, Baron, "Franklin at the Court of France," 141. Jones, F E, "Blennerhassett's Island," 212

Judiciary, Privy Council as colonial court, 28; organization of federal, 181, act of 1801 and repeal, 207, Republican attacks, 208, power of federal, 233. See also Supreme Court

Jury trial, Stamp Act, 44.

Kames, Lord, and Franklin, 136

Kansas, slavery struggle, 301, 302, 307, 310, 311; Congress and, 312.

Kansas-Nebraska Bill, result, 282; motive and provisions, 299; passage, popular reception, 300, 301.

Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, material from,

Keith, Sir William, as Governor, 27; portrait, 27, and Franklin, 133.

Kendall, Amos, portrait, 243; and Jackson, 243, and Bank, 251; and abolitionist mail, 262

Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, Washington on, 174, origin and adoption, 202

Kentucky State Historical Society, material from, 297.

Keppel, Viscount, in peace ministry, 125

Kıdd, William, agreement with Bellomont, piracy, 24 King, Charles B., "John C. Calhoun," 223; "William H. Crawford," 238.

King, N . "White House," 184.

King, Rufus, portrait, 153, in Senate, 178.

King George's War, colonies and appropriations, 28.

King William's War, and colonial union, 35 Kirby, Rollin, "Lincoln Riding the Circuit," 312 Know-Nothing party, origin and campaign of 1856, 303-307

Knox, Henry, portrait, 180, Secretary of War, 180 Kossuth, Louis, visit, 295

Krımmel, John L, "Election Day," 232.

LACOUR, Peter, "Federal Hall," 178.

Lacretelle, Jean C D. de, on Franklin, 141.

Ladies Repository, material from, 212.

Lafayette, Marquis de, on Houdon's statue, 166.

Lake Erie, naval battle, 227. Laurens, Henry, peace negotiations, 128, President of Congress, autograph, 145.

Law and order, development in colonies, 7.

Lawrence, Kan, sacking, 311.

Leander, H M S, 214

Lecompton constitution, 312.

Lee, Arthur, agent at Paris, 117; portrait, 117, in Spain, 118; treaty of alliance, autograph, 120.

Lee, Richard Henry, Committee of Correspondence, 72, Continental Congress, 87, resolution for independence, 106, Observations, 157, and Ratification, 157, portrait, 157, in Senate, 178

Lee, Robert E, and John Brown's raid, 314.

Leech, John, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," 286.

Legislation, Biblical basis of Puritan, 8, Massachusetts Body of Liberties, 8 See also Assemblies; Congress; Continental Congress; Parliament, Veto.

Leisler, Jacob, statue, 20, revolt, 20.

Leisler's Revolt, 7, 20.

Lely, Sir Peter, "James, Duke of York," 11; "Earl of Clarendon," 11.

L'Enfant, Pierre C, planning of Washington, 184.

Leominster, Mass, antı-Nebraska meeting, 300.

Leopard, H.M.S., Chesapeake affair, 215. Le Vasseur, J. C. "L'Amérique Indépendante," 119.

Lewis, William B, and Jackson, 243

Lexington and Concord, battle, 98, British cartoon, 98; Franklin on, 138.

Liberator, 258, 276.

Liberia, 257.

"Liberty and the Border Ruffians," 310.

Liberty Bell, 111.

Liberty Boys, 3. See also Sons of Liberty.

Liberty of the press, Zenger trial, 33, 34.

Liberty party, 276

Liberty poles, significance, 38, raising, 68.

Liberty, sloop, seizure of, 64.

Liberty Song, 64

"Liberty Triumphant," 79

Libraries, Franklin and subscription, 133

Library of Congress, material from, 44, 62, 106, 108, 109, 138, 147, 152, 184-186, 202, 235, 270, 277, 279, 284, 290, 304.

Lincoln, Abraham, Douglas debates, 312, 313, riding the circuit, 312; portraits, 313, 318, 324; presidential nomination, 318, 319, campaign, 320-323; election, 324.

Lincoln, Benjamin, Provincial Congress, 95.

Lincoln, Levi, in Cabinet, 207

Lindsay, Benjamın, Gaspé affair, 71.

Livingston, Edward, Secretary of State, 247, portrait, 247; proclamation on nullification, 247; autograph,

Livingston, Philip, Stamp Act Congress, 47; Continental Congress, 87.

Livingston, Robert, and Kidd, 24. plan of union, 36 Livingston, Robert R [1], on Stamp Act mob, 50, 51 Livingston, Robert R [2], and independence, 107, oath to Washington, 168, and chief justiceship, 181, Louisiana Purchase, 209, 210, portrait, 209, autograph, 210 Livingston, William, Continental Congress, 87, on Rivington, 101. Lloyd, David, and Keith, 27 Local government, New England town meeting, 9, Virginia colonial vestry, 12 Locke, John, and Board of Trade, 22; portrait, 22 Lodge, H. C., on Bernard, 63, on Washington's first address to Congress. 170. George Washington, 170, 173, on Washington as partisan, 173 Lodge, John, "Benjamin Franklin," 139 Log-Cabin Campaign, 268 Log Cabin Song-Book, 268 Logan, George, French mission, 199, 200 Logan Act. 199. London Magazine, material from, 83, 95, 112 Long Island, battle, cartoon, 112 Long Island Historical Society, material from, 223. Lopez, Narciso, portrait, 294, filibustering, 294 "Lord North in the Suds." 126 Lossing, Benjamin J., Our Country, 194 Louis XVI of France, and American Revolution, 118,

execution, 189 Louisiana Purchase, retrocession to France, 209, American negotiations and treaty, 209, 210, constitutional question, 210, Federalists and, 211, boundary fixed,

Louisiana Purchase Exposition, material from, 210. Lovejov, Elijah P. mobbed, 260, portrait, 260.

Low, Isaac, Committee of Correspondence, 72, autograph, 85, Continental Congress, 87

Lowndes, William, in Congress, 223.

Loyalists, and civil war, 3, coercion, 93, attitude, 101; persecution and exile, 103, confiscations, 129, 130; and Jav Treaty, 193.

Lundy, Benjamin, and abolition, 257, portrait, 257; War in Texas, 262.

Lynch, Thomas, Continental Congress, 87.

Lyon, Matthew, Griswold affair, 201, convicted of sedition, 201.

M'Cullocii vs. Maryland, 233.

McDuffie, George, bank controversy, 249

M'Kean, Thomas, Continental Congress, 87, as Signer,

MacKenzie, R. Tait, "Franklin," 132

Maclay, William, on Washington's inaugural, 169; on Judiciary Act, 181, on Jefferson, 206.

McLean, John, candidacy, 254. Dred Scott decision, 310: portrait, 318.

McNevin, J, "Reception of Washington," 168.

Macon's Bill No 2, 222. McRac, John C, "Raising the Liberty Pole," 68; "Pulling down Statue of George III," 111.

Macy, Jesse, on Sumner and Brooks, 309; Antislavery Crusade, 309.

Madison, James, and Union, 144; Annapolis Convention, 152, autograph, 152, portraits, 153, 218; Federal Convention, 153, amendments, 156; and Ratification, 157, Federalist, 159, in Congress, 178, tariff bill, 179, and Hamilton's financial measures, 183, 184; and policy toward France and England, Helvidius letters, 192, 193; and Lyon, 201, Virginia Resolutions, 202; Secretary of State, 207, election as President, 217, 218, character, 218, and neutral-trade controversy, 222: and Henry letters, 224; and war, 225, reelection, 226. and peace, 230, policy of liberal construction, 231 American Colonization Society, 237.

Magazine of American History, material from, 51

Maine, admission, 234

Malcolm, John, mobbed, 77, 78

Mangum, Willie P. candidacy, 254.

Manifest Destiny, 265

Manors. view of New York, 130

Mansfield, Lord, prophecy, 56, and coercion, 95, 100 Manufactures, restriction of colonial, 32, colonial promotion, 48, 50. Hamilton's report, 185

Maps and plans, free and slave area after 1820, 234. streams of abolition, 257.

Marblehead, Mass, and Boston Port Bill, 80, 84.

Marbury vs Madison, 208.

Marcy, William L. and Ostend Manifesto, 295.

Marigot, M, "Mount Vernon," 165.

Marshall, John, and Ratification, 157; portraits, 157, 208; and Hamilton's constitutional interpretation, 185. X Y Z Mission, 198, and Jefferson, Marbury vs. Madison. 208, Buir trial, 213, great nationalistic decisions, 233, Martin, David, "Benjamin Franklin," 142.

Martin, Luther, portrait, 153; Federal Convention, 153, 155. Burr tual. 213.

Martin vs Hunter's Lessee, 233.

Maryland, and Massachusetts Circular Letter, 64, and non-importation, 71, and Continental Congress, 86: and Articles of Confederation, 148, Ratification, 157.

Maryland State House, material from, 165.

Mason, George, Declaration of Rights, 106, and Ratification, 157

Massachusetts, basis and origin of colonial government, 8: independent attitude under Restoration, 11, 14, 15. colonial coins, 14; loss of charter, 15, under Dominion of New England, 16-18, 20, revolt against Andros, 19, 21, temporary government, 19, Mather's mission, 20; and William III, second charter, 21, 22; and royal vetoes, 31, Assembly and Governor, 29, 30, position of Council, 29; explanatory charter, 30, fast after Braddock's Defeat, 37, writs of assistance case, 39, 40; Bernard controversy, 40, 41, 63; circular letter (1764), 43, (1768), 59, 63; address on accession of George III. 60; and non-importation, 71; Coercive Acts, effect, 80-84, 163; delegates to First Continental Congress, 85; Suffolk Resolves, 89; Provincial Congress and military preparations, 95, 97, adoption of constitution, 149; cession of western claim, 150; Shavs' Rebellion, 152, 175, Ratification, 156; first presidential election, 177; and War of 1812, 228, 229. See also Boston.

Massachusetts Archives, material from, 21, 35, 202.

Massachusetts Gazette, poem on boycott, 48.

Massachusetts Historical Society, material from, 16, 19, 30, 45, 46, 49, 52, 66, 70, 72, 74, 75, 84, 95, 97, 100, 103, 211, 288, Proceedings, 18, American Series, 27.

Massachusetts Magazine, 29.

Massachusetts Spy, Burke's speech, 96.

Massachusetts State House, material from, 15, 22, 40. Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, material from, 39.

Mather, Cotton, Parentator, 20.

Mather, Increase, portrait, 20; English mission and charter, 20-22.

Matteson, Tompkins H, "First Prayer in Congress," 87, "First Inaugural Address," 169.

Mauduit, Israel, career and policy, 70; portrait, 70. Maurepas, Comte de, and American Revolution, 118. Maury, James, suit, 41.

Mayhew, Jonathan, portrait, 58, career, 58, on Union,

Medals, Franklin's Royal Society, 136

"Meeting at Saratoga," 266

Mercantile system See Acts of Trade

Merchants, and causes of American Revolution, 3

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, material from, 132, 136, 172, 180, 181, 207

Mexican War, 278.

Mexico, war, 278, Gadsden Purchase, 293

Mifflin, Thomas, Continental Congress, 87.

Mılan Decree, 214

Mills, Charles E, "Franklin Murals," 132–135, 137, 138, 140

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, material from,

Minute men, 95.

Mississippi, admission, 233, gubernatorial contest (1850), 290

Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, material from. 273.

Mississippi River, free navigation dispute, 195.

Missouri, controversy over admission, 234, and Kansas struggle, 301

Missouri Compromise, 234; repeal, 300, unconstitutional, 310.

Missouri Historical Society, material from, 309.

"Modern Balaam and his Ass," 255

Molasses Act (1733), 32, (1764), 42.

Money, Massachusetts colonial coins, 14 See also Paper money.

Monroe, James, as Minister to France, 197, poitraits, 197, 282, Louisiana Purchase, 209, 210, autograph, 210, and election of 1808, 217, and war, 225, election as President, 232, character and advisers, 232, tour, 232, and Monroe Doctrine, 235, 236, manuscripts, 235, 236

Monroe Doctrine, origin, 235, 236

Montgomery, Ala, formation of Confederate States, 326.

Moore, Sir Henry, and Stamp Act, 51

Mora, F. Louis, "Virginia Vestry Meeting," 12.

Morgan, William, Illustrations of Masonry, disappearance, 249, 250

Morris, Gouverneur, portrait, 153, Federal Convention, 153, on Ratification, 156, 158, on Washington and presidency, 177, in France, 197.

Morris, Lewis, and Cosby, 33.

Morris, Robert, strong box, 122; as Revolutionary financier, 147, portrait, 147; Federal Convention, 153; in Senate, 178.

Morse, John T, on Franklin, 134, 136, 139, 143, Benjamin Franklin, 139

Morse, Samuel F. B, "Old House of Representatives," 239, "Robert Y. Hayne," 245

Morton, John, Continental Congress, 87.

Moses, Henry, "Reception of American Loyalists," 103. Mount Vernon, view, 165.

Muhlenberg, Frederick A. C., Speaker, 178, portrait, 178 Muriay, William Vans, portrait, 200; French treaty, 200. "Mustang Team," 305.

Napoleon I, American treaty, 200, and Louisiana, 209, 210, and neutral trade, 214, 222

Nashville Convention, 285, 289, 290.

National conventions, first, 250.

"National Game," 323.

National Gazette, 170; attack on Washington, 171; and Bank (1832), 251.

National Intelligencer, on midnight judges, 207.

National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, material from,

National Portrait Gallery, London, material from, 22, 53, 60, 66, 110, 114, 125.

Navigation Acts See Acts of Trade.

Navy, American, Continental Congress and, 145, frigates and French war, 199, Chesapeake-Leopard affair, 215; in War of 1812, 226, 227

Navy Department, established, 199; material from, 199.

Negroes See Free negroes, Slavery

Netherlands, British Acts of Trade and war, 10, 11; and American Revolution, 94, 115, 119-121, 123, 124; British war, 123, peace negotiations, 126, 127

Neutral trade, British seizures (1793), Jay Treaty, 193, depredations after 1803, 214, Jefferson's policy, 215, 216, embargo, political controversy, 216-221, non-intercourse, 221, Macon's Bill No. 2, 222; French deceit, 222, and war, 227.

Neutral vessels, proclamation of Continental Congress,

Neutrality, policy and proclamation (1793), 191, 192

New England, colonial importance, 37; act restraining trade, 96, 97; and embargo, 218-220, and War of 1812, 226, 228, southern attacks on, 245 See also Dominion of New England, states by name.

New England Chronicle, Howe's offer of conciliation, 112.

New England Confederation, career, 35.

New England Emigrant Aid Society, 301.

New Hampshire, in Dominion of New England, 16, and non-importation, 71; and Continental Congress, 86; Declaration of Rights, 149, Ratification, 156.

New Hampshire Gazette, "mourning issue," 49

New Jersey, in Dominion of New England, 18, and Continental Congress, 86, Ratification, 156.

"New Method of Macarony Making," 78. New Netherland, English conquest, 11.

New York, conquest from Dutch, 11, in Dominion of New England, 18, Leisler's Revolt, 20, proclamation against Sabbath breaking, 24, importance as colony, 25, Cornbury as Governor, commission, 25; Connecticut boundary, 28, Zenger trial, 33, 34, colonial political cynicism, 35, suspension of Assembly, 57; and Continental Congress, 85, 86, and independence, 107, confiscation of Loyalist lands, 129, 130; first state election, 148, Ratification, 158, 159, early federal politics, 187; political factions, 256, 281; and election of 1814, 275, 276

New York Chamber of Commerce, material from, 50,

New York City, Stamp Act Congress, 47, 48; non-importation, 50, Stamp Act mob, 50, 51, and tea, 71, 73, 75, 76; Committee of Correspondence, 72, reception of Declaration of Independence, 111, celebration of Ratification, 150, as federal capital, inauguration of Washington, 168, 169, 177, 178; presidential mansion, 169, Federal Hall, 178; Whig procession, 275, arrival of Kossuth, 295; Clay's funeral, 297; Know-Nothing meeting, 303, Union meeting, 315, Republican procession, ("Wide Awakes"), 323.

New York City Hall, material from, 88, 170, 183, 232, 243, 247; old, as Federal Hall, view, 178.

New York Gazette, material from, 36, 50, 174.

New York Historical Society, material from, 25, 35, 52, 69, 73, 86, 89, 92, 101, 129, 135, 152, 153, 158, 159, 173, 174, 177, 178, 186, 187, 198, 205, 209, 211, 215–218, 222, 229, 238, 239, 252, 254, 256, 259, 260, 263, 266, 267, 269–271, 274, 280, 287–289, 291, 295, 296, 298, 303–305, 307, 310, 326, 327.

New York Journal, Liberty emblem, 92 New York Magazine, material from, 129 New York Mercury, material from, 51. New York Public Library, material from, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 24, 30, 32, 33, 36, 37, 39, 41-44, 48, 50, 51, 54-57, 59, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, 77, 79-83, 85, 91, 92, 96, 101, 102, 104, 112, 113, 117-119, 121, 123, 124, 140, 141, 145, 147-152, 156-158, 164, 169, 177, 182, 187-189, 191, 192, 208, 209, 229, 234, 244, 249, 258, 262, 268 New York State Education Department, Albany, material from, 159, 173 New York Weekly Journal, material from, 33 Newcastle, Duke of, and colonies, 30, 33, and George III. Newport, R I, town meeting on tea, resolves, 77. Newport Mercury, Virginia Resolutions, 47 Newspapers, Zenger trial, 33, 34, and politics, 243, 244 Newton, J F., Lincoln and Heindon, 313 Nicholson, Sir Francis, and Leisler, 20 Niles' Register, on "Whig," 253 Nixon, John, reads Declaration of Independence, 111. autographs, 145, 147 Nobility, Bernard's suggestion, 63 Noetzel, Gregor, "Free and Slave Areas." 234 Non-importation and non-exportation, movements, 48, 50, 63, 65, 66, list of importers, boycott and coercion, 66, broken, 71, tea incident, 73-77, Coercive Acts and revival, 82, Association of 1774, 91-93, Restraining Act, 96, 97, act of 1806, 215 Non-intercourse, act (1809), 221; Madison's policy, 222 North, Lord, portrait, 66, policy, 66-68, cartoons on, 80, 125, and coercion, 80, 95, 100, and reconciliation, 95, 115, 116, 122, Restraining Act. 96, Franklin's warning, 97, ineptitude, 124, fall of ministry, 125, Fox coalition, 128 Continental Congress, 86. Ratification, 160 Northeastern boundary, 272.

North Carolina, and non-importation, 65, 71; and

Northwest Ordinance, 150.

Norton, John, English mission, 14.

Nullification, theory, 6, Calhoun's doctrine, 244, South Carolina movement, Jackson's actions, 246-248

OAKLEY, Violet, "Washington before the Convention."

Obligation of contracts, decisions on, 233.

O'Brien, R., "Levi Coffin," 285.

Oertel, Johannes A., "Pulling down Statue of George III." 111.

Ogden, Henry A, "King's Scarlet and Homespun," 69, "Inaugration of Washington," 168.

Old South Meetinghouse, Boston, view, 74

Old State House, Boston, 29, 30, reading Declaration of Independence from, 111

Oliver, Andrew, stamp agent, mobbed, 52; portrait, 52 Oregon Country, issue in 1844, 273; controversy and treaty, 277

Orkney, Earl of, as colonial Governor, 26.

Osgood, Samuel, portrait, 180, Postmaster-General, 180. Ostend Manifesto, 295

Oswald, Benjamin, peace negotiations, 126, 127

Otis, James, portrait, 39; career, 39; writs of assistance speech, 40, Bernard contest, 40, 41, Vindication, 41, Rights of British Colonies, 42, 43; Committee of Correspondence, 43; Stamp Act Congress, 47; and nonimportation, 63; on rescinding Circular Letter, 64.

Otis, Harrison Gray, Hartford Convention, 228.

Oxford Magazine, cartoon, 80.

PACA, William, Continental Congress, 87

Pacific railroad, Gadsden Purchase and route, 293, routes

Paine. Robert Treat, Continental Congress, 87; autograph. 91: constitutional convention, 149

Paine, Thomas, on rights and property, 73, and independence, 91, Liberty Tice, 99, portrait, 110, Common Sense and ideas in Declaration of Independence, 110. American Crisis, 113, Rights of Man, 189.

Panic of 1837, 255

Paper money, colonial, 27, British act against, 32, Continental, 146, 151, wild-cat currency, 255

Parish, Randall, Historic Illinois, 260

Parker, Sir Peter, attack on Charleston, 102,

Parliament, early Acts of Trade, 10, and colonial affairs 32, Molasses Act, 32, development of control, 32, 38, 56 view of Houses, 61, 62, George III's control, 61, 62; Stamp Act, 11, memorial of Stamp Act Congress, 48, reneal of Stamp Act, 53, 54, Declaratory Act, 56, suspension of New York Assembly, 57, Townshend Acts. 57, partial repeal of Townshend Acts, 67, 68, Massa, chusetts Coercive Acts, 80, and reconciliation, 96; New England Restraining Act, 96, 97; American friends in. during Revolution, 114, Franklin's examinations, 137

Parsons. Theophilus, constitutional convention, 149

Parson's Cause, 11

Passy, France, Franklin's residence, 140,

Payson, Frederic L, on Jacksonians and centralization. 265, American Frontier, 265

Peace of 1783, British reverses and fall of North Ministry, 125, peace ministry, 125, divergent interests, 126, 127, Anglo-American preliminary treaty, 127, terms, 127. defuntive treaty, 128, failure of commercial negotiations, 128

Peacock. II M S., Hornet fight, 227.

Peale, Charles Willson, "John Dickinson," 57, "Arthur Lee," 117, "Benjamin Franklin," 143; "Chevalier Gérard," 146; "Robert Morris," 147; "Rufus King," 153, "Richard Henry Lee," 157, "George Washington," 163, 164, 173, "Frederick Muhlenberg," 178, "Alexander Hamilton," 186

Peale, Rembrandt, "William Pinkney," 194, "Thomas Jefferson," 205, "Andrew Jackson," 242.

Peggy Stewart, burning, 76.

"Pencill, Peter," neutral-trade cartoons, 221.

Pendleton, Edmund, and Stamp Act, 47; Continental Congress, 163

Penn, Richard, and petition to King, 100

Pennington, William S., portrait, 318

Pennsylvania, Governors and Assemblies, 27; walking purchase, 27; Quakers and military expeditions, 28, and non-importation, 71, and Continental Congress, 86; Ratification, 156; Whisky Rebellion, 186; early federal polities, 190.

Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, material from, 164, 232

Pennsylvania Chronicle, "Virginia Resolves," 65.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Pitt's speech, 54; under Franklin, 133.

Pennsylvania Journal, use of snake device, 37.

Pennsylvania Magazine, poem on Liberty, 99.

Pennsylvania Packet, 111.

Pennsylvania State Capitol, material from, 155.

Percy, Lord, Concord, 98

Perkins, Granville, "Harper's Ferry," 314.

Perry, Oliver H, victory, 227

Petitions, gag rules against antislavery, 263.

Philadelphia, non-importation movement, 53: 71: and tea, 75, Continental Congress, meeting places. 87,

106; Independence Hall, 106, reading of Declaration of Independence, 111; British occupation, 114, Franklin's funeral procession and tomb, 142, 143, office of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, 146, as federal capital, presidential mansion, 171, 184, 203; anti-abolitionist mob, 260

Philipse Manor, view, 130.

Phillips, Wendell, portrait, 284; as abolitionist, 284,

Phillips, William, and tea, 73.

Phips. Spencer, fast proclamation, 37,

Phips, William, as Governor, 29.

Pickering, John, impeachment, 208.

Pickering, Timothy, autograph, 195; and secession, 211; and Hartford Convention, 228

Pierce, Franklin, and Cuba, 295; presidential campaign and election, 296, portrait, 296, on slavery question, 296; southern ascendancy, 298, 299.

Pierce, John, shooting, 214.

Pinckney, Charles, portrait, 152; Federal Convention, 152.

Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, portrait, 197, French mission, 197, 198, candidacy, 217.

Pinckney, Thomas, Spanish treaty, autograph, 195, portrait, 196, candidacy, 196

Pine, Robert E, "Congress Voting Independence," 107; "Mary Ball Washington," 162

Pinkney, William, negotiations under Jay Treaty, 194; portrait, 194, draft treaty, 215.

Piracy, Kıdd, 24

Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham, portrait, 53; and ministry (1865), 53, speech against Stamp Act, 54, ministry (1866), 56, and George III, 61, and tea episode, 79; speech against coercive measures, 81, on action of Continental Congress, 90, and conciliation, 96, 116; opposes independence, 123.

Pittman, John W, invoice of negroes, 284.

Plantation Council, organized, 11

Planton, Mmc, "Peace of Ghent," 230.

Plymouth, in Dominion of New England, 16; old government restored, 19, joined to Massachusetts, 22.

"Political Blondins Crossing Salt River," 320.

Political Register, cartoon, 67

Politics, rise of parties, 4, 173, 187, 188; two-party system, 5, basis of colonial, 7, 35; colonial cynicism, 35, influence of French Revolution, 188-190; caucus nominations, 196, 237, 238, development of machines, 240, Jackson's kitchen cabinet, 243, national conventions, 250, 251. See also Elections, parties by name.

Polk, James K., and the Bank, 249; portrait, 273; presidential campaign and election, 273-276; and Oregon, 277; and Mexico. 278.

Poor Richard's Almanac, value, 131; maxims, 134.

Popular sovereignty, 299

Postoffice, Franklin and, 135; exclusion of abolitionist mail. 262

Pownall, Thomas, portrait, 67, on repeal of Townshend

Pratt, H. C, "John M Clayton," 293.

Pratt, Matthew, "Cadwallader Colden," 50.

"Premature Movement," 315

Present State of New-English Affairs, broadside, 21.

Presidency, Washington and successful establishment, 161, 175-177, Washington's journey and inauguration, 167-169, 177, his establishment of precedents, 169; his mansions, 169, 171, Washington's second inauguration, 171; title question, 188, Jackson and power, 237, 253. See also Elections.

Price, Richard, Observations on Civil Liberty, American appreciation, 115, portrait, 115

Priestley, Joseph, Franklin's letter, 138

Prince Society, Andros Tracts, 17, 21

Privy Council, and colonial affairs, orders and decisions, 28, 29, and coercion of colonies, 90, Fianklin before, 137, neutral trade order, 214.

Proclamation of 1763, 41.

Proclamations, of Dominion of New England, 16, Massachusetts quo warranto, 15, of William III on Massachusetts, 19, against Sabbath-breaking, 24, fast, 37; on Indian lands, 62, Gaspé affair, 72, of rebellion, 100, recruiting, 104, of British amnesty, 113, on neutral vessels, 145, of New York election, 148, neutrality, 191; Jay Treaty, 193; Louisiana, 209, Jackson's, on nullification, 247.

"Progressive Democracy," 322.

Proprietaries, colonial, 1.

Protectorate. See Commonwealth.

Province House, Boston, 29.

Provincial congresses, selection of delegates to Continental Congress, 86; Massachusetts and military preparation, 95, 97

Prussia, and American Revolution, 115.

Public debt, Hamilton's funding, 183; assumption of state debts, 184, Gallatin's policy, 207

Public lands, and sectionalism, 6, Proclamation of 1763, 62; cession of western claims, 150; speculation and Specie Circular, 255.

Public Record Office, London, material from, 12, 28, 31, 36, 51.

Pugin and Rowlandson, "House of Lords," 61

Punch, cartoons, 277, 286, 294, 311.

Puritans, governmental ideas, 8, 9

Pyle, Howard, "Berkeley Signing the Capitulation," 9, "Burning of Jamestown," 14, "Andros and Boston People," 17, "Room in Raleigh Tavern," 86, "Tory Refugees," 103; "Departure for First Congress," 163, "Washington and Genêt," 192.

QUAKERS, and military expenditures, 28.

Quebec, province, 41.

Quebec Act, 80.

Quincy, Josiah, on dangers of prosperity, 204; and embargo, 221, portrait, 225, and war, 225, 228; on federalization of Republicans, 231.

Quo warranto on Massachusetts charter, 15.

"RAIL CANDIDATE," 321.

Railroads, routes for transcontinental, 293, 299.

Ramboullet Decree, 222

Ramsay, Allan, "George III," 60; "Earl of Bute," 61.

Randolph, Edmund, Annapolis Convention, autograph, 152, and Ratification, 157, portrait, 180, Attorney-General, 180, and Bank, 185; Burr trial, 213

Randolph, Edward, and Massachusetts, 15-17, and second charter, 21

Randolph, John, of Roanoke, portrait, 207, as leader of House, 207, Chase impeachment, 208; Burr trial, 213; and election of 1808, 217; and embargo, 221; and war, 225, on tariff of 1828, 244

Randolph, Peyton, and Stamp Act, 47; and Virginia Resolves, 65, Continental Congress, 87.

Ratcliffe, Robert, in Boston, 17.

Ratification, opposition in Pennsylvania. 156; Massachusetts and, 156; quota reached, 157, struggle in Virginia, 157; contest in New York, 158, 159; Federalist, 159, Rhode Island, 160.

Raymond, Henry J, in campaign of 1856, 305 Read, George, Continental Congress, 87, Annapolis Convention, autograph, 152 Reading, Burnet, "Silas Deane," 117

Reconciliation, Galloway's plan, 88, English proposals (1775) and attitude, 96, Howe's offer, 112, English friends of America, 114, 115. European conditions and English opinion, Burgoyne's defeat, 115, 116, English movement (1778), 122, Congress and movement, 123 "Reconciliation between Britania and America," 126 Redwood Library, Newport, material from, 238, 240 Reid, Robert, "Otis Protesting Writs of Assistance," 40

Reinhart, C S, "Sloughter Signing Leisler's Death Warrant," 20

Religion, development of liberalism, 38 See also Church of England, Puritans

"Repeal," 54

Representation and taxation, colonial doctrine, 42, 43, 53 Republican-Democratic party, beginning, 173, 175, 187, and French Revolution, 189, 190, and Jay Treaty, 194, and Alien and Sedition Acts, 201, 202, gains control, 203, Jefferson's personality and creed, 205, 206, and judiciary, 208, and neutral-trade controversy, 215, 217, 222, federalization, 231. Sec also Elections, Politics.

Republican party, birth, 300, elements, 304 Sec also Elections, Politics

"Republican Party Going to the Right House," 320

Restoration, and colonies, 11, 12, 14

Restraining Act, 96

"Returns of the Election," 275

Revere, Paul, "Warm Place - Hell," 64; "Boston Massacre," 69, "Able Doctor," 83, ride, 98; copy of French cartoon, 120

Revolution of 1688, colonies and, 19, 20

Reynolds, Sn Joshua, "George Grenville," 42; "Charles Townshend," 56, "George III," 60

Rhett, R. Barnwell, portrait, 325

Rhode Island, charter, 12, and Andros, 18, return to charter, 19, Committee of Correspondence (1764), 43, and Massachusetts Circular Letter, 61, Gaspé affair, 71, 72, and Continental Congress, 86, paper money, 151, Ratification, 160, and War of 1812, 228, 229. See also New England

Rhode Island Historical Society, material from, 71, 72,

Rhodes, Samuel, Continental Congress, 87.

Richmond, Duke of, in peace ministry, 125.

"Right Man in the Right Place," 291

Riots, pre-Revolutionary, 3; Stamp Act, 50-52; antiabolitionist, 259, 260, 262

Ritchie, A. H., "Republican Court," 188; "Harman Blennerhassett," 213

Rivington, James, as Loyalist, 101, portrait, 101.

Roberts, John, sheriff, 35

Robinson, Charles, in Kansas, 302

Robinson, H. R., "Shinplaster Cartoon," 256, "North Bend Farmer," 270, "New Era Whig Trap Sprung," 270, "Captain and Corporal's Guard," 271; cartoon on Whigs in 1848, 280

Robinson, S T L, on Border ruffians, 301, Kansas, 301. Rockingham, Marquis of, ministry, 53, 56; second ministry and peace, 125; portrait, 125, on Franklin,

Rodney, Caesar, Continental Congress, 87; and independence, 107

Rodney, Sir George, victory, 124

Rogers, John, "Reception of Washington," 168; "Alexander Hamilton," 183, "Missourians Going to Kansas," 301.

Roland, Thomas, on Price's pamphlet, 115; Richard Price, 115

Romney, George, "Thomas Paine," 110 Rosenthal, Max, "George Washington," 174.

Rothermel, Peter F, "Clay Addressing the Senate," 287. Rowe, John, and tea, 73.

Royal American Magazine, cartoon by Revere, 83.

Royal Gazette, as Loyalist organ, 101.

Royal Society, London, material from, 115, Franklin medal, 136

Ruggles, Timothy, Stamp Act Congress, 47; as "resemder," 61,

Rule of 1756, British seizures, 193, 214.

Russell, Jonathan, peace negotiations, 230, 231; autograph, 230

Russia, mediation, 229, 230.

Rutledge, Edward, Continental Congress, 87; conservatısm, 88.

Rutledge, John, Continental Congress, 87, federal justice, 181

Sano, H S, "Washington's Inaugural," 169.

Safford, William II , Blennerhassett Papers, 213.

St Eustatius Island, captives, 124, 125.

St James' Palace, London, material from, 11

St. John de Crèvecœur, Hecter, on wartime enmity, 3.

St Memin, Charles B. J. F de, "John Marshall," 157; "George Washington," 174, "Robert R. Livingston," 209, "James Wilkinson," 213.

Salaries of colonial Governors, controversy, 28, 30.

Salem, Mass, town meeting on embargo, 218.

"Salt River" poster, 307.

San Idlefonso, treaty of, 209.

San Lorenzo, treaty of, 195.

Sartain, John, "Burning of Pennsylvania Hall," 260.

Savage, Edward, "Congress Voting Independence," 107; "Benjamin Franklın," 142.

Sayres, Robert, cartoon by, 124.

Scharf and Westcott, Philadelphia, 143.

Schlesinger, Arthur M., on immigrants and slavery, 295; United States, 295, 325; on secession, 325.

Schultze, Louis, "Dred Scott," 309

Schureman, James, Annapolis Convention, autograph, 152. Schussele, Christian, "Franklin Before the Lords in Council," 137.

Scott, Dred, portrait, 309. See also Dred Scott.

Scott, Winfield, presidential candidacy, 266, 296

Seriven, Edward, "George III," 60.

Scabury, Samuel, Free Thoughts against Association of

Seals, Virginia, 12; Dominion of New England, 18.

Search, right, and slave trade, 272. See also Impressment. Secession, basis of desire and opposition, 6, Federalist threats, 211, 217; southern threats (1850), 289, of South Carolina, 325, of other states, 326; Buchanan's attitude, 327; attempts at compromise, 327.

Sectionalism, and party development, 5; causes, 5, 6;

under Confederation, 175; growth, 298, 315. Sedition Act See Alien and Sedition.

Self-government, and American Revolution, 130.

Seller, C, "Signing Preliminary Treaty at Paris," 127.

Senate, view of early chamber, 203, slavery balance, 233. "Set to between Old Hickory and Bully Nick," 252

"Set-to between Old Tip and the Swell Dutchman,"

Seward, William H., and Anti-Masonry, 250; and Taylor

283, and Compromise of 1850, 289, 292; presidential candidacy (1856), 296, (1860), 318; portrait, 318

Sharp, William, "Thomas Paine," 110

Sharples, James, "Thomas Jefferson." 180. "John Adams," 196, "P. A Adet," 197; "James Monroe," 197

Shavs' Rebellion, 152, 175.

Shelburne, Lord, peace ministry, 125; portrait. 125: and negotiations, 126, fall, 128

Sheppard, W. L., "Berkeley and the Insurgents," 13

Sherman, Roger, Continental Congress, 87, 150, and independence, 107: portrait, 153; Federal Convention, 153, in Congress, 178

Shute, Samuel, as Governor, 30.

Sidney, Algernon, portrait, 110, Discourses and Declaration of Independence, 110

Simms, William G, on free negroes, 260.

Simpson, John, "Botching Taylor," 124.

Slave insurrections, 260

"Slave Market of America." 263.

Slave trade, foreign, abolition, 257; right of search, 272; domestic, 284, Beecher's parody of slave auction, 985

Slavery, and sectionalism, 5, 6; Franklin's protest, 142, balance in Senate, 233, Missouri Compromise, 234, justification, 263, Clay's attitude, 264, 280, territorial problem, 265, 279, and state rights, 282, as acute permeating question, 282; Taylor's attitude, 283, southern conventions, 285, 289, 290, foreign thrusts at, 286, 292, Compromise of 1850, 286-290, and desire for Cuba, 294, 295; ascendancy under Pierce, 298, 299, Kansas-Nebraska Act, 299, 300, struggle in Kansas, 301, 302, 310-312; in campaign of 1856, 303-307; Sumner-Brooks affair, 309, Dred Scott case, 309, 310, British sympathy with South, 311, Lincoln-Douglas debate, 313, John Brown's raid, 314, 315, campaign of 1860, 316-324; secession of Cotton States. 325 See also Antislavery

Slidell, John, political power under Pierce, 299; portrait,

Small, Frank O. "Andros and Old South," 17

Smibert, John, "John Cotton," 8, "Jonathan Mayhew," 55 Smith, A. C., "National Convention," 269.

Smith, H W., "John Cotton," 8

Smith, Melanchthon, and Ratification, 159

Smith, Richard, Continental Congress, 87.

Smith, William, Zenger affair, 33, 34

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, material from, 133. Smuggling, colonial, 24, 64, 71, 72.

"Sober Second Thoughts," 256.

Social conditions, colonial development, 1; proclamation against Sabbath-breaking, 24; effect of American Revolution, 129, 130. See also Aristocracy; Democracy.

Society, under Washington, 188.

"Society of Patriotic Ladies," 93.

Songs, Revolutionary, 64, 99, 103; on embargo, 216

Sons of Liberty, Barré's phrase and origin, 45, 46, New York meeting-place, 50, New York mob, 51; enforcement of non-importation, 66; and tea, 73, 75, 76, and calling of Congress, 85.

South See Slavery, Union

South Carolina, and Massachusetts Circular Letter, 64, and Continental Congress, 86, resolves for resistance, 99, Ratification, 157, protest on tariff of 1828, 244; nullification, 247, 248; secession, 325. "South Carolina's 'Ultimatum'," 327.

"Southern Ideas of Liberty," 262.

Spain, and American Revolution, British war, 94, 99, 115,

120, 121, 123, 124, 127, 128, boundary dispute and navigation of the Mississippi, treaty, 195, retrocession of Louisiana, 209, treaty of 1819, 235, revolt of colonies. 235 See also Cuba

Spanish-America, revolts, 235, origin of Monroe Doctrine. 235, 236

Speaker of Assembly, contest in Massachusetts, 30

Speakership, federal, 178; contest, 300

Specie Circular, 255

Speculation, 255

Spirit of '76, 269

Spotswood, Alexander, portrait, 26, as Governor, 26

Squatter sovereignty, 279, 298, 299

Squatter Sovereign, facsimile of title, 302

Stamp Act, proposed, protests, 42-44, passage, provisions, 44, table, 44, stamp, 44, Barré's protest, 45, 46; colonial protests and nullification, 45, 46, 49, 51, 52, 54, Henry's speech and Virginia resolutions, 46, 47, Congress, its action, 47, 48; non-importation, 48, 50, mobs, 50-52, reaction in England, 52; Dulany's pamphlet, 53, Pitt's speech, 54, repeal, 54, reception of repeal, 55, Declaratory Act, 56, Franklin's protest and examination, 137

Stamp Act Congress, and dismembered snake device, 37, meeting and papers, 47, 48

Star of the West episode, 327

State government, Congress advises, 104, organization and constitutions, 148, 149

State rights, Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, 174, 202, New England assertion, 219, 220, 228, 229, Marshall's narrowing, 233, rise of question, 237; Calhoun's theory, 244, Webster-Hayne debate, 245, nullification movement, 246-248, Jacksonian attitude, 265; and slavery, 265, 282 See also Secession; Union

Stephens, Alexander II, becomes Democrat, 298, portrait, 298, and secession, 326, Vice-president of Confederate States, 326

Stephenson, Nathaniel W, on Republican convention, 318, Abraham Lincoln, 318

Stevens, Thaddeus, and Anti-Masonry, 250.

Stewart, Anthony, and tea, 76.

Stoddert, Benjamin, Secretary of the Navy, 199, portrait,

Stottrup, Andreas, "Benjamin Franklın," 142

"Storming the Castle," 322.

Stormont, Viscount, on Franklin in France, 139.

Story, Joseph, and embargo, 221

Stoughton, William, Narrative of Proceedings, 18; and revolt against Andres, 19.

Strahan, Wuliam, Franklin's letter, 138.

Strange News from Virginia, facsimile, 14.

Stringfellow, Benjamin F, newspaper, 302.

Stuart, A. G., "Isaac Barré," 45

Stuart, Gilbert, "James Madison," 153, "Charles Pinckney," 153, "George Washington," 162, 172, "Martha Washington," 162; "Henry Knox," 180; "John Jay," 181; "Fisher Ames," 194, "C C Pinckney," 197, "Thomas Jefferson," 206, "Albert Gallatin," 207, "Josiah Quincy," 225, "James Monroe," 232.

Sub-treasury, first act, 256; repeal, 271

Suffolk Resolves, 89

Suffrage, in colonial New England, 8; American Revolution and widening, 130, 151.

Sugar Act See Molasses

Sullivan, John, autograph, 91.

Sully, Lawrence, "Patrick Henry," 46 Sully, Thomas, "Thomas Jefferson," 206; "Nicholas Biddle," 249.

Sumner, Charles, Kansas speech and Brooks' assault, 309, portiait, 309

Sumner, William G, on frontier and democracy, 4

Supreme Court, Privy Council as predecessor, 28, Ellsworth, 179, organization, first justices, Jay, 181, Jefferson and Federalist control, 208, Dred Scott case, 282, 309, 310, material from, 310 Sec also Marshall, John Surplus revenue, distribution as Whig measure, 253,

Talleyrand-Perigord, Charles Maurice, portrait, 197; and American envoys, 198, manuscript, 198; and Logan, 199

Tallmadge, James, Jr., and Missouri, 234

Taney, Roger B, Attorney-General, 247, Dred Scott decision, 309, 310, portrait, 310

Tariff, first act, 178, of 1828, South Carolina's condemnation, 244, compromise act, 248, as issue (1844),

Taxation, colonial rights, 40-43, 47, Grenville's policy, 42, direct and inducet, 46, 48, 54, and representation, 53, Parliament and principle, Declaratory Act and tea tax, 56, 59, 68, internal and external, 57, Townshend Acts, 57, as cause of American Revolution, 130, federal excise, opposition, 186 See also Stamp Act

Taylor, James E, "Trial of John Brown," 314

Taylor, Zachary, war cartoon, 278, presidential candidacy and election, 280, opposes extension of slavery, 283, portrait, 283, death, 289

Tea, controversy as crisis, 3, tax, 60, 68, boycott and bootlegging, 71; attempt to force trade, destruction, 73-77, European cartoons, 77, 78

Tennessee, proposal to amend Constitution, 238.

Tennessee Historical Society, material from, 223.

Tennessee State Capitol, material from, 254

Tennessee State Library, material from, 319

Tenure of Office Act, 238, Whigs and repeal, 253

Territories, policy, Northwest Ordinance, 150, Missouri Compronuse, 234, slavery problem, 265, 279, Free Soil party, 281, Taylor's attitude, 283; Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 299; Died Scott decision, 309.

Texas, revolt and recognition, 262, as issue, 273, 275, annexation, 277.

Thacher, Ovenbridge, committee of correspondence, 43.

Thayer, Eli, and Kansas, 301, portrait, 301

"Thistle Reel," 95

Thomas, Jesse B., portrait, 234, and Missouri Compromise, 234

Thompson, George, mobbed, 259, portrait, 284; as abolitionist, 284

Thompson, Jacob, in Cabinet, 308.

Thomson, Charles, secretary, Continental Congress, 87; autographs, 150, 177.

Thornton, William, as Signer, 110

Tiebout, Cornelius, "Bush-Hill," 129.

Tigre Island, view, 293

"Times: a Political Portrait," 198.

Tobacco, clerical payment in, 41.

"Tomb of Voltaire," 141. "Tom-Cod Catcher," 63.

Toombs, Robert, portrait, 298; becomes Democrat, 298; and secession, 326.

Toucey, Isaac, in Cabinet, 308

Town meeting, in New England, 9

Townshend, Charles, portrait, 56; colonial policy, 56; suspension of New York Assembly, 57, tax acts, 57.

Townshend Acts, provisions, 57, Dickinson's Letters, 57, Massachusetts Circular Letter and non-importation agreements, 59, 63-66, British opposition and partial repeal, 67, 68, tea, 68, 73-78

Treason, Burr trial, 213

Treaties, Jay (1794), 111, 193, San Lorenzo (1795), 195. Franco-American (1800) 200, San Ildefonso (1800). 209, Louisiana Purchase (1803), 210; Ghent (1814), 230, 231, Florida (1819), 235, Ashburton (1842), 272. Oregon (1846), 227, Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848), 278, Clayton-Bulwer (1850), 293, Gadsden Purchase (1853), 293 See also French alliance, Peace of 1783.

Trenton, N J, reception of Washington (1789), 167.

Trevett vs Weeden, 151

Tual overseas, act for, 80

Tripartite agreement on Cuba proposed, 294.

Trumbull, John, "James Duane," 88, "Signing the Decla-13 ration of Independence, "110, "George Washington," 170, "Oliver Ellsworth," 179, "Alexander Hamilton," 180, 183, "Samuel Osgood," 180, "John Jay," 193, "Thomas Pinckney," 196, "De Witt Clinton," 226, "John C Calhoun," 244, "Edward Livingston," 247 Trumbull, Jonathan, [1] proclamation for recruits, 104

Trumbull, Jonathan, [2], in Congress, 178, autograph. 210, and embargo, 220

Tucker, St George, Annapolis Convention, autograph,

Turner, C Y, "Burning of the Peggy Stewart," 76.

Turner, Frederick J., on sectionalism, 5.

Turner, Nat, insurrection, 260

Tyler, John, vice-presidential candidacy and election, 267-270, becomes President, political principles, 271; portrait, 271; candidacy (1844), 274, and Texas, 277. Tyler, M. C., on S. Adams, 58, Literary History, 58.

"Uncle Sam making New Arrangements," 324. Underground Railroad, 285

Union, call for intercolonial congress (1690), 35; Livingston's plan (1701), 36; Albany Plan (1754), 36, 135, dismembered snake device, 36, 37, Stamp Act Congress, 47, 48, Mayhew's advocacy, 55, Massachusetts Circular Letter and responses, 59, 63-65, British policy of prevention, 65, Committees of Correspondence, 72, 77, development of sentiment, 77, symbolized, 92; effect of outbreak of war, 99, Annapolis Convention, 152; Jackson's toast, 246. See also Confederation, Continental Congress; Federal Constitution, Federal Convention, Secession, Sectionalism; State rights.

Union Fire Company, Franklin and, 134.

United States, USS, 199

United States National Museum, Washington, material from, 271

United States vs Peters, 233

University of Pennsylvania, material from, 132; Franklin and, 134.

Van Buren, Martin, as politician, 240; in Cabinet, 243, portrait, 243, and Jackson's Union toast, 246, and removal of deposits, 252, as presidential candidate, election, 251, and panic, 255, 256; Autobiography, 265; on Bank controversy, 265; defeat for reelection, 267-270, and candidacy in 1844, 273; Free Soil candidacy,

Van Dam, Rip, and Cosby, 33.

Vanderlyn, John, "Elbridge Gerry," 156; "Aaron Burr," 211, "James Monroe," 232.

Vanloo, C A. P, "Benjamin Franklin," 139.

Van Loon, Hendrik W, on Dutch and American Revolution, 119, Fall of Dutch Republic, 119.

Venne, Adrian van der, "James Harrington," 110

Vergennes, Comte de, portrait, 117, and American Revolution and alliance, 117, 118, 121, and peace negotiations,

Vestry, Virginia colonial, 12.

Veto, royal, evasion, 26, 29, 41; of colonial Governor,

Virginia, sectionalism in colonial, 7, 12; under Commonwealth, 9, under Restoration, aristocratic government, 12, colonial seal, 12, Bacon's Rebellion, 13, 14, under Spotswood and Dinwiddie, 26, and royal veto, 31, Parson's Cause, 41, Henry's speech and Stamp Act Resolutions, 46, 47; and Massachusetts Circular Letter, 65, Resolves by Assembly, 65; intercolonial Committee of Correspondence, 72, and Continental Congress, 86, Declaration of Right, 106, cession of western claim, 150, Ratification, 157

Virginia Resolutions See Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions

Virginia State Capitol, material from, 166 Virginia State Library, material from, 26, 106, 180. "Virtual Representation," 97

Wadsworth, William, and Connecticut charter, 18. Waite, E R, "Eli Thayer," 301

Walker, Robert J, and Van Buren, 273; portrait, 273, as Governor of Kansas, 312.

Walking purchase, 27

War Department, material from, 112.

War Hawks, 223–225, 227.

War of 1812, War Hawks, 223-225; effect of Henry letters, 224, preliminaries, 225, opposition to preparation, 225, declaration, 225, as mistake, 226, 227, political campaign, 226, plans, 227, naval combats, 227, blockade, 228, New England opposition, Hartford Convention, 228, 229, embargo, 228, Russian mediation, 229, 230; peace, 230, 231

Ward, Nathaniel, Body of Liberties, 8

Ward, Samuel, Continental Congress, 87.

Warren, James, in Assembly, 63.

Warren, Joseph, Suffolk Resolves, 89; portrait, 98; career and patriotism, 98

Washington, Bushrod, American Colonization Society,

Washington, George, and Dinwiddie, 26; and nonimportation, 65, and Boston Port Bill, 84, Continental Congress, 87, 163, on outbreak of war, 99, command, 100, 164, 165; letter to Canadians, 102, oath of allegiance, 112, autographs, 112, 195, on reversals, 113; and Union, 144, 166, on and in Federal Convention, 154, 155, 166, and Ratification, 157, and presidency, 161, 175, 176; portraits, 162-164, 170, 172-174, ancestry, 162; training in French and Indian War, 163; as farmer, 163, 165, 174; and preliminaries of Revolution, 163, resignation of commission, 165, Mount Vernon, 165, Houdon statue, 166, in nominal retirement, 166, manuscripts, 166, 173; election as President, journey and inauguration, 167-169, 177, 178; and official and social precedents, 169, 188; presidential mansions, 169, 171, formulation of policy, first address, 170; tours, 171, attacks, 171, 172, 188; second inauguration, 171, as partisan, and party development, 173-175, retirement, Farewell Address, 173, death, 174; Cabinet, 176, 179; on selection of judges, 180, and planning of federal capital, 184; and Bank, 185, and Whisky Rebellion, 186, and title, 188, neutrality proclamation, 191; and Genêt, 192; and Jay Treaty, 193; and Spanish negotiations, 195.

Washington, Martha Custis, portrait, 162, marriage, 163, "court," 188

Washington, Mary Ball, portrait, 162

Washington, D. C., planning, 184, White House, 184 See also Capitol, Federal capital

Watson, John, "Sir William Keith," 27

Watson, John F , Annals of Philadelphia, 146, 171

Webb, J. Watson, in campaign of 1856, 305

Webster, Daniel, political career, 245, reply to Hayne, 245, and presidential candidacy, 254, 266, 296, and Texas, 262, in campaign of 1840, 269; in Cabinet, 271, portraits, 272, 288, Ashburton negotiations, autograph, 272, and campaign of 1844, 274, Seventh of March speech, 288, and Fugitive Slave Act, 292, and jingoism, 292, death, funeral, 297

Wedderburn, Alexander, and Franklin, 139.

Weed, Thurlow, and Anti-Masonry, 250, and campaign of 1840, 266, portrait, 280, and Taylor, 280.

West, Benjamin, "George III," 60, "Reception of American Loyalists," 103, "Richard Price," 115, "Commissioners of Peace," 128.

West See Frontier

West Florida, province, 41

West Indies, sugar trade and Molasses Act, 32, 42; during American Revolution, 119, 125, 126, effect on American trade of independence, 151, and neutral trade, 193,

West Point, material from, 206

Western Citizen, "Underground Railroad," 285. Western claims, Proclamation of 1763, 62, and ratification of Confederation, 148, cessions, 150

Westminster Abbey, coronation of George III, 60

Wharton, John, autograph, 145

Wheaton, Henry, Report of Cases, 233

Whig party, first campaign, 250, 251, name, 253; platform, 253; position in 1840, 266, 267, measures, and Tyler, 271; disruption, 297, 298 See also Elections, **Politics**

Whigs, English, ministries, 53, 56, 59, principles, 61; and George III, 61, 62

Whipple, Abraham, Gaspé affair, 71, 72

Whipple, William, on Declaration of Independence, 111.

Whisky, backwood's distillation and federal excise, 186.

Whisky Rebellion, 173, 186

White, Edwin, "Washington Resigning His Commission,"

White, Hugh L, portrait, 254, candidacy, 254.

White, W. J, "House of Commons," 62

White House, material from, 136; early view, 184

Whitechurch, Robert, "Franklin Before the Lords in Council," 137, "Clay Addressing the Senate," 287.

Whitehall, view, 23

"Who's Afraid?" 277.

Wide Awakes, 323.

Wild-cat banking, 255.

Wilkes, John, episode and American affairs, 78, 82, 93.

Wilkinson, James, and Burr, 213, portrait, 213.

William III, and Massachusetts, charter, 19, 21, 22, colonial policy, 22.

Williamsburg, Va, and Loyalists, 93.

Willis, Nathaniel P , American Scenery, 248.

Wilmot, David, portrait, 279

Wilmot Proviso, 279

Wilson, Benjamin, "Benjamin Franklin," 136

Wilson, Henry, poster on Nebraska Bill address, 300.

Wilson, James, conservatism, 106; Federal Convention, 153, federal justice, 181

Wilson, Woodrow, American People, 9, 12, 14, 86, 103,

163, 192, on Republican party, 304; Division and Reunion, 304 Windham, Conn., relief of Boston, 84. Winthrop, John, portrait, 8, and government, 8 Winthrop, Samuel, writ of assistance, autograph, 39. Winthrop, Wait, Nairative of Proceedings, 18 Wirt, William, Burr tital, 213, in Cabinet, 232, Anti-Masonic candidacy, 250, 251, portrait, 250. Wisconsin State Capitol, material from, 154 Wise, Henry A, and John Brown, 314 "Wise Men of Gotham and their Goose," 100 Women, and tea boycott, Edenton club, 71, 93. Wright, Silas, and Jackson, 251 Writs of assistance, specimen, 39; case, Olis' plea, 39, 40; legalized, 57.

Wyoming valley, quick recovery, 129. Wythe, George, and Stamp Act, 47.

XYZ Mission, 198.

YALE UNIVERSITY, material from, 153
Yale University School of Fine Arts, material from, 179, 193, 196, 244.
Yancey, William L, and Democratic split, 316, portrait, 316
Yankee Doodle, cartoon, 278
York, James, Duke of See James II.
"Young America," 298.

ZENGER, Peter, trial, 33, 34.